

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

VOLUME XXVIII

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CHRIST THE JUDGE.

Detail from Michelangelo's "Last Judgment" in the Sistine Chapel.
Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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TOLSTOY'S RELIGION.

BY EDWARD A. THURBER.

A MAN'S creeds provide such an inadequate road-book to his religious experiences, that, like a conscientious traveler who wishes to get certain things over with, I shall begin this sketch by quoting three statements made by Tolstoy concerning his beliefs. The first occurs at the opening of the twelfth chapter of his tractate, *My Religion*, and bears the date 1884 or thereabouts, Tolstoy being at the time in his fifty-seventh year.

"I believe in Christ's teaching, and this is my faith:

"I believe that my happiness is possible on earth only when all men fulfil Christ's teaching.

"I believe that the fulfilment of this teaching is possible, easy and pleasant.

"I believe that even now, when this teaching is not fulfilled, if I should be the only one among all those that do not fulfill it, there is, nevertheless, nothing else for me to do for the salvation of my life from the certainty of eternal loss but to fulfil this teaching, just as a man in a burning house, if he find a door of safety, must go out.

"I believe that my life according to the teaching of the world has been a torment, and that a life according to Christ's teaching can alone give me in this world the happiness for which I was destined by the Father of Life.

"I believe that this teaching will give welfare to all humanity, will save me from inevitable destruction and will give me in this world the greatest happiness. Consequently, I cannot help fulfilling it."

The second statement which I shall quote was written some seventeen years later when Tolstoy was seventy-three. It was occasioned by the act of excommunication directed against him by the Holy Synod on account of a chapter in his great book, *Resurrection*, relative to mass and the eucharist.

"I believe in God, who is to me the Spirit, Love, the Principle of all things. I believe that he is in me and I in him. I believe that the will of God has never been more clearly expressed than in the teaching of the man, Christ, but we may not think of Christ as God and address him in prayer without committing the greatest sacrilege. I believe that the true happiness of man consists in the accomplishment of the will of God. I believe that the will of God is that every man should love his neighbor and do unto him as he would be done by; herein is contained, as the Bible says, all the law and the prophets. I believe that the meaning of life for each one of us is solely to increase this love within us; I believe that the increase of our power to love will bring about in this life a joy which will grow day by day, and in the other world will become a more perfect happiness. I believe that the growth of love will contribute more than any other force to establish on this earth the kingdom of God, that is, will replace an order of life in which division, guile and violence are all powerful by another order in which concord, truth and brotherhood will reign. I believe that for the increase of love there is but one means—prayer. Not the public prayer in temples, which Christ expressly reprov'd but the kind of prayer of which he himself gave an example, solitary prayer, which reaffirms in us a consciousness of the meaning of life and the knowledge that we depend absolutely on the will of God. I believe in life eternal. I believe that we are rewarded according to our acts here and everywhere, now and forever. I believe all this so firmly that at my age—on the borders of the grave—I ought often to make an effort to think of the death of my body as merely the birth of a new life."

My third quotation is taken from a letter written by Tolstoy the year before he died, that is, in 1909, when he was eighty-one.

"The teaching of Jesus is to me but one of the beautiful religious teachings which we have received from Egyptian, Jewish, Hindu, Chinese, Greek, antiquity. The two great principles of Jesus: the love of God, that is, absolute perfection, and the love of one's neighbor, the love of all men without any distinction whatsoever, have been preached by all the sages of the world,—Krishna, Buddha, Lao-tze, Confucius, Socrates, Plato, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius,

and among the moderns, Rousseau, Pascal, Kant, Emerson, Channing, and many others. Religious and moral truth is everywhere and always the same. I have no predilection for Christianity. If I have been especially interested in the teachings of Jesus, it is, first, because I was born and have lived among Christian people; second, because I have found a great intellectual pleasure in disengaging the pure teaching from the surprising falsifications affixed to it by churches."

These professions I do not intend to dwell upon except to note that Tolstoy, in his very old age, seemed inclined on occasion not to realize that his religion was after all profoundly Christian. In the crisis of it or at the time of what we might call his final conversion, he was drawing very little inspiration from Krishna, Confucius, Epictetus; the fountain of his religious experiences was the Scriptures and their teaching, as it culminated, to him, in the character of Jesus. But ignoring his dogmas for the moment, I wish simply to present in brief outline the life and makeup of this remarkable man as a sort of background for the conclusions he came to, and also to his multifarious and powerful influence.

Of our primary, our animal passions, Tolstoy had more than his share, and also of those other more human passions, expressed most unequivocally perhaps in that sharp conflict between fact and dream in violent, tumultuous natures. He possessed the cruelty of a confirmed and eager hunter; indeed, hunting was the last pleasure of all vicious and cruel pleasures, as he called them, which he sacrificed. After giving an account of the slow death of a wolf which he had killed by hitting it with a club on the root of the nose, he adds, "I fairly revelled as I contemplated the tortures of that dying animal." Nor to jealousy, as well as to cruelty, was he a stranger, as many a story of his boyhood testifies. In a fit of jealousy he once pushed from a balcony a little playmate of his, a girl. She was lame for a long time afterward.

Here is an early note in his journal concerning the three demons that were tormenting him: "1. Gambling. Can possibly be overcome. 2. Sensuality. Very hard struggle. 3. Vanity. Most terrible of all." Gambling was one of the routine pastimes of young men born in Tolstoy's social environment. As late as the year before his marriage, a night's high play cost him the manuscript of *The Cossacks*, which he sold to an editor for \$500 to pay his debts of honor.

Vanity, pride, conceit and self-pity were companions of his early years. Mention of them crops out constantly in his half auto-

biographical books, *Childhood, Boyhood, Youth*. "I imagined there could be no happiness on earth for a man with so big a nose as I had, such thick lips and little eyes." He speaks disconsolately of "this face without expression. These feeble, soft, characterless features remind me of peasants' features—these great hands and feet." "I wanted everybody to know me and love me," he writes, "I wished that merely on hearing my name all would be struck with admiration and thank me." From his journal again, "My great fault, pride. A self-love immense. I am so ambitious that if I had to choose between glory and virtue (which I love), I am ready to believe that I should choose the former." Turgenev spoke at one time of Tolstoy's stupid, nobleman's pride, his blustering and braggadocio. Those who have read his book *Childhood*, will recall the tears that Tolstoy poured forth, tears of self-pity, Werther tears, expressive of the sorrows that were engulfing him; they were the tears of a self-conscious, imaginative, sentimental boy. At five years of age, he felt (he says) that life was not a game, but a long, hard travail.

If it is part of the office of genius to marshall and direct vehement passions, then Tolstoy was rich in his endowment. His quiver was full of the arrows of wrath—more akin to Milton, I should say, than to any other figure of his rank in letters I can think of—to Milton whom one has called the most emotional of our English poets. Tolstoy's path was blazed with zeal, rage, indignation—boisterous, uncontrolled, calm even, satisfying. "I get drunk," he says, "with this seething madness of indignation which I love to experience, which I even excite when I feel it coming because it throws me into a sort of calm and gives me, for some moments at least, an extraordinary elasticity, the energy and fire of all physical and moral capacities."¹ This riotous temperament was housed, as we know, in a superb body; it was employed ultimately in a great passion to serve mankind. This is why one likes to dwell upon the wrath of Tolstoy.

Tolstoy divides his life into three periods which he calls, characteristically, the period in which he lived for himself; the period in which he lived for mankind; and the period in which he lived for God. Though such a division is somewhat arbitrary, I shall adopt it, as it emphasizes rather conveniently certain crises in his life. The first period came to an end at the time of his marriage; it had lasted thirty-four years. He was brought up like a good Russian in the Greek church, and as a boy accepted frankly its ritual and its

¹ From the journal of Prince Nukludov, 1857.

dogma. Many pious and simple-hearted people were about him, some of them relatives, some servants in the house, and others peasants of the estate. They and he were instinctively drawn to one another. He admired, he could not help admiring, their poverty of spirit, their loyalty, their unquestioning self-sacrifice. He used to watch old men at prayer in silent reverence. And naturally with his own frankness and sympathy and love of truth, he was just the sort of boy to win the confidence of these great-hearted people. Tolstoy owes them much both on account of their real wisdom of character and on account of the stories they used to tell him, those embodiments of joys and sorrows, actual, undefiled.

But Tolstoy's world was after all not this peasant world, but the world of the landed proprietor. As a young man at college he threw off all beliefs of the church and became an out and out nihilist,—he believed in nothing at all. This indeed was the correct attitude of the young blades of his day. It was the exaltation, one might say, and in his case a perfectly honest exaltation, of the intellect. A man must submit the beliefs of the world to the scrutiny of his reason, and if his reason says "reject," rejected they must be. It is a pure matter of logic, the cruel, uncompromising logic of youth.

This, I presume was the most unhappy period of Tolstoy's life and it lasted a good many years. Here was a man who earnestly desired to make a signal contribution, to impress a glowing personality, upon the life of his time, and his intellectual philosophy was negation. He looked about him and discovered that many who believed as he did—the great majority of them, he averred—were plain rascals; gain was the key to their conduct. They were greedy, sensual and quarrelsome; they sneered at piety and were themselves master hypocrites. And yet the creed or lack of creed of these nihilists was unimpeachable. Tolstoy put all this down in the journal; he weighed the problem, analyzed himself scathingly, and yet could come to no other conclusion. Here, then, was an *impasse*. There was, indeed, one way out of it; that was to kill himself. The demon of suicide kept Tolstoy pretty close company for many a day. Just why he did not put an end to his life is a little hard to explain, if he has given us absolutely just data of his experiences. Why did not St. Augustine kill himself? They are comparable characters; both were miserably unhappy. The demon of suicide appears to have been superseded at critical moments by a divinity that was shaping his ends. Perhaps, too, he exaggerated.

Men like this always overstate; they also in their fury fail to account for the hidden influences that transcend their logic.

There was in his case, to be sure, an alleviation other than suicide—story writing. In the distribution of talents that goes on in this world, Tolstoy was invested with an almost uncanny creative imagination. He could put himself definitely in the place of other people. And so intense and of so wide a range were his experiences and his sympathies that this talent of his allowed him to ignore momentarily his philosophy. I shall not dwell upon his early stories. They were received with immediate applause, and placed him at once in the front rank of Russia's writers. Later, in his religious zeal, he rejected them almost entire as examples of perverted art. A vain disclaimer! They were uneven, of course; of a hundred stories not all can be supreme. Yet I am not aware that one could honestly call any one of them feeble; many are masterly—none artistically untrue; nor was Tolstoy capable of writing an impure story. His intuitions belied his reason. These stories express the sort of man Tolstoy was, and Tolstoy the man, Tolstoy as he appeared in his creative work, was, I am inclined to believe, a finer personality than Tolstoy the thinker.

I do not mean by this statement, of course, that an imaginative writer should not possess a philosophy of life. The truth lies in the opposite direction. Great poets are seers; their wisdom is the wisdom of the searching minds. The poems of Homer epitomize Greek wisdom of the heroic age; Don Quixote, the plays of Moliere and of Shakespeare stand for definite views of life, unexpressed, to be sure, in the language of philosophy, but still there, and there, I assume, consciously. A poet should not be deprived of his humanity. This view was realized most clearly, I imagine, by the Greeks in their attitude toward their great dramatists. The Greeks expected from their dramatists distinct and tangible interpretations, and they were not disappointed. Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes analyzed for them the principles of moral and religious conduct.

With such a conception of art no one could have been in greater sympathy than Tolstoy, and nowhere did he practice it on a greater scale than in the two great novels of his maturity, *War and Peace*, and *Anna Karenina*. The former of these novels comes as near being a cosmos as any single work of the nineteenth century. It soon forced itself into translation, and was received the civilized world over with astonishment. That one man could know so much of life! And yet this book bears evidence of a troubled, discordant mind. That may not be a misfortune in a great work of art; it is,

however, likely to be. For those later pages of dialogue in *Paradise Lost* justifying the ways of God to man are no more surely an artistic blemish than are the chapters of preaching in Tolstoy's great novel. The lessons in a work of art follow a far different lead from the lessons in a sermon. In the former case you gather them as you may, you are somewhat loath to restate them; an appeal to the imagination can never be logically restated. But a sermon is statement; the preacher is at pains to tell you precisely in terms of reason what he means. These two methods will not combine. That Tolstoy should have been a preacher is, I think, to our great advantage, but he might have spared us his philosophical discussions in his novels.

This distinction of mind is thrown into relief by a couple of sentences taken from his correspondence. "At this moment," he writes, "I am yoking myself anew to that tiresome and vulgar *Anna Karenina*, with the sole desire of getting rid of it with all possible speed." Tolstoy was not bored merely with *Anna Karenina*; he was weary of art. The life of this modern St. Augustine had been a prolonged agony of religious doubt; the salvation of his soul, his personal responsibility, was its chief concern. How he ultimately came to see the light, he has told us in *My Confession*. From that tractate, begun in 1879, I shall quote a few passages to mark the stages of his progress from his first period of denial to his final period of faith.

"I began," he says, "to draw nearer to the believers among the poor, the simple, and the ignorant; the pilgrims, the monks, the peasants. The doctrines of these men of the people like those of the pretended believers of my own class, were Christian. Here also much that was superstitious was mingled with the truths of Christianity, but with this difference, that the superstition of the believers of our class was entirely unnecessary to them, and never influenced their lives beyond serving as a kind of Epicurean distraction; while the superstition of the believing laboring class was so interwoven with their lives that it was impossible to conceive them without it—it was a necessary condition of their living at all. The whole life of the believers of our class was in flat contradiction with their faith, and the whole life of the believers of the people was a confirmation of the meaning of life which their faith gave them."

And so he began to study the lives and the doctrines of the "people." He returned, as it were, to the past, to his childhood and youth. "I united myself," he says, "to my ancestors—to those I loved, my father, mother, and grandparents. I joined the millions

of the people whom I respect. Moreover there was nothing bad in all this, for bad with me meant the indulgence of the lusts of the flesh. When I got up early to attend divine service, I knew that I was doing well, if it were only because I tamed my intellectual pride for the sake of a closer union with my ancestors and contemporaries, and, in order to seek for a meaning in life, sacrificed my bodily comfort."

It was the same with preparing for the communion, the daily reading of prayers, with genuflections, and the observance of all the fasts. "However insignificant the sacrifices were," he says, "they were made in a good cause." He prepared for the communion, fasted, and observed regular hours for prayer both at home and at church.

Such is the picture of Tolstoy, a communicant of the orthodox church—as we shall see, a somewhat uncertain figure.

"I shall never forget," he goes on, "the painful feeling I experienced when I took communion for the first time after many years.... It was such happiness for me to humble myself with a quiet heart before the confessor, a simple and mild priest, and, repenting of my sins, to lay bare all the mire of my soul; it was such happiness to be united in spirit with the meek fathers of the church who composed these prayers; such happiness to be one with all who have believed and who do believe, that I could not feel my explanation was artificial".... "But," he adds, "when I drew near to the 'holy gates' and the priest called on me to repeat that I believed that what I was about to swallow was the real body and blood, it cut me to the heart; it was a false note, though small; it was no unconsidered word; it was the cruel demand of one who had evidently never known what faith was."

In this condition Tolstoy lived for three years; it was while he was writing *Anna Karenina*. The ideals of his own class, represented by the chief characters in that book, had become odious to him, he was turning for religious guidance to the people. They only were on the right track; they only had grasped the teachings of Jesus. Yet a searcher must make distinctions. "The people," he affirms, "as a whole had a knowledge of truth; this was incontestable, for otherwise they could not live. Moreover, this knowledge of truth was open to me; I was already living by it, and felt all its force; but in that same knowledge there was also error. Of that again I could not doubt. All, however, that formerly repelled me now presented itself in a vivid light. Although I saw that there was less of what had repelled me as false among the people than among the

representatives of the church, I also saw that in the belief of the people what was false was mingled with what was true."

Tolstoy is now passing into his third period—as he puts it, the period in which he lived for God. The immediate occasion of his break with the church was the Turko-Russian war of 1877. "At this time," he says, "Russia was engaged in war; and in the name of Christian love, Russians were engaged in slaying their brethren. Not to think of this was impossible. But at the same time in the churches men were praying for the success of our arms, and the teachers of religion were accepting these murders as acts which were the consequence of faith. Not only murder in actual warfare was approved, but, during the troubles which ensued, I saw members of the church, her teachers, monks and ascetics, approving of the murder of erring and helpless youths. I looked round on all that was done by men who professed to be Christians, and I was horrified."

The Tolstoy who now emerges, Tolstoy at the age of fifty, is the man we know best. "Leon is always working," his wife writes. "Alas! he is writing some sort of religious treatises. He lies and reflects until his head splits, and all to prove that the church is not in accord with the teaching of the Gospels. I doubt if his efforts interest a dozen people in Russia. But there is nothing to do for it. I only hope that it will be over with quickly, and pass away like a disease." To him she wrote: "That you should waste such extraordinary intellectual force in chopping wood, heating the samovar and in cobbling shoes, saddens me." And later: "Well, I take comfort in the Russian proverb, 'Let the child have his way, provided he doesn't cry.'"

This is expert testimony; yet the views of Mme. Tolstoy concerning her husband do not coincide fully, I imagine, with our own. A prophet, to be sure, is likely to be troublesome about the house. And Tolstoy, we must know, was what William James calls a twice-born man. His mother gave birth to him in 1828; but one birth is never enough for a saint. The Isaiahs and the Pascals and the Bunyans always have to be born again; otherwise, like most of us, they die. No Greek that I know of, and no Roman, was ever born more than once; they were, as Carlyle says, the best of them, terribly at ease in Zion. But the Hebrews and the Christians, the prophets and the saints among them, were never satisfied—are never satisfied—with but one birth. Tolstoy had several of them, and the latest was always prone to be a little more painful than the one

before. Such profusion is undomestic. Let us now turn to one or two other considerations.

If you recall the statements I quoted at the beginning of this sketch, you noted one spirited denial, the denial of the divinity of Christ. Tolstoy was excommunicated from one church and could have joined no other, Catholic or Evangelical; nor could he have become an active member of the Y. M. C. A. All connections of such a nature would have entailed an intellectual compromise as abhorrent to him as it was impossible. To Tolstoy's imperious, Russian mind, creeds could not be "restated," and yet he was as far removed from a mere moralist as was a medieval saint. His religion was a religion of faith, it rested not at all on "good works." The first article in the creed of a man of religion is to get himself right with his God. This becomes his passion and until that matter is settled, the world about him counts for nothing. The words, "benevolence," "philanthropy," "horse-sense," while the struggle is on, bring no comfort to such a man. They appear rather as mere babblings, a cheap way out of it. Tolstoy is not at home with the moralists; his place is among that rarer, more positive company of men of religion, whose good works are simply an inevitable offshoot of their faith. Thus, in spite of the denial I have mentioned, Tolstoy ranks with the great religious leaders.

A question naturally arises, Can a man be at once both a prophet and an artist? And the answer is, I take it, Yes, religion and art may lie down together like the tiger and the lamb, but the lamb must always lie inside the tiger. Tolstoy remained a great artist, but during his later life his art always served his religion. In his book, *What is Art?* published in 1898, Tolstoy being at the time 70 years of age, he denies to art the quality of beauty, a quality which the Greeks insisted upon. To his mind the artistic activity is simply the evoking in oneself feelings one has once experienced and then having evoked them, consciously handing them on, by means of certain external signs, so that others may be infected by these feelings and also experience them. His definition proper goes no further than this; but the definition is not the most significant part of that book. Distinctions between good and bad art do not interest Tolstoy, although he uses those words constantly; his distinctions, as a man of religion, are between art "worth while" and art perverted. Art worth while, he affirms, should in the first place express those primary emotions—love, hatred, jealousy, fear—in such terms that all people, the peasant as well as the philosopher, may understand them. Ibsen's "The Master Builder" is intelligible only

to a class; it is therefore an example of perverted art. The *Odyssey* is an example of art worth while. In the second place, great art, supreme art, should have as its fundamental theme the Christian gospel of brotherly love. That is art most worth while. *Adam Bede*, *The Christmas Carol*, the works of Dostoyevsky, the story of Joseph and his brethren, are a few examples of art on the theme of brotherly love.

Those who have familiarized themselves with the sequence of Tolstoy's imaginative writing have noticed the effect of these theories upon it. His art undergoes a renewal. No longer are his stories mere transcripts of life; in fact, most of them, his assertions to the contrary notwithstanding, were never quite that. But now they serve much more consciously his religious ideals. Among them appear what might be called parables, *Two Old Men*, *The Death of Ivan Iliitch*, *Master and Man*—with this distinction: The characters in Tolstoy's finest parables, unlike those in the parables we are most familiar with, are never types; they are always individualized. The stories wear their rue of sermonizing with a difference. I seem to see the lamb of art lying down most trustfully very near but yet outside the tiger of religion. *Resurrection*, the great novel of his old age, is a Pilgrim's Progress through a *real* world. Perhaps the main characters are not so sharply defined as in *Anna Karenina*: Tolstoy did not know them quite so well. He is an old man now, and the turmoil and contradictions of youth have in part escaped him. But the critic approaches *Resurrection* softly, for it stands among the fairest and most authentic "poems of human compassion."

Tolstoy's character takes on much of the complexity of the modern age, yet so sharp are its main features that it seems at times almost simple. It was a brutal act, perhaps, for him to thrust his diary into the hands of his betrothed, knowing that she would read it in tears; the act may have been brutal; to him it was a gage to sheer honesty. On the evening of his return from a visit to the slums of Moscow, he began to argue with a friend, but with such warmth and so angrily that his wife rushed in from an adjoining room to ask what had happened. "It appeared,"² he says, "that I had, without being aware of it, shouted out in an agonized voice, gesticulating wildly, 'We should not go on living in this way! We must not live so! We have no right!'" He was rebuked for his unnecessary excitement, was told that he could not talk quietly upon any question, that he was irritable, and it was pointed out to him that the existence of such misery as he had witnessed should in no way be

² From *What Shall We Do?*

a reason for embittering the life of the home circle. Simple-minded Tolstoy! "I felt," he adds naively, "that this was perfectly just, and held my tongue; but in the depth of my soul I knew that I was right, and I could not quiet my conscience." It was this unquiet conscience that sent him off finally to die alone.

In the morning papers of December 8, 1912, there appeared among the headlines the announcement of the printing of Tolstoy's diary. The appended article gave a few extracts, evidently from a preface. From this, in closing, I shall quote briefly, allowing Tolstoy the ultimate word. "After all," he wrote, "let my diaries remain as they are. It may be seen from them that in spite of the misery of my youth, God did not abandon me and that as I grew older I learned, however little, to understand and to love Him." "I have had moments," he continues, "when I have sometimes been so impure and so subject to personal passions that the light of this truth has been obscured by my own obscurity; but in spite of all, I have served at times as the intermediary for His truth, and those have been the happiest moments of my life." What a change here from that head-long Tolstoy who one day came from the Caucasus to ally himself with the devotees of art! And what a contrast too, between the fine renunciation of these words and the arrogance of that other confessor of a century before—Rousseau! "May God will that, passing through me, these truths have not been sullied, and may mankind find in them its pasture. It is only in that that my writings have importance." Finally, "If the people of the world wish to read my writing, let them dwell on those passages where I know the Divine power has spoken through me, and let them profit from them throughout their lives."

WANG-AN-SHIH.

A CHINESE SOCIALIST STATESMAN OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

BY HERBERT H. GOWEN.

WHEN Dr. Aurel Stein was excavating in the Tun-huang oasis five years ago, among other highly interesting relics of the Han dynasty, two thousand years ago, he came upon a big hammer of wood such as is used for pitching tents. It was in such perfect condition and so useful, that he remarked, "I could not prevent my men taking it into daily use for its original purpose during the rest of my journey."

In much the same way we come occasionally upon the long buried human story which, when cleared of the desert sand, proves to be of unexpected use under the most modern circumstances. Possibly those who know more than I do about political economy, and the various tendencies of the time which are loosely termed socialistic, may find this to be the case with the story of Wang-an shih,¹ the great Chinese statesman of the Sung dynasty.

The world is ready to concede that China is to-day learning and preparing to use many of the painfully acquired lessons of our western civilization. Perhaps it has occurred to but few to inquire whether or not China may possess in her wonderful history lessons which are not altogether lost to memory and which, both by way of example and warning, should prove useful to us in America and Europe! After all, China is an experiment in democracy vastly older than anything else which exists, and out of the treasures of her experience it should be possible to draw lessons not a few.

A certain Chinaman, the story runs, lived in the Liao-tung

¹ The most recent account of Wang-an-shih is to be found in the Russian work "Wang-an-shih and His Reforms," by A. I. Iwanowa, St. Petersburg, 1909. Much also of interest may be found in Rémusat, Panthier and Du Mailla. In English Giles's monumental *Chinese Biographical Dictionary* and *History of Chinese Literature* furnish much interesting information.

region where all the pigs were black. On one occasion, however, a litter was born in which there were some pigs which were white. Thinking that these must necessarily be a rarity at court and a worthy present for the Son of Heaven, the peasant drove them, with no little difficulty, toward the capital. Alas, great was his disappointment to find that here all the pigs were white. Once it was the fashion to draw all illustrations from the history of China as black pigs over against our own white onces. Men are beginning at last to perceive that history teaches much the same lessons everywhere, east and west, and that what one nation has learned in antiquity is not unworthy of the attention of the modern state.

I feel sure that Wang-an-shih has the right to a new lease of popular interest and I wish I could do something to restore the superseded tablet in the Hall of Confucius, not because of any conviction I have as to the soundness of his political views—of these I am not competent to judge—but because, in the first place, his passion for social justice, and his tremendous importance as one who organized great social reforms under the Sung emperors, make him inevitably interesting to those who watch sympathetically the experiment of popular government in China to-day; secondly because, in this age of political unrest and experiment amongst ourselves, the exponent of a somewhat extreme form of state socialism (I think we may fairly use the term) must awaken at least curiosity and attention.

The experiment made by Wang failed, for reasons we shall presently notice, but the man himself remains notable for the human qualities of sympathy and courage which are the monopoly of no one nation or time. The China of the eleventh century was composed, as throughout most centuries, of the proud, overbearing official classes, and the toiling, for the most part silent masses. The relation of the two has been compared by an old poet as that of the bean stalks which were used as fuel to the beans cooking in the pot.

"A kettle had beans inside
And stalks of the bean made a fire;
And the beans to their brother-stalks cried,
'We spring from one root,—why such ire?'"

Wang-an-shih's sympathy² was always with the down-trodden and oppressed. He possessed also that calm courage which was proof against every discouragement arising from failure and against every

² "While Wang-an-shih laid great stress upon the foundation of prosperity being in the increased wealth of the nation yet his intense sympathy with the people and his anxiety for their welfare ennobled all his plans with a high standard of moral worth."—J. C. Ferguson, *J. N. Ch. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXXV.

opposition arising from the contrary convictions and misunderstandings of rival politicians. It is worth noting that the third syllable of his name, *shih*, means "stone," and as a stone he endured the rebuffs of time and fate. The second syllable, *an*, means "peace," which was his constant aim, though he enjoyed little of it himself. The first syllable, *Wang*, means "king," and, to all who love high purpose and unshaken courage, a king he was.

Let us gather together a few of the biographical details which will give his story shape, and assist the reader to fix the place of Wang in Chinese history. The Sung dynasty (A. D. 960-1279) had come as a period of welcome relief to that period of practical anarchy (known as the "five small dynasties," A. D. 905-960) which had given the country five lines of monarchs in little more than fifty years. The new era began with the throwing of the yellow robe over the shoulders of a drunken common soldier much as in the later days of the Roman empire the soldiers of the Praetorian Guard might bestow the purple upon some Dalmatian or Illyrian comrade.

This was not a promising commencement, but it disappointed the prophets of evil. For a century the Sung dynasty continued famous for its political security as well as for the unique prestige of its artists, poets and philosophers.³ The evil days of the Mongol invasions, preceded by the bitter struggle between the Khitan and Kim Tatars and the establishment of the latter as the sovereigns of China north of the Yang-tsze-kiang for the last century of the period, had not dawned when Wang-an-shih was born, A. D. 1021, in Lin-ch'uan, in the province of Kiang-si. He was a son of a secretary of one of the Six Boards and soon vindicated his entry into a literary family. As a student he was exceptionally clever and historians of the time have left on record how he used to make his pen "fly over the paper" in the examinations. Through the influence of an important official, Ou-yang-hsiu, who admired some of his early essays, Wang gained official position at an early age, and became the magistrate in charge of a district in Chih-kiang. Here his interest in social reform exhibited itself in the vigor with which he attacked that perennial problem of Chinese administrators, the protection of the country from the floods caused by the overflowing rivers. Before long he was elevated to a position in the Department of Justice, and, in A. D. 1060, after serving with dis-

³ "Dès les premières années du 11^{me} siècle un élan extraordinaire était donné à la littérature nationale. Toutes les branches à la fois eurent part à cette renaissance. Des historiographes, des poètes, des philosophes, des commentateurs et des critiques érudits parurent en grande nombre."—P. St. Le Gall.

tion in various judicial capacities, was honored with the appointment, by the imperial mandate, to one of the highest offices in the judiciary in the kingdom.

The Emperor, Ying Tsung, showed his own personal regard by inviting Wang to court, but the young judge declined as being so far unworthy of the inestimable privilege of beholding the Dragon countenance. The sincerity of his modesty, it may be said, has been doubted by some of his rivals and detractors.

A year or two later, just at the time when the Norman William was pushing home his claim to the realm of Saxon England, a new monarch, Shen Tsung, assumed the throne of the Sungs and inaugurated his reign by acts of signal favor bestowed upon Wang. In rapid succession the offices came to him of the prefecture of Kiang-ning, the expositorship of the Han-lin College and, in A. D. 1069, the state councillorship. In this latter position he was the confidential adviser of the emperor and supreme head of the actual government. He had practically the position now held in England by the prime minister and in this capacity inaugurated a series of reforms, which, if undertaken to-day, would cause Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George by comparison to be relegated to the ranks of timid and cautious conservatives.

It speaks volumes for the tact and adroitness of the Chinese statesman in his hour of power that he should have been able to allay any misgivings which his royal master may have entertained. It speaks much also for the essential democracy of the Chinese people that the emperor should have permitted such far-reaching and all-embracing experiments. But it is to be remembered that Wang-an-shih based all his reforming zeal on an avowed loyalty (doubtless sincere) to the traditions of China. In everything that he attempted he professed the desire to interpret for new times the spirit of the ancient classics. In his most radical moments he was still the *literatus*, and the fact that the *literatus* was regarded as *propre à tout* went a long way toward disguising the revolutionary character of some of his proposals.

Let me take the opportunity to emphasize Wang's importance as a man of letters before I turn to consider his work as a reformer. The publication of new and more correct interpretations of the classics was almost his first labor. He realized from the outset that there would be the inevitable examination of his theories by the standards of Confucius and Mencius, and he wished to prepare himself and the people for the test. Many other books beside the "Five King" and the "Four Shu" helped him in this stage of his

work. "I have been," he said, "an omnivorous reader of books of all kinds, even for example, of ancient medical and botanical works. I have, moreover, dipped into treatises on agriculture and on needle-work, all of which I have found very profitable in aiding me to seize the great scheme of the canon itself."

He realized, again, the need he would have for the support of a people better instructed than heretofore in practical subjects. Hence he made a brave but eventually futile assault upon the old examination system, which was even then venerable, and even then stultifying. The reform at which he aimed was the substitution of a knowledge of practical things for the graces and elegances of style. Some result followed, at least for the time. "Even the pupils at village schools threw away their text-books of rhetoric and began to study primers of history, geography and political economy."

His love of literature, moreover, was by no means purely utilitarian, and his worst enemies have allowed that had he never essayed the responsibilities of statesmanship, he would still have remained a conspicuous figure among those who have been canonized as "men of letters." His work on the written characters of the Chinese language is not without its use to-day, and some of his poems have survived to engage the interest and skill of our modern translators. He wrote many of these amid the cares of office. The following, translated by Professor Giles, has an almost pathetic interest as the account of a *nuît blanche* during the stress and strain of the great economic revolution.

"The incense stick is burnt to ash,
The water clock is stilled,
The midnight breeze blows sharply by,
And all around is chilled.
Yet I am kept from slumber
By the beauty of the spring.
Sweet shapes of flowers across the blind
The quivering moonbeams fling."

All other interests, however, in the life of Wang-an-shih sink into insignificance in comparison with his great battle for social and political reform. I have already referred to the fact that he based his proposals upon the essentially democratic spirit of Chinese institutions in former epochs. He protested against the idea of being an innovator. He was as anxious as Confucius himself to be judged rather as a transmitter and a re-interpreter. This comes out very clearly in a letter he once wrote to a friend.

"I have been debarred," he said, "by illness from writing to you

now for some time, though my thoughts have been with you all the while. In reply to my last letter, wherein I expressed a fear that you were not progressing with your study of the canons, I have received several from you, in all of which you seem to think I meant the canon of Buddha, and you are astonished at my recommendation of such pernicious works. But how could I possibly have intended any other than the canon of the sages of China? And for you to have thus missed the point of my letter is a good illustration of what I meant when I said you were not progressing with your study of the canon. Now a thorough knowledge of our canon has not been attained by any one for a very long period. Study of the canon alone does not suffice for a thorough knowledge of the canon. For learning in these days is a totally different pursuit from what it was in the olden times; and it is now impossible otherwise to get at the real meaning of our ancient sages."

Wang was not altogether wrong in this respect.⁴ China has by no means derived all her ideas as to enlightened government and the science of political economy from the outside. Once when Sze-ma-kiang (Wang-an-shih's great contemporary) was told that the fabled beast, known as the Ki-lin, the omen of national prosperity, had been brought to the land as a gift from a foreign potentate, he made the memorable reply that the Ki-lin did not need to be sent from abroad, seeing that it appears of itself whenever the land is well governed.

So it has been with ideas of reform in China. They have been nourished by age-long dwelling upon the virtues of the "model emperors," Yao and Shun; they have been enforced by many and many an example of dynasties going down to ruin through neglect of popular rights, of kings dethroned or slain for riding through the standing corn of their subjects, and, on the other hand, of rulers idolized and honored because of their willingness to bear the burdens and responsibilities of sovereignty even to the sacrifice of life itself. Again and again are these ideas emphasized and expounded by the great political economists of earlier days. Especially do they have behind them the almost paramount authority of Mencius, who waged vigorous and unceasing war against trusts and "corners," favored

⁴The Chinese sages had a firm faith in administration. Cf. Legge: "He (Confucius) held that there was in men an adoption and readiness to be governed, which only needed to be taken advantage of in the proper way. There must be the right administrators, but given those, and the growth of government would be rapid, just as vegetation is rapid in the earth." Also Faber: "Mencius is, like his master, simply a teacher of political economy. To him the state is the sum of all human endeavors, natural and civilized, working together as a united organization."

the taxation of idleness (i. e., of consumers who lived on wealth which had been amassed by others), and maintained that of these three things, "the gods, the sovereign and the people," the people came first, the gods second and the sovereign last of all.

There can be little doubt that Wang-an-shih was much indebted to his predecessors, however startling his reforms appeared to his contemporaries.⁵ The "dismal science" had always been popular and had produced, in the seventh century B. C., one of China's very greatest men, Kuan Chung, minister of the court of Ch'i, who held the theory that the ideal state must be self-contained, that it must be agricultural in order to exist in time of war, that it must be manufacturing in order to get wealth in time of peace, and much else that is interesting enough in its own place.

What were the particular reforms for which Wang-an-shih contended? The basis was the desire to create a state monopoly in agriculture, industry and commerce. "The state," he said, "should take the entire management of commerce, industry and agriculture into its own hands, with a view to succoring the working classes and preventing their being ground to the dust by the rich."

His plan involved, first of all, the establishment of new departments of the government to meet the extended system of administration. The soil had to be re-measured, divided into equal areas, graded according to its fertility without regard to the number of inhabitants in the area, in order that a new basis of taxation might be discovered.

Then the produce of each district had to be dealt with. It was no longer to be sent to the capital for sale "on behalf of the imperial exchequer," a system wasteful both to the government and to the district, but to be used in the three following ways. First, it was to be used for the payment of taxes; secondly, for the needs of the district in which it had been produced; thirdly, the remainder was to be sold to the imperial government, at as cheap a rate as was practicable, in order that the government might, at its own discretion, either hold it for a rise in price, or dispose of it for the relief of any districts that might be in danger of scarcity or famine.

For the determination of values tribunals were established in

⁵ Thus a writer in the *China Review*, hostile to the reformer (whom he calls "the infamous minister of the Sung dynasty"), although he writes of "Wang-an-shih, the Innovator," yet confesses: "His so-called new laws were general not new at all, but in most cases merely the obsolete rules of past dynasties which had proved either too burdensome or too tyrannical to be borne any longer. These he amplified or altered to such an extent as to enable him to claim the credit of devising them for the reformation of the government."

the various provinces of the empire whose function it should be to regulate day by day the price of labor on the one hand and, on the other hand, the cost of food and merchandise. By means of these tribunals the general public was protected from the avarice of merchants and the tyranny of trusts.

Tribunals were furthermore established for the distribution of state aid to the farmers by a system of loans, on which interest had to be paid at the rate of 2% per month. Aid was also given in the form of seed which was distributed for the sowing of the waste lands. These were to be cultivated by those who otherwise would have been unemployed, and the sole condition seems to have been the obligation to repay out of the harvest the cost of the seed.

The poor, so far as was possible, were exempt from all taxation, but the pressure on the rich was made correspondingly severe. From the taxes collected large reserves of money were held by the state in order that provision might be made for old-age pensions, relief for the sick and needy, and support for the unemployed in "hard times."

Wang-an-shih's care for the social amelioration of the people of the Eighteen Provinces in times of peace did not blind him to the need of guaranteeing security from invasion from without on the part of a foreign foe. Some of his enactments for the purpose of providing an army in time of need, without withdrawing the people from their avocations in time of peace, are worthy of mention. For instance, it was ordered that every family which included more than two males must be bound, in time of imminent war, to furnish one who should serve as a soldier. Every family also was obliged to keep a horse, to ensure a supply of cavalry whenever required. As, however, the horse and his fodder were supplied by the government, the balance of advantage lay with the potential cavalryman.

It is impossible to describe in detail the fortunes of this gigantic struggle, the obstacles which had to be overcome, the suspicions allayed. Suffice it to say that for ten years Wang-an-shih remained in power and succeeded in maintaining the confidence of his emperor and his hold on the nation. It would be unfair to say that it broke down without achieving any good result. Sometimes men gain happiness in the very hope of social betterment, although the hope itself is bitterly belied. A famous Chinese general once encouraged an army, exhausted and fainting with thirst, by announcing that a little further on they would reach an orchard of plum trees, laden with luscious fruit. The promise had no grounds in reality, but the mention of plums made the mouths of the soldiers water to

such an extent that their thirst was relieved, and they continued their march. So possibly many a toil-worn, mandarin-ridden peasant found his thirst for social justice assuaged by the manifestly sincere attempt of the great councillor to give them "the square deal."

Moreover, if the experiment broke down, there are manifold reasons which may be assigned apart from those which are the condemnation of the entire policy. No doubt the failure is in part to be ascribed to Wang's own political inexperience. For instance, when he abolished all restrictions on the export of copper, the result was that "even the common copper *cash* were melted down and made into articles for sale and exportation." Wang met the panic, says Professor Giles, "by simply doubling the value of each *cash*." But, in all probability, the major part of his failure is to be ascribed to the strenuous opposition of his contemporaries. This opposition was not, it may be noted, solely from rival statesmen, out of office. Even the populace was stirred to hostility, in spite of the fact that the innovations were in their interest, because the *fung-shui*, or "luck" of the land seemed to be affected and an outraged Nature was pouring calamities upon the nation in the shape of flood, earthquake and eclipse. Occurrences such as these, common though they were in every period of Chinese history and under every regime, soon engaged the attention of the censors. In vain Wang adopted the scientific attitude and declared that these things were the result of fixed and invariable laws. "Do you desire," he demanded, "that nature should impose upon herself other laws just out of consideration for you?" Other matters contributed to the growing popular distrust. The advantage to the individual agriculturist was not so speedily obvious as had been expected; the militia enrollment pressed heavily on families which had grown accustomed rather to sudden compulsion than to continued preparedness; the responsibility entailed by the adoption of the "tithing" or "grouping" system, whereby each group of five households was made answerable for the misdeeds of any of its individual members, was unwelcome; all these things together gradually converted the enthusiasm of the proletariat into lukewarmness and hostility.

Popular doubts and hesitations, moreover, found able expression and powerful support in the leaders of the old political order which Wang-an-shih's accession to power had displaced. Among these were: Han K'i, notorious, as one famous Chinese story shows, for his self-sacrificing solicitude for the empire; Su She, who, on account of his opposition to Wang, fell into disgrace and was dismissed from office at the capital to a semi-exile as governor of

Hwang-chow ; Wang-an-kwoh, the reformer's own brother, himself a celebrated scholar but an uncompromising antagonist of the new order ; also Yang Che, the celebrated metaphysician and pupil of the two Chêngs. Greatest of all was the historian, poet and statesman Sze-ma-kiang, who had at first been blinded and dazzled by Wang's brilliant genius, but had gradually become convinced of the peril of his schemes.

The love of the past which distinguished Sze-ma-kiang was not overshadowed by any visions of a millennial future such as Wang had conjured up. Ever a fearless counsellor, he was not slow to join issue with what he believed to be the wild and mischievous tendencies of a degenerate age. His motto, says Remusat, was : "*Le premier devoir d'un censeur est de dire la vérité,*" and he lived up to this conviction most consistently. The contest was, to quote again the great French scholar, "*un combat à armes égales.*" It was one between "*le génie conservateur qui éternise la durée des empires et cet esprit d'innovation qui les ébranle.*"

For some ten years the victory had rested with Wang-an-shih, though it must be confessed, neither the emperor nor his minister showed any lack of generosity toward the deposed Sze-ma-kiang. Much against his will, but in obedience to a sense of fitness we cannot regret, he was appointed to the presidency of the Han-lin Academy. He protested that his opinions were out of sympathy with those then prevailing in the great university. "All the better," replied the emperor, "for either you will persuade the rest to think as you do, or else they will convince you to think as they do." Sze-ma-kiang went, however, reluctantly, and, as I have hinted, we have good reason to bless the sage emperor for his appointment, since it was during these years of comparative leisure that the historian produced his monumental work, one of the great histories of pre-Manchu times, "*The Comprehensive Mirror.*" He lived, moreover, to witness, in the whirligig of time, the downfall of his rival, and to accept, with equanimity be it said, his own reinstatement. The two great leaders, representatives of such opposite principles of government, died in the same year, A. D. 1086, leaving China the poorer for the loss of two noble and unselfish statesmen.

So the great social revolution from which great results had been expected, came apparently to nothing, and left as little trace upon the years that followed as the great religious revolution of Amen-hotep IV left upon the Egypt of the aftertime. Ruined by the inexperience of its administrators, by the impatience of those who were the objects of the reformer's care and by the rapacity of

the underlings and satellites who collected the interest and disbursed the aid of the state, the policy of Wang-an-shih was reversed with few able or willing to protest. The disfavor into which he fell at court was both revealed and concealed by his appointment as governor of Nan King, and although ere long he was reinstated in the capital, he died without seeing the pendulum of popular favor or royal patronage swing again towards him. He died, as we have said, A. D. 1086, disillusioned and disappointed, but, nevertheless, displaying to the end the self-possession and stoical calm of the true Chinese sage.⁹

Yet, less than twenty years after his death, in the year A. D. 1104, his tablet was set up in the Hall of Confucius and he was hailed as the greatest thinker China had produced since the time of Mencius. A century and a half later the tablet was removed and, during the troublous times that came on China with the ravages of Jenghiz Khan and his successors, there was little or no disposition to recall his memory. It is even said (the suggestion is that of the Abbé Huc, in a passage which I have always wished were fuller), that the devastating career of the great Mongol conqueror owed not a little to those unquiet spirits, the last remains of Wang-an-shih's reformers, who had left their native land and flocked to the banners of the scourge of Asia.

Whatever one may think of the statesman and the political economist, it seems to me that Wang-an-shih as a man passionate and persistent in the cause of social justice, deserves his little meed of mention to-day. We see him, it is to be remembered, principally through the eyes and writings of his professed rivals and enemies, but making all due allowance for misrepresentation, we see him much as he must have been. He was a frugal man, overconfident in his opinions and obstinate. We may agree that the soubriquet by which he was known—"the obstinate minister"—was in all likelihood well earned. He was also denounced as a dirty

⁹ For a fair summing up of Wang's career, see Du Mailla, *Histoire générale de la Chine*, VIII, p. 305: "Les historiens chinois me semblent perler avec trop de passion contre les nouveaux règlements de Quang-ngan-ché, surtout contre le prêt des grains au printemps qu'on devait rendre en automne avec un léger intérêt; ce règlement étoit favorable aux cultivateurs indigènes; et par-conséquent très avantageux à l'état dont il augmentait les richesses; mais il devoit être odieux aux usuriers qui ne subsistent que du sang des malheureux, et peut-être sont ce les clameurs de ces sangsues qui ont animé beaucoup de grands contre ce plan économique; je remarque que ces grands décrient ce ministre sans apporter des raisons solides contre ses opérations; ils attaquent l'homme pour détruire l'ouvrage, ce qui masque assez le disette de leurs preuves contre son plan. Quang-ngan-ché à mon avis étoit un grand ministre, que les Chinois, attachés trop aveuglement à leurs anciens usages, n'ont pas sçu connoître, et à qui ils ne rendent pas la justice qu'il meritoit."

man who did not wash his clothes. It is possible, even in China, but after all rival statesmen say worse things of one another to-day.

In any case, to use again the illustration from the Tun-huang oasis with which I began, am I wrong in thinking that we have here in the story of Wang-an-shih a long buried hammer (we will not say "big stick") with which a few blows may yet be struck as we march on—"on to the bound of the waste, on to the City of God"? Let us hope that the blows may be struck mainly in the cause of tent-pitching, though it is too true travelers have to strike camp as well as to pitch, if they would move on. At least, when each day's march is done, let us not be shelterless, for it is as uncomfortable to-day as it was two thousand years ago to be left to the mercy of the desert winds and the drifting sands.

THE PORTRAYAL OF CHRIST.

BY THE EDITOR.

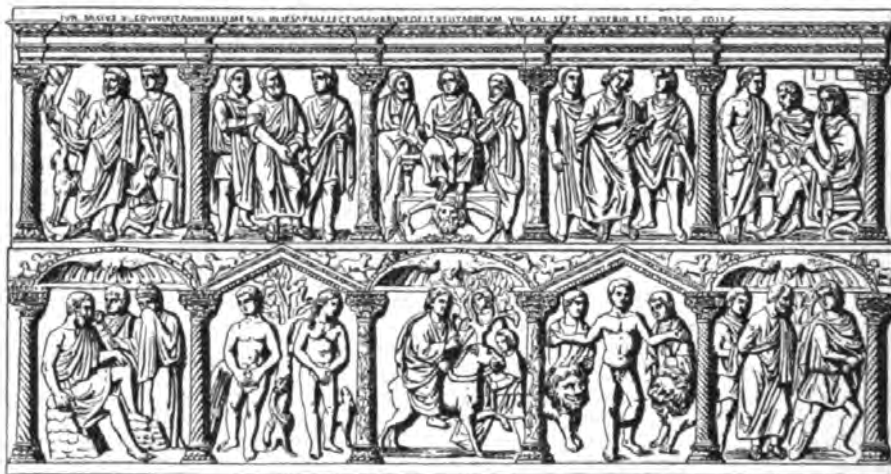
[CONTINUED FROM THE DECEMBER NUMBER.]

The pictures of Christ as Orpheus or as the good shepherd are not yet to be understood as portraits, but merely as symbols. While Christianity grew in power it broadened in spirit, so that the Christian prejudice against art as idolatry was lessened, and when paganism had practically disappeared the desire to have portraits of Christ could at last find unimpeded satisfaction.

The symbolic representation of Christ as the good shepherd is of special importance because from it developed the first conception of a portrait of Christ himself. The good shepherd became the prototype of a picture of Jesus simply by the omission of the lamb, and so some of the oldest attempts at portraying him in human form which originated in the middle of the fourth century show him as a beardless youth, a shepherd boy, as for instance on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, whose death is definitely determined by the inscription as having taken place in the year of the consuls Eusebius and Hypatius, 450 A. D.

Most of the scenes on the sarcophagus can be easily identified. Here, as in most of the Christ-representations of this type, Jesus can always be distinguished from other characters by the scroll he carries in his hand. In the center of the upper row Christ is enthroned between the apostles Peter and Paul. His feet rest on the personification of the vault of heaven. Underneath, Christ is passing from Jericho to Jerusalem. We see the head of Zacchæus in the sycamore tree among the branches, while some other person is spreading out a mantle on the pathway. To the right of this group we see Daniel in the lions' den, and to the left Adam and Eve after the fall. In the upper row in the left corner is the scene where Abraham is prevented from sacrificing Isaac, by his side the lamb which is to serve as a substitute. In the upper right-hand corner is Christ

offering to wash Peter's feet. The next niche seems to represent Christ on his way to Emmaus between the two disciples. In scenes



THE SARCOPHAGUS OF JUNIUS BASSUS.

In the Vatican.

of the passion, as for instance in the second group from the left in the upper row, Christ is bearded.



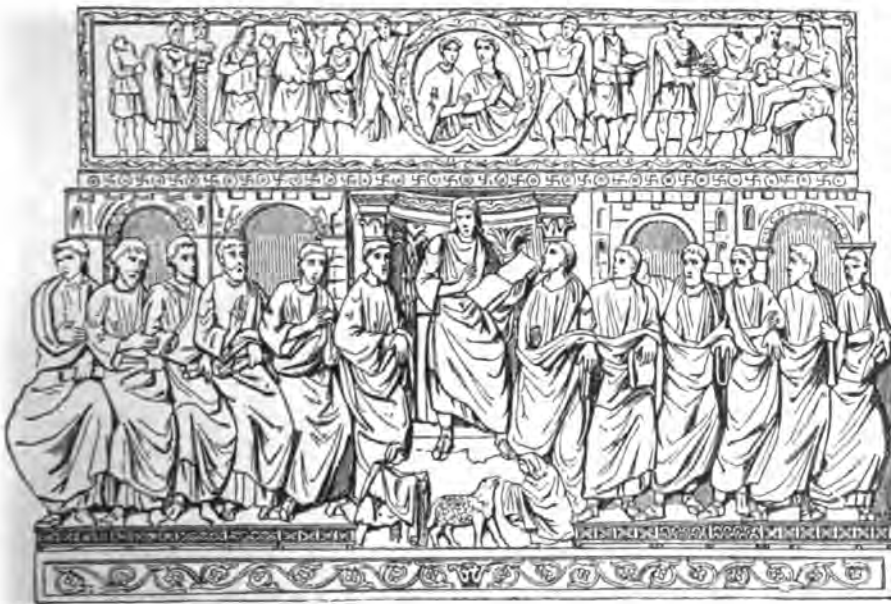
FRESCO FROM THE CATACOMB OF ST. CALLISTUS.

A fine fresco showing the youthful Christ in company with four saints has been discovered in the catacombs of St. Callistus and transferred to the Lateran. The saint on the extreme left

points to a star, presumably the star of Bethlehem. Christ holds a book in his left hand and a box with three scrolls stands at the left side of his throne. The picture shows too many traces of a later restoration and in this shape can scarcely be regarded as a true original.

A sarcophagus in the church of St. Ambrosius in Milan shows Christ enthroned in the midst of the twelve apostles who like himself are beardless and are clad in Roman tunics. In this relief he seems to be expounding from an open book which here takes the place of the more usual scroll.

On one relief on a sarcophagus of Arles, fully described by



THE SARCOPHAGUS IN ST. AMBROSIUS, MILAN.

the French archeologist Le Blant in his *Sarcophages d'Arles*, Christ with a scroll in his left hand again is represented seated in a teaching attitude, while his disciples crowd around listening to his words with marked attention, two being prostrate, and two in token of worship covering their faces with kerchiefs.

Such beardless Christs are preserved on many sarcophagi and elsewhere, and the type continues down to Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo's Last Judgment. Most of the apostles were represented as bearded men of rather advanced age, while the Christ of this conception always remains their junior and appears sometimes even as a youth after the fashion of the good shepherd.

One instance of many others portrays the youthful Christ in the act of handing the keys to St. Peter. It is shown in a relief on a small silver jug in the Vatican museum.

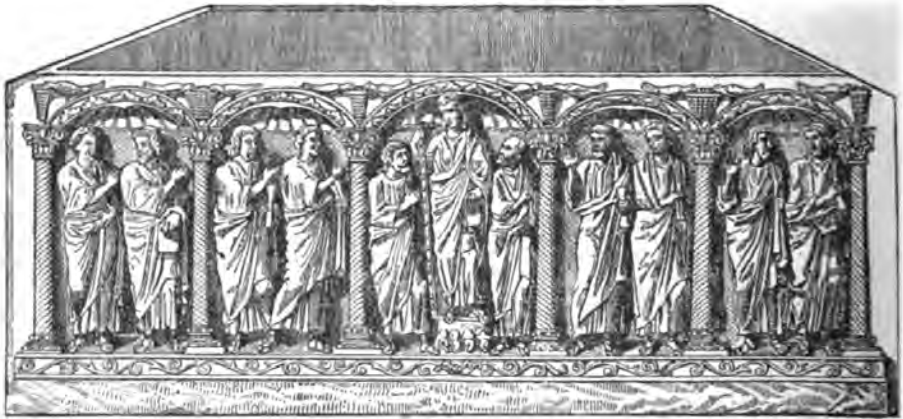


CHRIST WITH A SCROLL.
Relief on a Sarcophagus of Arles.



DELIVERING THE KEY TO ST. PETER.
Relief on a vessel after Bottari.

Among the sarcophagi in the Vatican, the one of Probus and Proba contains five niches. In the central one Christ is standing between Peter and Paul on a mount from which four streams of water proceed, while the other niches, all formed by arched columns,



THE SARCOPHAGUS OF PROBUS AND PROBA.
In the Vatican.

are filled with eight apostles, two in each niche. Christ himself is beardless, holding in his right hand a cross adorned with gems and in his left a scroll.

The Lateran possesses the richest collection of sarcophagi ex-



SARCOPHAGUS OF THE TWO CHRISTIAN BROTHERS.
About 500 A. D. Lateran Museum.

hibiting Christ figures both bearded and not bearded, the latter being by far in the majority. The sarcophagus of two bearded men, presumably brothers, contains a number of scenes typical of early Christian thought, such as the resurrection of Lazarus, the denial of Peter indicated by the crowing cock, the sacrifice of Abraham, the washing of feet, Daniel in the lions' den, the healing of the blind, the miracle of feeding the multitudes, etc. The scene in the lower row on the left side may be Christ's discussion of the resurrection with the Sadducees, but we must confess that we do not understand the scene immediately beneath the portrait of the two men. It is noticeable that here Jesus is always portrayed as a youth.



SARCOPHAGUS OF A CHRISTIAN COUPLE.

About 500. In the Lateran.

The sarcophagus of a Christian couple in the Lateran of the same period shows the Trinity as three bearded men creating Eve from the rib of Adam who lies asleep on the ground. But the lesson in offering a lamb as sacrifice is given to Adam and Eve by a beardless man, by Christ. Underneath are represented the adoration of the magi and Jesus healing a blind man. On the right of the upper row Christ changes water into wine, multiplies the loaves and fishes and calls Lazarus back to life. In the lower row Christ rebukes Peter for his denial and in all these scenes Christ is beardless like the lamb-bearing shepherd boy.

The same conception of a beardless Christ prevails also in many pictures and mosaics. Perhaps the grandest one is in the mosaic of St. Aquilinus in Milan, where the youthful Christ is enthroned

in the midst of the twelve apostles, most of whom are bearded and further advanced in years than the Christ himself.

Another youthful Christ is preserved in a terra-cotta medallion



CHRIST ENTHRONED AMONG THE DISCIPLES.
Mosaic in St. Aquilinus, Milan.

in the Biblioteca Barberiniana, which is the oldest representation extant of the last Judgment. Christ is enthroned with three apostles on either side. Below the throne are the multitudes hailing

him as the people of that age might greet a new emperor on his accession to power, but the Christian character of this piece of terra-cotta is assured by the christogram and the dotted cross engraved on stones lying at the right side of the throne.

In a niche on a sarcophagus in the Lateran we see represented an interesting scene which is called "Christ crowned with thorns." The figure of Christ is represented in the traditional style holding



THE LAST JUDGMENT.

Terra-cotta in the Biblioteca Barberiniana.

a scroll in his left hand, but here as with the good shepherd we possess the imitation of a pagan prototype. It resembles the scene of a Roman prince being greeted by the people or by his army with the title "Imperator" or "Cæsar" in recognition of some triumph and crowned with a wreath. The attitude of Christ is too peaceful and lordly to be regarded as suffering an outrage, and the soldier who holds the crown over his head is much too respectful to be considered

as doing an act of mockery. There is a similar scene on the triumphal column of Trajan where the emperor stands in exactly the same attitude while he is crowned by a Victory.

The beautiful sarcophagus of Perugia also represents Christ as



THE SO-CALLED CROWNING WITH THORNS.

From a sarcophagus in the Lateran.

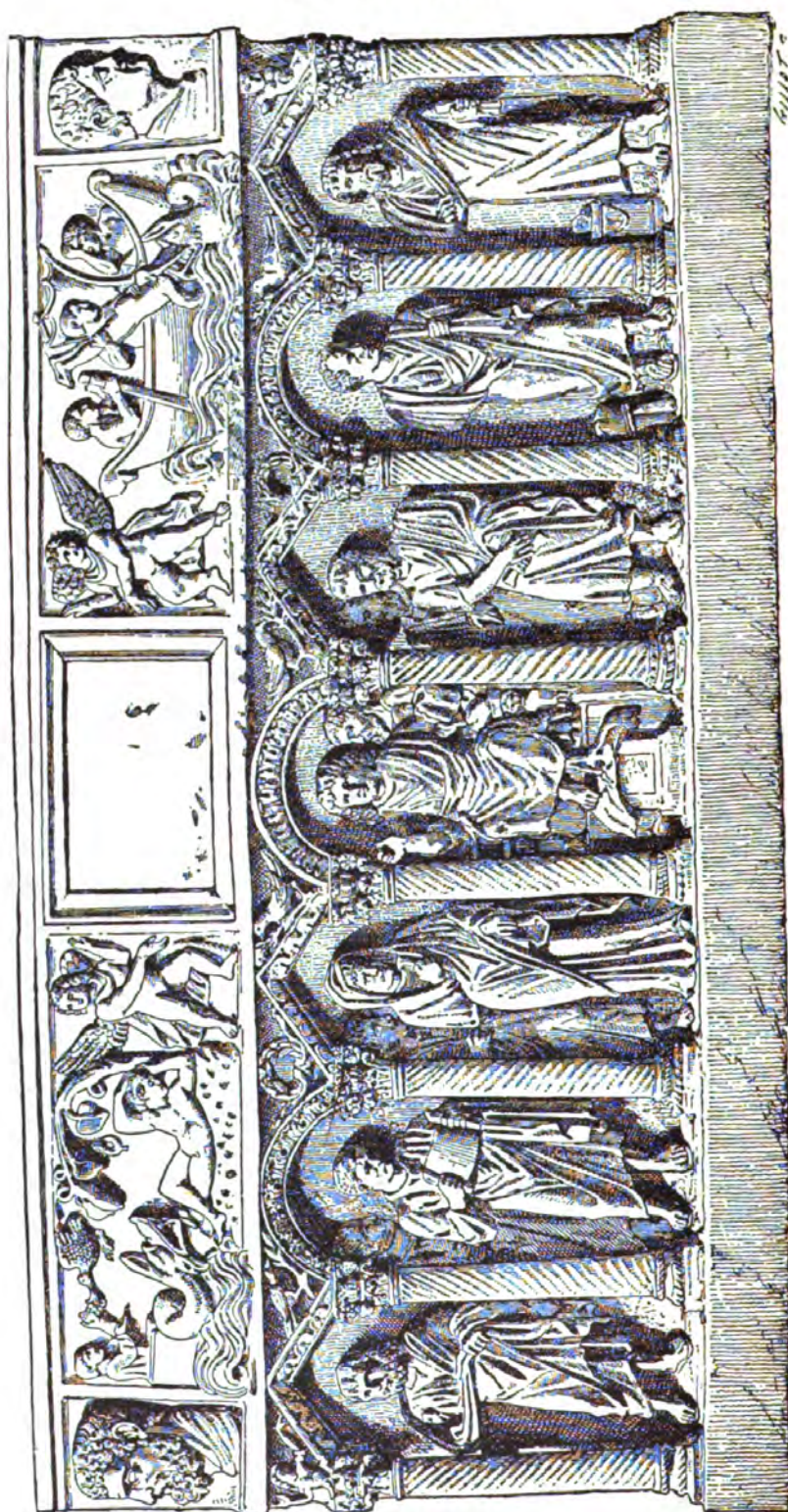
a youth, but here the situation demands it, if the current interpretation is correct that the scene represents the child Jesus among the doctors in the temple at Jerusalem. If that be so we would be justified in identifying the two figures in the first niche on the right hand of Jesus with Mary and Joseph. The upper frieze of the



CHRIST PREDICTS PETER'S DENIAL.

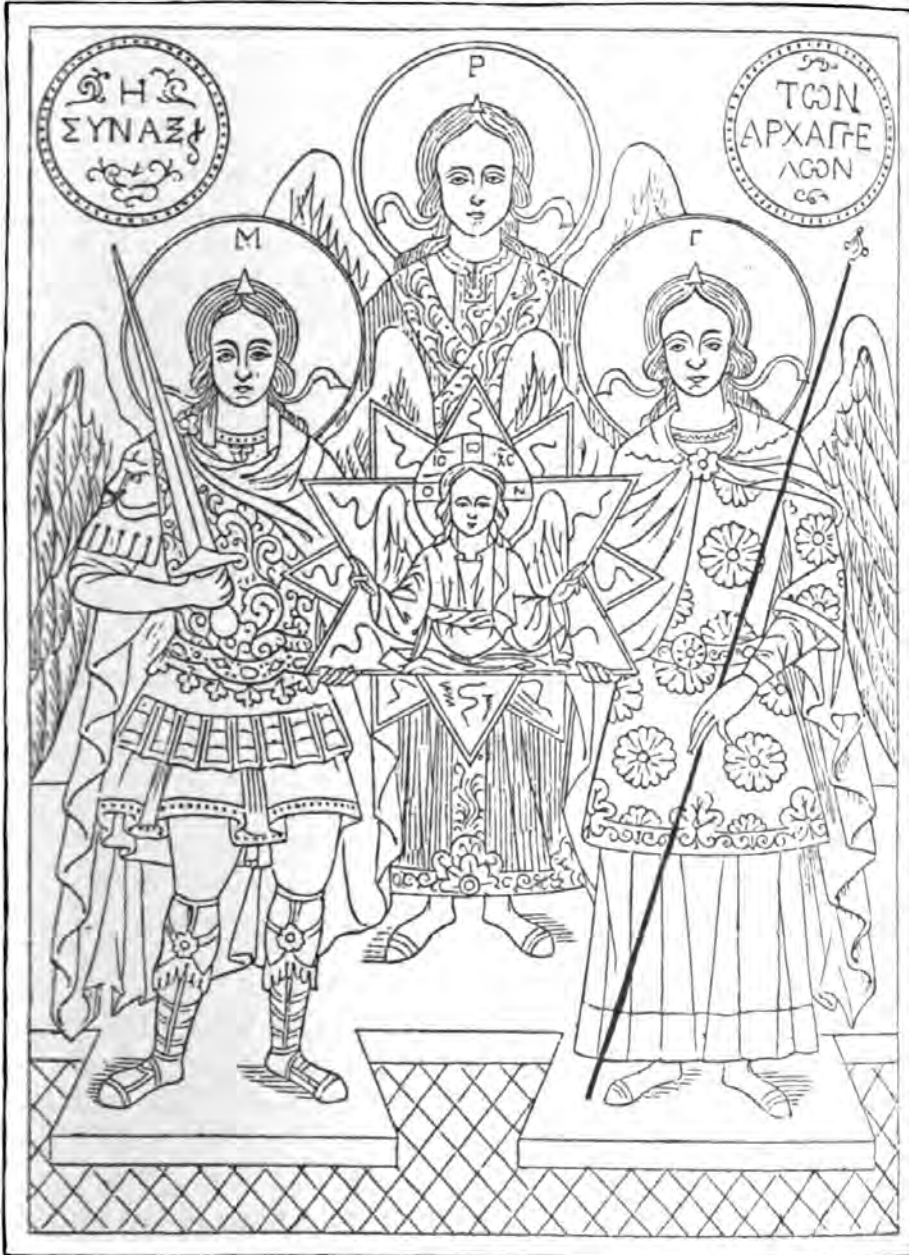
Sarcophagus in the Lateran.

sarcophagus bears in the corners the portraits of the deceased couple for whom the sarcophagus was intended. Further we notice Noah in the ark receiving the dove with the olive branch, and scenes from the life of Jonah. The winged children are apparently cupids and



A SARCOPHAGUS FROM PERUGIA.

not angels, and bear witness to how long a time it took for pagan conceptions to die out.



AN EIKON OF THE GREEK CHURCH.

Quite similar in design is a sarcophagus of the Lateran which also shows seven niches of the same construction and presents the

beardless Christ in the center prophesying that Peter will thrice deny his master before the cock crows. The attitudes of Christ himself, of Peter who asserts that he will not be guilty of such an offence, of John's astonishment at the mere thought of a betrayal, are well expressed in spite of the awkward lack of proportion, especially in the hands of these three figures. (See page 33.)

A development similar to that of the Veronica idea, in so far as a picture is held by supporters in an attitude of displaying the emblem of their faith to the world, appears in some paintings of the Greek church. We here reproduce one of these in which the archangels hold up a picture of the youthful Christ in a twelve-pointed star formed by four intersecting triangles. Christianity has here become the emblem of the government of the state, for the three archangels represent the three functions of the administration. In the center Raphael as the representative of the church and the



CHRIST AS A HELMSMAN.

A tombstone at Spoleto.

clergy takes the most prominent place. On the left-hand side, standing on the right of the *eikon*, is Michael the representative of the military power, while the civil government represented by Gabriel supports the left side of the star. Here the Christ picture is not the suffering Christ in the Veronicas but is the idealized divinity, God's vicegerent on earth from whom the secular government derives all its power. The inscription reads in Greek, "The assembly of the archangels":

ἡ σύναξις τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων.

This picture is peculiar in one respect. It represents Christ with wings like an angel which is exceptional in Christian art.

The idea of representing the church as a ship suggested to Christian artists the conception of Christ as a helmsman, an idea which appears first in the third century as indicated by passages in Hippolytus (*De Antichristo*, Chap. 59) and in the Apostolic Consti-

tutions (Book II, Chapter 57). On a broken piece of a sarcophagus discovered in Spoleto we find Jesus seated at the helm, rudder in hand, while the evangelists ply the oars. Matthew is broken off, but Mark, Luke and John are identified by inscriptions. The face of Jesus is somewhat injured.



THE CHURCH AS A SHIP.
Mural painting in St. Callistus.

In a fresco in the catacomb of St. Callistus the pious man is standing on the prow of a ship; Jesus, emerging from the clouds in heaven, lays his right hand in protection on his head, while another man is struggling in the water. This obviously means that the faithful believer will be saved from shipwreck while the infidel is left without help at the mercy of the surges.⁷

*V. Schultze sees in this picture an illustration of Paul's shipwreck, but if that had been the artist's intention there would have been a crew on board the ship instead of but one man at the rudder, and the artist would have adhered more closely to the representation of other details. Possibly we are here confronted with an illustration of the Jonah story.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

THE JESUS AND THE BAPTIST: A REBUTTAL.

BY WILLIAM BENJAMIN SMITH.

IT would have been much more convenient and satisfactory for the reader, had this rejoinder followed immediately, in the same (Nov.) number of *The Open Court*; but the article of Mr. Kampmeier did not come to hand till this afternoon (Nov. 14, 1913). No other critic has defended the historicity with warmer zeal or keener weapons than has Mr. Kampmeier; it is not his fault if the defense has failed. In his latest article, as in one or two earlier ones, he urges the supposed relations of John the Baptist with the Jesus as evidence of the latter's historic reality. The argument does not come very clearly to view, but can hardly differ essentially from something like this:

Persons with whom in history an historical person is set in relations are themselves historical;

Jesus is such a person (being set in relations with the historical John the Baptist):

Therefore, Jesus is historical.

A material defect in this syllogism is that both the premises are false. It is quite common for purely divine beings to be figured in intimate relations with the strictly historical. Pindar assures us that both Artemis and Hermes joined Hiero of Syracuse with twin-handed help in yoking the strength of his steeds to the bridle-guided car; yet both were deities *pur sang*. Shamesh was the sun-god; no one, not even Shamesh himself, would claim that he was human or historical; yet on the famous stone he appears delivering a code of laws to the highly historical Hammurabi. Any one can multiply examples indefinitely.

Secondly, it is not correct that the Jesus appears *in history* in relations with historical characters. He is indeed persecuted by Herod and tried by Caiaphas and crucified by Pilate, but *not in history*. Such accounts are now generally admitted by critics to be feigned, at least in many or in most particulars, nor has any one

succeeded in adducing any single item of even high probability, one single detail that does not lie under the gravest suspicion. It is plain as possible that if *any* real connection could be shown to exist between *any* historical character or event and a human Jesus of Nazareth, then the question of the historicity would be settled finally and decisively. However, the very acutest and most learned defenders of the historicity, such as Noll and Peisker, such even as Schweitzer, admit that no such proof is possible, that the said historicity is at most probable only, while very many more concede that all proofs have thus far failed, even though they may still pray for "new and doughtier weapons" that "will have to be forged."

So much in general. More specifically, there is nothing known about the Baptist that implies any relation with a human Jesus. In fact, we know very little about the voice crying in the wilderness. The account in Josephus is vague to a degree (Ant. 18, 5, 2). It attests only that he was a preacher of righteousness and of baptism, that crowds flocked to him, that his influence was great, that the people seemed willing to do anything he might bid them, that Herod thought it wise to anticipate possible trouble by sending him as prisoner to Macherus, and there put him to death. Josephus is not always trustworthy, but there appears no good ground to discredit these statements, nor the preceding one that the Jews interpreted the defeat of Herod by Aretas as a punishment for his murder of the Baptist. On the other hand, the whole section *may* be an interpolation, for it may be removed without in the least disturbing the narrative.

Supposing it genuine and authentic, on passing to the New Testament we find there nothing about the Baptist that we can build on confidently. The accounts are all *tendenziös*, they betray distinct dogmatic interest, they were written for a purpose in general not hard to detect. In particular, it is well enough known and Volkmar has clearly shown, (even though Wohlenberg still shuts tight his eyes) that the celebrated paragraph in Mark (vi. 17-39) is simply an edifying fiction ("*aber eben nur eine Szene*," Wellhausen), involving the anachronism of putting the execution of John *after* instead of *before* Herod's marriage with Herodias, along with other absurdities, such as sending John to a fortress on the border of Aretas's dominion, and celebrating there a feast, *after* Herod's rupture with Aretas! In the presence of this specimen of evangelic dramatization, even in Mark, we dare not trust any such representations of the Baptist. That the accounts of his Baptism of Jesus are entirely fictive, though deep-thoughted, is unanswerably shown

in the profound work of Hermann Usener on *Das Weihnachtsfest* (pp. 38-71). Surely no one regards Matt. xi. 1-19, Luke vii. 18-35, as historic.

What then is left? All trace of connection between John and a human Jesus has vanished. We may still believe that the Baptist is correctly described by Josephus; that he preached a severer righteousness than perhaps any contemporary; that he baptized; nay more, that he was extremely popular and inclined towards Messianic agitation; and that he was first imprisoned, then executed, by Herod Antipas. It may very well have been that his movement had points of contact with the protochristian, and that after his death it was gradually absorbed in this latter, since many may have favored while some disfavored such absorption. The want of historic data does not allow us to reconstruct the course of events with much confidence.

That the Gospel historizers should have feigned points of attachment in the career of Jesus to that of the Baptist was natural and even inevitable. It was merely a manifestation of the historizing dramatizing tendency, at its maximum in the Fourth Gospel but also everywhere present and active in countless interpolations and addenda, from the birthstories in the Synoptics to single phrases like "born of woman" (Gal. iv. 4), or clauses like the second half of Rev. xi. 8 ("which is spiritually . . . crucified").

Still more specifically, the account in Acts xix. 1-7, even if it were historic, would hint naught about the historicity of the Jesus; it could not even prove that there were disciples of John in Ephesus. For they are *not* called disciples of *John*, but merely disciples, which elsewhere in Acts means also disciples of the Jesus, and it is by no means incredible that persons who had received John's baptism of repentance might yet have heard and accepted "the doctrine concerning the Jesus." However, there is good reason to question the authenticity of the incident. Weizsäcker long ago perceived that the "twelve men" are in all probability allegorical, standing for the apostles, who are here represented as not in the highest sense Christian till brought over to the Pauline view. Then the term "about" or "as if" (*ὡσεύ*) seems deliberately chosen to let in the light gently on the writer's meaning. He will not say openly "twelve," but "as if twelve," remembering Judas Iscariot and Matthias.

As to the case of Apollos, so far from being "a weak point" it has everywhere been recognized as a particularly strong point in the new criticism. Soltau concedes explicitly that "the things about the Jesus" (Acts xviii. 25) must mean the *Religionsanschau-*

ung, "the doctrine concerning the Jesus." Even Loisy admits that all attempts to explain away this datum are vain and that in its presence "one must avow that the original preaching took place under forms more various and conditions more complex than hitherto supposed." Clemen also can find no escape from the arguments in *Der vorchristliche Jesus* (pp. 1-9) save in the assumption that the writer of Acts xviii. 24-25 did not know what he was talking about!

There is no need to add much to the original discussion in *Der vorchristliche Jesus*. That a roving missionary, like Apollos, "preaching accurately the doctrine of the Jesus," should have known of John's baptism need rouse no one's wonder; that he should know only of this baptism, hence nothing at all of Christian baptism (the central act demanded in the preaching both of Peter and of Paul in Acts) and hence apparently nothing at all of any such career of Jesus as seems to meet us in the gospels—it is this historical ignorance in a most zealous and eloquent preacher of "the doctrine of Jesus" that wars so stubbornly with the traditional theory of Christian origins.

The bulk of Mr. Kampmeier's article consists of an ingenious attempt to evade the argument for the multifocal origin of Christianity, drawn in *Der vorchristliche Jesus* from the practically simultaneous appearance of the new cult in so many remote and widely separated regions. He thinks the influence of Jesus may have been enormous, may have penetrated here, there, everywhere. But he seems to forget that such a notion in no way agrees with Acts or with the traditional view. The preaching of Peter, of Philip, of Paul has naught whatever to do with the teachings or the life of Jesus. They preach nothing "against the self-righteousness of his race," or "the external observance of the law," or "the rabbinical traditions," or the like. They preach Jesus Divine, Jesus the God, Christ and him crucified, risen and enthroned in heaven. Hence the strong words of Ananias (Acts ix. 18): "Brother Saul, the Lord (i. e., Jehovah) hath sent me, Jesus that appeared to thee in the way etc.," whereby *Jesus* is identified with *Jehovah*, which would have been unthinkable if Ananias had meant by Jesus a Galilean carpenter of whom he had heard.¹ For such a doctrine the way was not in the least prepared, nay, it would have been completely barred by any such reports that might have reached distant regions concerning a wise and benevolent carpenter of Nazareth. It can not be too

¹ Is it a mere coincidence that Saul is found on a street called *Straight*, in the house of *Judas*, by *Hananiah*? The latter name seems the same in meaning as *Nazarya*, and was not Saul still in the *straight* path of *Judaism*?

strongly stressed that the primitive preaching has naught to do with the life or career or teaching of any such rabbi-carpenter, and that if it had turned on any such pivot it could never have made effective appeal to the Gentiles, it would have been the silliest twaddle and could at most have won only a few Jewish converts.

This, however, is not the worst of it, though in itself decisive. In addition it must be noted that by imagining the influence of Jesus to have been thus far-reaching before the tragedy in Jerusalem, one makes it doubly and trebly impossible to understand the absolute silence of history concerning him. If the fame of Jesus had thus filled the Roman empire, why do Josephus and Philo and the rest, why do all writers both pagan and Jewish fail to take any note of his existence, though expatiating on matters of infinitely less report and importance? Still more, why do the first preachers take no account of such far-famed life and teaching? Why do they mention not a single word or deed of such a conspicuous and renowned character?

Even this is not all, however. Nothing can be more ill-advised than to attempt to deduce the historicity of Jesus from the historicity of John. For there is practically no resemblance between the two in the scriptures or anywhere else, but only the sharpest contrast. If the Saviour was only a continuator and perfecter of the work of the Baptist, if the two were in any way related as Elijah and Elisha, or Moses and Joshua, or Æschylus and Euripides, then the whole New Testament representation, the whole of early Christianity becomes much less intelligible than ever before, the riddle becomes tenfold darker. Why should the career of the one be all miracle, the career of the other show nothing marvelous at all?

Nevertheless, one may still ask, do not the preaching of John and his Baptism stand in some relation to the Christian movement? Was not the Baptist in *some* sense a forerunner of the Saviour? We may grant that the two *movements* stood in some way related, though in what way it is not easy to determine. But it is only our knowledge of the historical conditions that is so defective; the relation might have existed under a hundred forms without ever implying an historical Jesus. Some vague conjectures, however, seem more probable than others. It appears that the Johannine movement was strictly Palestinian, if not strictly Judaic. Hence the scene is laid in Judea. We are not informed that it was ever conceived more widely or with reference to the Gentile world. It seems to have contained no pagan elements. Whereas by every token the Christian movement, "the doctrine of the Jesus," was born in the

Dispersion and from the start aimed at the salvation or conversion of the heathen world.

In fact, by its proclamation of "our God Jesus" as the "Son of God" it almost compromised with pagandom, it adapted itself to pagan forms of thought and expression. Hence Jesus is represented as starting on his career in Galilee of the Gentiles, as a great light arisen on the midnight gloom of heathendom. Hence he is represented as coming into Judea, that is, the new doctrine came from the Dispersion into contact with official Judaism represented by Judea and Jerusalem, and with the resultant world-tragedy first sketched in Heb. vi. 6: "crucifying for themselves the Son of God and making mock"; i. e., the doctrine of the Son of God was at first tolerated, then contemptuously rejected (crucifying = pillorying) and publicly ridiculed.

To speak of the entrance of a doctrine or cult of a deity as the coming of the deity himself is so natural and near-lying² that it is used even to this day. For example, Gilbert Murray in his *Four Stages of Greek Religion* repeatedly illustrates this usage. Note also the frequent use (especially in the Fourth Gospel) of the participle "coming" (*ἐρχόμενος*), as applied to Jesus. The reference must be to the gradual progress of a doctrine; it surely cannot refer to the practically instantaneous event of birth, of physical coming into the world. This idea tempts one to elaboration, but the temptation must be resisted.

Mr. Kampmeier can not find himself at home in the conception of Protochristianity as a militant monotheism. Perhaps because he gratuitously inserts the phrase "purely intellectual." But the militant monotheism of Protochristianity was far as possible from being "purely intellectual." It was intensely religious, it was earnestly ethical. It did make religion first, but it made morality a good second. Says the venerable and authoritative *Teaching*: "The way of life is this: First, thou shalt love the God that made thee; second, thy neighbor as thyself." Similarly in the New Testament and elsewhere. The Protochristians, especially in Western Asia, rightly regarded polytheism as the "mother of abominations"; to overthrow idolatry was to strike the strongest possible blow for morality and righteousness. Neither did such a crusade for universal pure God-worship in any wise war with the quest for personal purity, personal salvation, personal "redemption from evil and sin." But such personal yearning for salvation can never be the heart of a great mis-

² Cp. Vergil's "*inferretque deos Latio*," the introduction of the gods is the introduction of their worship.

sionary religion, like the Protochristian; it is quite too narrow and selfish. Moreover, it is very easy to exaggerate this personal desire beyond what is written. It does not appear conspicuous in the early Christians, not even in Paul, who is not seeking his own salvation from sin and evil, but the salvation of the Gentile from paganism and its attendant iniquities. The sin of the New Testament is primarily idolatry, secondarily its concomitant vices. All this seems evident on mere statement.

How these two elements are related is plainly to be seen in the *Shepherd* of Hermas, apparently the witness most favorable to the ordinary view, for the "Angel of Repentance" is the guardian angel of Hermas, whose ideal of morality is certainly high, whose aims and interests are intensely practical, and sometimes almost narrowly personal. Yet hear him in his first commandment: "First of all, believe that One is God, who the universe created and set in order, and brought from the non-being into being the universe, and all containeth, but alone is uncontainable. Believe then in him and fear him, and fearing have self-control. *These commands keep, and thou shalt cast off all iniquity from thyself and put on all virtue of righteousness and shalt live to God, if thou keep this injunction.*" It seems impossible to be more explicit or every way satisfying. Remember this is the only religious commandment of all the twelve of Hermas; the rest are purely moral. Hermas not only sums up religion completely in his sublime monotheism, but he regards the latter as the sole condition, necessary and sufficient, of perfect righteousness, of life unto God. Remember furthermore that this *Shepherd* issued from the heart of the early Roman Christian consciousness (A. D. 95-145); that it was directed unerringly to that same early consciousness; that it became a Christian *Vade mecum*, one of the most popular favorites for near 300 years; that it was frequently quoted by the greatest fathers, was considered inspired by some (as by Origen) and narrowly escaped canonization; that it never mentions the name Jesus, never the name Christ, never any single item of the whole evangelic story; that it declares "the law of God is the son of God now preached unto the ends of the earth"—and then say whether there can be any doubt that Protochristianity was a protest against idolatry, a crusade for monotheism. Says Dibelius of this contention (in the *Theol. Literaturzeitung*): "This proposition Smith demonstrates first from the general movement of thought in the apologists—beyond doubt, correctly" (*zweifellos, mit Recht*). This assurance is made doubly sure by the witness of such authoritative

documents as this *Shepherd* of Hermas and the "Teaching of the Apostles to the Gentiles."

Mr. Kampmeier objects to explaining all of Christian origins at a single stroke. But who attempts it? On the contrary, I have many times insisted that manifold influences were at work, that the Protochristian hosts rallied under many banners, that there were frequent internal conflicts and contradictions, that the *Catholic* church emerged from a chaos of controversies as the *totalization*, the unification of many warring sects. The principle of unity was at first found in monotheism, in passionately earnest rejection of idolatry, in the zealous propaganda of the Jesus, the Christ, the one Saviour-God alike of Jew and of Greek. Much yet remains to be done, not so much towards proving as towards making these propositions clearer and more precise. In detail they will doubtless be greatly improved and conformed more and more closely to the truth as the discussion proceeds; but in general outline they have come definitely and to stay.

SAINTS AND SAINTHOOD.

BY PHILLIPS BARRY.

THE word "sainthood" connotes not a person, but an idea. As a conventionalized type of person, living a conventionalized type of life, the saint belongs not to history, but to faith. In this sense the conception of the saintly life, as embodied in the hagiological tradition of the church, has its clearly defined psychological background—an assumed dualism of matter and spirit, or natural and supernatural, with the necessary corollary of a moral order of the universe, however vaguely or sharply defined. It involves a notion of the subjection of the material to the spiritual, as of evil to good, and the view that the power of man amid the facts of earthly life is directly conditioned by the degree of approach by him, in kind of life, to unity with the personalized moral order. Without going too deeply into the more or less abstract philosophical speculations with regard to the nature of the deity, we may say that the common denominator of all definitions of the divine life is in the belief in the non-relativity of the divine principle to the natural life. Could one but live, it is held, in such a state of absolute non-relativity, the human and the divine in him would be united. As a matter of fact there have in all ages been persons in whom the reaction to the facts and conditions of earthly life was such as to give the impression that their lives were bounded by such a state of non-relativity. Collectively these persons form a type which constitutes the nucleus of the saint-complex. And as other types of abnormal¹ man—for instance, idiots, epileptics, insane and monsters—have received in the past their share of veneration paid by primitive credulity, so in the case of the saints honor has been rendered to the neuro-pathic type of disordered personality.

Historically, of course, it would be quite unfair to place in the

¹ In this essay, the words "normal" and "abnormal" are used in the common and accepted biological sense of the terms.

category of the abnormal every person whom the church has seen fit to canonize. One has only to read the life of Bruno of Cologne to be convinced of this fact, and Bruno, possessed of a character as sterling as his mind was able and well-balanced, is not an isolated exception. Yet the composite picture of the life of sainthood that one gets from reading any number of works from the pens of busy hagiographs only serves to emphasize the fact that Bruno is the exception, and not the rule. In these accounts the saints live in a world whose atmosphere is that of a psychopathic clinic rather than that of the world of normal men and women. They are frequently pictured as morbidly self-analytical;² the records of a well-nigh universal practice of rigorous asceticism testify to nerve-degeneration manifesting itself in superficial or general anaesthesia. St. Wiborad, a contemporary of the great Ekkehard, was subject to visual and auditory hallucinations.³ St. Adelaide, the beatified consort of Emperor Otto I, suffered from attacks of psychic epilepsy.⁴ In a word, the hagiographic method, carrying out the idea of the moral dualism of matter and spirit, lays hold of, and brings into the foreground, such phenomena as the naive mind tends naturally to attribute to the influence of the higher, moral and spiritual element in the primitive conception of consciousness. Not that either in the popular mind or in the mind of the conventional hagiograph do these abnormal phenomena constitute sainthood in itself, rather are they felt to be incidents in, and evidences of a life elevated to a plane of non-relativity.⁵ The fact, however, that they have continued to be recorded and emphasized is witness to their historical presence in the instances out of which a literary tradition constructed the type of sainthood.

Man is, however, a practical being. Though he speculate ever

² St. Wiborad and her younger sister, typical examples of the saint-infant, shrink from childish pastimes as sinful. *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 2 May, I, sect. 1, 2, p. 284). St. Adalbert of Prague, having unintentionally touched a girl-playmate, forthwith tortured his young mind for supposed unchastity.

³ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 2 May, p. 284ff., 926 A. D. The younger sister of St. Wiborad shortly before her early death had an auditory hallucination in which she seemed to hear the songs of angels (*ibid.*, 2).

⁴ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXLII, col. 983: "Quadam vero die... ipsa simulata intentione edentis, cultrum manu diutius tenuit, sicque non ad suam voluptatem convivium protraxit, cum subito colore faciei cum mentis habitu permutato, ferrum de manu super mensam cecidit, atque in hoc, non insolentiae notam accidisce, sed mira quaedam per divinam revelationem se sensisse, cum suspirio annotavit." Cf. also, *ibid.*, col. 984.

⁵ Their value as evidence dies hard. Ophthalmic migraine is still mistaken for theophany and psychic epilepsy for the visit of the soul to heaven. Most unsophisticated persons will mention only in awed whispers instances of glossolalia at revivals.

so much about things or ideas, their value for him remains in the last analysis conditioned by the use he may make of them. As religion originates not so much in the sense of dependence as in the instinct for power, the value attached to the spiritual life by its host of interpreters from St. Paul to Eucken has been intensely utilitarian. As exponents of the spiritual life, that is, of the life removed to a plane of non-relativity and unconditioned by the facts of common experience, the saints were held to possess powers from the use of which ordinary persons were excluded, and for this reason to be particularly worthy of veneration. Hence through the church with its hagiological tradition came the greatest and most enduring development of the conception of miracle. Simply stated, the notion of miracle is to define the case-type of events or acts in which the effect stands in no possible relation of physical nexus to the cause. This applies equally well to the definition of all such acts or events. As far as individual miracles are concerned we have no right to allow any thought of a definition in kind to color our criticism either of a miracle in the New Testament or of the latest alleged wonder-working in the grotto of Lourdes.⁶ That does not mean, however, that we are to remove the miracles, as events, so far from their environment in the life of the saints as to place them in the category of history, since their proper place is in the category of faith as part of a tradition.

Within the limits of the present essay, it is not possible to make more than a brief survey of a single period, to mark out the way for a more extended investigation. This period centers in the tenth century of our era. It is a period notable for the high incidence of hagiographic activity, especially on German soil. Conditions, as Zoepf has pointed out,⁷ were favorable to this high incidence. "Never with less joy was the coming of a new century awaited" than in the year 900.⁸ Crops failed, famine and pestilence ravaged the land, war added its horrors, and marauding heathen neighbors were ever a present menace. As the century went on, it came to be known as "the iron, for its hardness and unproductivity of good, the lead for the ugliness of its abundant evil, the dark, for its literary barrenness."⁹ It was characterized, moreover, by intellectual capacity and attainment of a low order; fit accompaniment for its ignorance was

⁶ Protestant apologists rally to defend scriptural miracles, but reject ecclesiastical miracles *in toto*, despite the fact that, to say the least, the latter, as events, are supported in many cases by much better evidence.

⁷ L. Zoepf, *Das Heiligenleben im zehnten Jahrhundert*.

⁸ Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, I, p. 166.

⁹ Baronius, *Ann. Eccl.*, ed. 1624, p. 649.

its trustful credulity. Saint-worship as revived on a large scale, was the natural issue of such antecedents,—the distress of the times, the credulity of the people, the vitality of the doctrine of moral dualism and its corollaries. From the point of view of the religious orders, at least, the cult of the saints was very profitable. One instance is known of a bitter "trade rivalry" between two hermitesses,¹⁰ nor is the other side of the picture unknown, as the maintenance of a very modern "trade agreement" between the cults of St. Verena and St. Ottilie shows.¹¹ And as saint-worship became the social reaction to the distress of the times, so the literary reaction to the sterility of the times was in the formation of a new strain of hagiological tradition.

In the first place, it is to be noted that the saint is represented as sacrosanct in person and in property.¹² The inviolability affected not only persons, whether their acts of sacrilege were intentional or innocent, but was held to extend to the elements as well. Fire, for instance, was believed not to harm anything that belonged to a saint. A lighted candle, left by a careless monk, fell upon a piece of tapestry covering the tomb of St. Ulrich, and burst into flame, yet, strange to say, the tapestry itself was not so much as scorched.¹³ Two versions of a story of the attempt of a band of Huns to burn the cell of a hermitess are recorded, the one as of St. Wiborad,¹⁴ the other as of St. Ida.¹⁵

More interesting, however, are the accounts of various acts of sacrilege and their consequences. These consequences were, as might have been expected, more serious when the sacrilege was in-

¹⁰ The hermitesses were St. Wiborad and one Cilia,—the latter, envious of St. Wiborad, experienced in time the justification of her fears that her business would be injured; reduced to obscurity, she was finally expelled. (*Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 2 May, I, p. 298.)

¹¹ A woman, long barren, becomes, by favor of St. Ottilie, the mother of three daughters, and is told to go to St. Verena, if she wishes to have a son! (*Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 1 Sept., I, p. 169.)

¹² This belief was doubtless exploited by the church, as a practical means of self-protection in troublous times.

¹³ *Acta Sanct. Mab.*, VII, p. 457, i: "Custos advenit...tapetiumque sollicitè inspexit, si ab igne aliquid laedaretur, vestigium ignis de minimis micis cerei invenit, unum vero pilum in superficie et in latere sepulcri in tapetio exustum invenire non potuit."

¹⁴ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 2 May, I, p. 290: "Cum mansiunculam sanctae virginis exurere vellent, divina virtute flammae restinctae sunt."

¹⁵ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 4 Sept., II, p. 264: "Ea tempestate qua Ungariorum gens detestanda ignicremis vaporibus cuncta devastavit, praefatum quoque sanctae Ydae oratorium nefanda legio adiit...Deinde in altiora scandentes focos nonnullos in laquearibus construxerunt, sed virtute Dei carbo sopitus nulla flammarum incrementa haurire luit, excepto quod raras quasque tabulas insidendo peredit."

tentional. A band of robbers invaded the monastery founded by St. Pirmin, and took captive a number of the inmates, that they might torture them to death. One of the band scoffed at the prayers of the wretched monks, saying, "Pirmin knows not how to fight: a sword of wood, not of fire, carries he,—he sleeps, and wakes nevermore!"¹⁶ For this blasphemy, the robber was stricken blind and died.¹⁷ In the life of St. Ulrich, we are told of one who declared that the saint had no more power than a dog to work miracles, wherefore, losing forthwith his human speech, he began to growl and bark like a dog, and soon perished miserably.¹⁸ A certain knight robbed the poultry-house of a peasant, scorning the latter's plea for mercy "in the name of St. Adelaide," since, forsooth, he was "a live person, and the saint a dead one!" With the first taste of the stolen food he went mad and gnawed the flesh from his own arms.¹⁹ St. Ulrich, to anticipate somewhat the account of the healing-miracles, was much sought by victims of malignant fever, who left at the shrine, birch rods, evidently as symbols of the illness from which they had been healed.²⁰ A certain Eisenhart, having appropriated one of these rods as a walking-stick, fell ill of fever; a priest named Adalgar was stricken for a similar offence.²¹ Other persons, who used these rods to lean on, during divine service, likewise suffered from the fever, till finally nobody dared touch a single one of them, and the rods accumulated in the church till they became a nuisance.²² Similar examples might be multiplied indefinitely.²³

¹⁶ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 3 Nov., II, p. 52: "Bellare Pirminius tuus nescit, lignum non igneum gladium habens, dormit, numquam vigilans."

¹⁷ A similar fate befell a band of robbers who set upon a company of the faithful while they were celebrating the natal day of their patron. (*Acta Sanct. Boll.*, *ibid.*, p. 52: "Omnipotens Deus immisit hostibus profundissimam caecitatem.")

¹⁸ *Acta Sanct. Mab.*, VII, p. 460: "Quid mihi prodest charitas illius Episcopi, quia ille signa facere non potest plusquam unus canis? Illo verbo emisso, diabolo concessus, loquelam hominis amisit, et more canis furendo sonare, coepit, et ganniendo atque latrando, parvo tempore evoluto, heu miserabiliter vitam finivit."

¹⁹ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXLII, col. 987: "Aves domesticas occidit, alienaque substantia fecit sibi praeprae cibaria... 'Ego,' inquit, 'vividus in hac nocte tui tuorumque dominor, Adalheida vero mortua, impotens est tibi praestare tutamina.'"

²⁰ *Acta Sanct. Mab.*, VII, pp 457-8.

²¹ Of Adalgar it is said, "invasit eum oscitatio et obripilatio cutis maxima, et omnia membra taedio occupata sunt,"—evidently a severe onset of malaria. (*Acta Sanct. Mab.*, *ibid.*, p. 458.)

²² *Acta Sanct. Mab.*, VII, p. 458: Nullus praesumebat vel minimum bacillum sine licentia inde auferre, et ideo tanta multitudo baculorum excrevit ut facile dinumerari non potuisset, nec sine impedimento in angulis ecclesiae collocari."

²³ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 4 Sept., II, p. 264: "Diabolicis tendiculis irretita, finitima rura deseruit, et ubi facile dignosci nequiverat, nefaria simulatione manum

Two notable anecdotes may be drawn from the hagiological tradition to attest the fact that the prerogatives as well as the person and estate of the saint were adjudged to be sacrosanct. The first of these is doubly interesting as showing that the malingering beggar is no new excrescence of modern city life. A certain woman, by name Eggu, whose right hand was withered and distorted, had a dream in which she was directed to offer up a wax model of her hand at the shrine of St. Ida. This being done, she was healed. Unwilling to work, however, she made her way to a locality where she was not known, and feigning still to suffer from the deformity of which she had been cured, imposed on the charity of strangers. Sacrilege such as this, according to the hagiograph, was not permitted to go unpunished—a return of the malingerer's former disability attested the anger of the outraged saint.²³ The interest connected with the second anecdote is in the evidence it gives that the prerogatives of the saints might be touched with a sanctity which would transcend all rights of property in their neighbors. St. Verena,²⁴ while a guest at the house of a certain priest, devoted herself to works of mercy in a leper-colony on the banks of the Rhine. To this end she freely availed herself of the stores in her host's larder and wine-room. A servant, however, informed against her, and with the priest, intercepted her in the act of carrying the stolen bread and wine to the lepers. On being questioned she said the wine-jar contained water for bathing her patients. The priest examined, and found a miracle had been wrought: the wine was turned to water.²⁵ Prostrating himself at her feet, the priest asked and received absolution from St. Verena: the servant, however, fell under the curse of violated sainthood. Paralysed and stricken blind, he became the ancestor of a stock of defectives.²⁶ In his family were recorded cases of blindness, mutism, crippling, paralysis, epimentitur uncan... Mox, recenti dono frustrata, in pristinum deformitatis statum, ut prius suapte, sic tunc redigitur coacte."

²³ St. Verena, in medieval hagiological tradition, is quite unhistorical, being one of the Theban legion, translated by folk-lore to Germany.

²⁴ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 1 Sept., I, pp. 166-7: "Et dum pariter irent venerunt in viam, ubi occurrit eis virgo Verena, portans panem et vinum in vasculo suo,—dixitque ad eam presbyter, 'ubi vis ambulare, et quid est quod portas in vasculo tuo?' Virgo Dei respondit, 'volo ambulare ad istos pauperes, et in isto vase est aqua et volo eis lavare pedes et capita.' Ait ei presbyter, 'volo probare utrum sit vinum aut aqua.' Et cum accepisset vasculum in manus suas vidit in eo carbonem vivos iacentes, et statim in illa hora versus est vini rubor in pallorem aquae."

²⁵ *Ibid.*: "Sancta Virgo respondit... 'qui huc te duxit, non moriatur prius donec aliqua signa in corpore sustineat, et omnis generatio eius, antequam exierint de hoc mundo, aliqua signa in eis fiant. Et ipse servus... fuit caecus et paralyticus.'"

lepsy,—at least one grandson was a thief. Evidently, the story had its source in some effort to account for the origin of a family of defectives which had become a burden to the community.²⁷

As in the New Testament, so in the hagiographic tradition, the greater number of miracles are miracles of healing. Without going too deeply into the problem of the reality of miracles of healing, it may be stated that the common and accepted view of impartial critics in dealing with both scriptural and ecclesiastical tradition of healing miracles, is to admit the presence of a substratum of truth as a creative nucleus for the stories as they have come down to us. This substratum of truth is in the undoubted fact that the distressing minor symptoms of hysteria and neurasthenia, often closely simulating the symptoms of organic disease, are at least temporarily relievable by suggestion,—or, if not the symptoms, at least their accompanying phobias.²⁸ The popular mind, however, cannot discriminate between the false and the true symptoms of organic disease. Let a few hysterics or neurasthenics obtain relief from a "divine healer" or at the shrine of a saint, and an active folk-tradition needs no greater stimulus to change truth stranger than fiction into fiction stranger than truth. Thus into the literary tradition have passed many records of alleged healing of organic diseases by methods in which cause and effect were unrelated. For the purposes of this essay, however, the miracles of healing with which the hagiographic writings of the tenth century are filled, have a significance quite apart from their credibility as events.

In the first place, from the accounts of the alleged healings it is often possible to gather evidence as to the prevalence of certain types of organic as well as of functional diseases. A few items in this connection may be noted. Thus it has been observed that St. Adelaide was a victim of psychic epilepsy; moreover, St. Wiborad, who was neurotic and migrainous, had, according to one of her biographers,²⁹ had the disease in its typical form.³⁰ Typical epilepsy, however, was usually taken as evidence of demon-possession; ref-

²⁷ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 1 Sept., I, p. 167: "Omnis generatio eius usque in hodiernum diem antequam diem huius vitæ finierint, aliquam læsionem sui corporis sustinent,—alius caecus, alius surdus, alius claudus, alius paralyticus, alius contractus, alius epilepticus."

²⁸ Mutism is a frequent symptom of hysteria; the scotoma of ophthalmic migraine is at least as distressing to the patient as actual blindness.

²⁹ Hepidannus, who wrote about 1072, and drew partly from the earlier biography of St. Wiborada by Hartman, c927.

³⁰ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 2 May, I, p. 304: "Faciem aliquantisper inclinans, gelido sopore fuso per artus, obdormivit." The description *gelido sopore fuso*, clearly indicates the epileptic aura.

erences to the disease and its healing are quite numerous.³¹ In one case at least, the duration and severity of the symptoms indicate that the patient had *status epilepticus*.³² St. Cadroa, on one occasion, checked a severe attack of migraine with the sign of the cross.³³ Cases of paraplegia, described in unmistakable terms, are frequent.³⁴ St. Colman was credited with the cure of a man who "had an eye extruded by a swelling from its socket," probably a case of exophthalmic goitre.³⁵ Among the patients of St. Ulrich was a man who had a severe case of umbilical hernia.³⁶ The great Ekkehard was cured of dropsy by the simple means of covering his body with the sackcloth garment once worn by St. Wiborad.³⁷ Two of the miracles attributed to St. Ida are worthy of special notice. One of these was the healing of a woman suffering from dropsy, whose condition was such that she could only with difficulty pass through a doorway. Her recovery followed a night of prayer.³⁸ The other case was that of a man who suffered for ten years from unrelieved abscess of the middle ear, which caused headache and deafness. We are told that the abscess burst with a noise like the breaking of a dry stick and after a copious flow of pus the man recovered his hearing!³⁹

Furthermore, it is possible from the accounts of these miracles to learn something of the crude therapeutics of the period. Prayer and incubation were most consistently employed⁴⁰—sometimes the

³¹ See especially, "Vita S. Pirminii," *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 3 Nov., II, pp. 33-45.

³² *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 15 Sept., V, p. 72 (Miracula S. Apri.): "Ferocissimo daemone invasus huc olim adductus est hora prima dominicae diei. Qui,—mirum dictu,—in pavimento ecclesiae sese volutans, et ut fera manibus per illud reptans, clamore valido cuncta replens, luporum imitabatur ululatus, porcorum grunntus, taurorum mugitus, serpentium sibilos, et stridores foricum,—hocque tormento se attrivit continuatim, usque ad lectionem Evangelicam publicae missae." *Status epilepticus* is the form of the disease in which a succession of fits occurs.

³³ *Acta Sanct. Mab.*, VII, p. 491: "Qui cum fere in medio itineris oculum graviter dolere coepisset, ab eo signo crucis super se edito, dolorem mox sanus..."

³⁴ See esp. "Vita S. Idae," *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 4 Sept., II, pp. 265.

³⁵ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 13 Oct., VI, p. 361: "Vir quidam tanta infirmitate est correptus, ut uno oculorum eius in modum craterae extra locum tumore eiecto... a Beato Viro auxilium flagitavit."

³⁶ *Acta Sanct. Mab.*, VII, p. 461: "Quidam pauper de oppido Affelterbach, Rudpret vocatus, . . . ilia sua de ventre prolapsa in loco umbilici, portans in sinu suo."

³⁷ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 2 May, I, p. 294.

³⁸ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 4 Sept., II, p. 264.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 265: "Ecce dextera auris subito crepuit, veluti sarmentum torridum subito frangeretur, . . . a quo crepitu mox tabifluus de aure humor coepit emanare, totaque discessit sanies, donec venenoso liquore penitus egesto, redi-vivo rursus auditu donatur."

⁴⁰ See esp. "Vita S. Wiboradae," *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 2 May, I.

saints in person executed cures by the sign of the cross. Sympathetic magic appears a custom recorded by the biographer of St. Ulrich, to the effect that fever patients made offerings of birch rods,⁴¹ also in the account of the malingering beggar whose disabled hand was restored by St. Ida, and in the record of the healing, at the shrine of the same saint, of the man with the ten years' abscess of the middle ear.⁴² Fetishism, too, played a certain part. As the estate and personal property of the saints was held sacrosanct, any article which a saint had touched might become a potent charm for healing. St. Wiborad's sackcloth shirt cured Ekkehard of dropsy; together with her walking-stick, it availed to save the life of one Kebinina, who in a fit fell into the fire and was severely burned.⁴³ Preserved as a precious relic, the comb of St. Wiborad also possessed healing powers,⁴⁴ and a splinter from her wooden bowl effected the cure of a desperate case of ulcerated teeth.⁴⁵ At the shrine of St. Evre, maniacs were said to have been restored to sanity through the use of a chain employed for that purpose by the saint himself.⁴⁶ In two instances, however, a primitive method in therapeutics had passed beyond the borderline of fetishism. A merchant of Zurich cured himself of blindness by touching his eyes with the dried blood of St. Wiborad, scraped by him from the wall on which it had spattered when she was martyred by the Huns.⁴⁷ More remarkable is the case of a widow who had mourned for her husband till she became blind. In a vision she was directed to find a stone jar in which St. Verena had carried water to bathe the lepers, and in which she had also washed the clothes of her patients. The widow washed her eyes with some of the water in this jar, and recovered her sight!⁴⁸ One cannot marvel, on reading such an account, that the popular demand for miracles of healing was large.

To the wisdom and cleverness of those who shaped the hagio-

⁴¹ See note 20.

⁴² *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 4 Sept., II, p. 165.

⁴³ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 2 May, I, p. 308.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 307.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 307.

⁴⁶ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 15 Sept., V, pp. 71, 78.

⁴⁷ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 2 May, I, p. 290: "Quidam Turicini pagi mercator oculorum dolore graviter laborabat, ita ut tanta caecitate obtenebratus incederet, ut vix callem baculo regente teneret,....cultello parum quid sanguinolenti pulveris abradens, et linteolo, involvens, secum retinuit, .pulverem sanctificatum paene caecatis luminibus iniecit."

⁴⁸ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 1 Sept., I, p. 173: "Est vas lapideum in quo infundens aquam calidam cum cinere mixtam, lavi capita leprosororum, aliorumque vestimenta infirmorum. Si ex illo laveris...visum habebis."

graphic tradition, the cult of the saints owed the means of turning to practical use the failures of the petitioners to get what they asked for. Though such failures must have been frequent, the fact that failures did occur, was taken as evidence, not to refute, but to attest the supernatural power inherent in sainthood. The age being one of deep-rooted, childlike credulity, it can readily be understood that the exploitation of this credulity would add to the influence, at least, of the religious orders which supported the shrines of individual saints. Evidences of such exploitation are scattered through the documents. In the life of St. Evre is a record of the experience of a blind man who secured permanent relief only after making an offering;⁴⁹ also of a servant-girl whose relapse, after being healed from blindness, was due to her master's refusal to permit her to take the veil, as she had vowed.⁵⁰ Reginsinda, a migrainous woman, who, having been cured at the shrine of St. Wiborad, failed, in accordance with her vow, to keep holy the saint's natal day, suffered an attack of the disease in its worst form, accompanied by fainting spells.⁵¹ Of trade-rivalries and trade-agreements, mention has already been made. In passing, an anecdote in the life of St. Verena may also be noted. A certain tenant of the estate of the saint, having moved away with his family to avoid the payment of rent, was summarily dealt with. Death overtook him and his wife, and their only surviving child, at the time the hagiograph wrote, was a profound idiot, totally paralysed and deaf-mute.⁵² Thus, though the tradition aimed to disclose the merits of the saints with respect to the community, it was more intimately concerned with maintaining the cult as a source of income.

And as the person and estate of sainthood was held to be sacrosanct, so, locally at least, the natal day of some saints was to be kept unprofaned by labor. In the life of St. Ulrich, a man who on the saint's natal day went into the field and stacked hay found afterwards that every stack was reduced to ashes, save for what rested

⁴⁹ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 15 Sept., V, p. 70.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 71: "Lumen meruisset recipere, se ipsam servitutam eidem delegavit. Sed reversa ad priorem dominum, . . . ad illius violenter redacta servitium, mox pristinae caecitatis incommodum dolenter perpessa est."

⁵¹ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 2 May, I, p. 292: "Nec mora doloribus capitis antea sibi valde notis stimulata cecidit, stratumque causa huius infirmitatis veluti oblivioni traditum per vim requisivit."

⁵² *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 1 Sept., I, p. 172: "Nam ipse et eius coniugata defuncti sunt ambo, morte inspirata. Procreatio autem eius, quae nunc superest, patitur paralytim, cunctorum carens officio membrorum, nisi tantum habens visum oculorum."

on the outside.⁵³ A peasant who stowed hay on St. Verena's day, was cursed by the priests, and went insane.⁵⁴ Another rustic, who profaned the day of dedication of a church to St. Verena by cutting wood, had his axe cleave to his hand, so that he could not drop it.⁵⁵ A variation of this latter theme is in the story of a murderer to whose shoulders the corpse of his victim was fixed, and whose companion's sword clove to his hand as he tried to cut away the ghastly burden.⁵⁶

Lastly, folk-lore elements constitute a certain part of the hagiological tradition. The well-known myth of the expulsion of snakes from a holy place, familiar from the legend of St. Patrick, is found also in the lives of St. Pirmin,⁵⁷ and St. Verena.⁵⁸ St. Kunigund hangs her glove on a sunbeam;⁵⁹ St. Pirmin's walking-stick, unsupported, remains standing where he left it.⁶⁰ Fennel, planted on the grave of St. Wiborad by her brother, the monk Hitto, blooms all winter long.⁶¹ A saint's presence is indicated by a sweet odor.⁶² The stolen ring of St. Verena was recovered from the belly of a fish that swallowed it when the thief cast it into the river.⁶³ Similar examples might be recorded indefinitely—the unstandardized resi-

⁵³ *Acta Sanct. Mab.*, VII, p. 464: "Exterius formosam invenit,—cum autem bidenti ligno interius tangeret, totum in favillas immutatum invenit."

⁵⁴ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 1 Sept., I, p. 172: "Villanus quidem diem sollemnem sanctae Verenae dignis feriis noluit observare, sed abiit ad proprium pratulum, volens foenum aridum evertere de loco in locum. Maledixerunt ei presbyteri, . . . ille autem miser, sex vicibus cecidit, lunatice in terram cadens, stomachari coepit."

⁵⁵ "Rusticus quidem, cum in dedicationis die eiusdem ecclesiae ad colligenda ligna abscindendo silvam intraret, manubrium quod tenebat manu, firmiter adhaerebat." (*Ibid.*, 15.)

⁵⁶ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 25 Feb., III, 531-2.

⁵⁷ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 3 Nov., II, p. 36.

⁵⁸ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 1 Sept., I, p. 165.

⁵⁹ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 3 Mar., I, p. 275: "Dexteræ manus suae chirothecam detrahens . . . a se reiecit, quam radius solis per fenestrae rimulas intrans suscepit, et tamdiu quasi famulando sustinuit."

⁶⁰ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 3 Nov., II, p. 36: "Sanctus Pirminius. . . baculum suum, nulli materiae acclinem in limpido erectum statuit pavimento."

⁶¹ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 2 May, I, p. 291: "Hitto, viridis foeniculi germen circa tumulum eius fixit quod dispensante gratia divina radicum figens terrae per totam hiemem floruit."

⁶² In the case of St. Wiborad, *Acto Sanct. Boll.*, 2 May, I, p. 291), and of St. Verena, (*ibid.*, 1 Sept., I, p. 167).

⁶³ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 1 Sept., I, p. 167: "Pisces ipsum quoque cum ceteris obtulerunt sancto presbytero. . . visceribus erutis invenerunt anulum in intestinis eius. . . O mirum modum! Quis umquam vidit ista, aut quis audit talia? O fidelis piscis, qui mavult mori, quam quod non redderetur thesaurus virgini! O animal irrationale multo fidelius animali rationale, scilicet homini!" The person who stole the ring was of a family of defectives,—grandson of the servant who informed against St. Verena, concerning the wine she took from her host's store, to give to the lepers. (*Acta Sanct. Boll.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 167.)

due of certain elements of the popular religion which ever remains much the same. Two cases, however, may be cited, in which actual myth-making sought to account, in the one instance, for a birthmark, in the other for malformed eyes. Thus it is told that St. Kunigund had a disciple of whom she was very fond, a pious young woman who lapsed to the ways of the world, giving herself up to feasting and dancing. Good advice, rebukes, threats, availed nothing. Finally, when on one occasion St. Kunigund found her at a banquet, she slapped her face, and left thereon the marks of her fingers which never faded away.⁶⁴ In the life of St. Adelaide is the story of a man who, suspected of horse-stealing and convicted on circumstantial evidence, was punished by having his eyes put out. Through favor of the saint he recovered his vision, but for the rest of his life showed the marks of mutilation in the form of fissures in the iris of the eyes.⁶⁵ It is obvious that the man had *coloboma*, a congenital malformation of the eyes; the hagiograph records an interesting, if absurd, bit of folk-anatomy.

⁶⁴ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 3 Mar., I, p. 275: "Zelo pietatis armata, cum verbo correptionis dextera maxillam eius percussit, quae quasi sigillum quoddam formam digitorum eius accepit, qua omni tempore vitae suae non caruit."

⁶⁵ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, Vol. CXLII, col. 988: "Qui dum per sylvam iter haberet quae rustico vocabulo nuncupatur Biwalt, (Bienwald) forte ab equo imptu pascente usque ad oppidum Saiense comitatus est. Quam ob rem, apud quendam polentem, nomine Hinnonem furti accusatus est, qui eodem tempore cum praedicto imperatore Heinrico illuc venerat. Ille de incertis, certam sententiam proferens, iussit hominem miseris modis flagellari, spoliari, excaecari. Mox advena caecatus, levans ad caelum mentem et manus, 'si ego' ait, 'furti dolique innocens immerito tanta mala perpressus sum, tu, sancta Adalheida, redde mihi tuis precibus et meritis visum.' Post haec cuiusdam viri nomine Bennonis domo et cura receptus, post paucos dies lenito dolore ad pretiosi thesauri thecam accessit, testificansque suam innocentiam, oculorum sanitatem recepit. Idem tamen, medietate oculorum pupillae divisa verae caecitatis postmodum ostendit vestigia."

MISCELLANEOUS.

CURRENTS OF THOUGHT IN THE ORIENT.

BY B. K. ROY.

The Vitality of Hindu Civilization.

Are the ancient spiritual ideals of the East worth preserving? Are the modern material ideals of the West worth continuing? Are there any basic differences in the ideals of both? These are the questions that are agitating the minds of the thoughtful thinkers of both the East and the West.

Promotho Nath Bose, the noted author of *Hindu Civilization under British Rule*, has just come out with a new volume on the *Epochs of Civilisation*, in which he tries to analyze some of these ideals. The book has not reached us yet, but we find a synopsis of its salient parts in an article on "The Vitality of Hindu Civilization" by "A Bengali Brahmin," in the November *Modern Review* of Calcutta.

The Brahmin in summarizing the divisions of epochs as given by Mr. Bose writes:

"The history of human progress may be divided into three epochs. The first epoch (B. C. 6000 to 2000) comprises the history of the earlier civilizations of Egypt, Babylonia and China. The second epoch (about B. C. 2000 to 700 A. D.) comprises the later civilizations of Egypt and China, and the civilizations of India, Greece, Rome, Assyria, Phenicia and Persia. We are living in the third epoch, which commenced about 700 A. D. The most important fact of this third epoch is the rise and progress of Western civilization. Every epoch of civilization may be divided into three stages. In the first stage matter dominates the spirit, military prowess calls forth the greatest admiration, culture being related to the gratification of the senses, takes the form of the fine arts. The second stage is characterized by intellectual development. It is the age of reason, of science and philosophy, and militarism is on the decline. The third or final stage is the stage of spiritual development. Then 'the society is characterized more by harmony than by mobility.'"

As a rejoinder to the short-sighted supporters of the supposed superiority of the West, Mr. Bose is quoted as saying:

"It may be urged by an observer whose vision is not bedimmed by the glamour of western civilization, that if the ancient sages counseled retirement from strife and stress of material advancement, so far as practicable, to those who were particularly desirous of spiritual progress, especially at an advanced age, it was because the greater and the more arduous battle of such progress

might be fought more energetically and more efficiently, because they held with Buddha that—

“‘One may conquer a thousand men in battle
But he who conquers himself is the greatest victor.’

“The western nations are ‘playing the man,’ ‘to strive, to seek, to find.’ But the question naturally obtrudes itself, to find what? A spectator from the Oriental point of view may well ask: Of what avail is the victory of the western ‘grown man,’ which is achieved not by love, mercy or self-sacrifice, but the path to which lies over the misery of countless fellow creatures in all quarters of the globe, and which does not secure the tranquility and beatitude begotten of righteousness and concord, but brings in Sisyphean misery and disquiet engendered by unsatisfied desire, insatiable greed, and perpetual discord?”

To substantiate this argument of Mr. Bose, the modern Brahmin quotes passages from Tolstoy, Guizot, Browning, Spencer and Kidd. He might add here a few sentences from the recent utterances of Ex-President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard.

But Mr. Bose has a heroic hope in the future of western civilization, and believes that the third stage is bound to come to the West, but is afraid that it will not come before the very close of the present century and “When that consummation takes place, the evil tendencies of western industrialism would be repressed, but the foundation of international amity it has laid by bringing together all the races of the world would be strengthened, and there would arise, broad-based upon it, a fabric of civilization grander and more majestic than any the world has witnessed as yet.”

“The Hindus,” says Mr. Bose, “survived the loss of their political independence; and the survival is attributable to their moral and spiritual culture, which inspired them with sufficient courage to resist their conversion either by the sword or the allurements of material advancement. Hindu culture not only presented an impenetrable front of opposition to the disintegrating influences of Mohammedan invasion, but also in the course of time captured the Moslem mind and largely influenced Moslem culture and Moslem administration.”

The reason, to speak in the words of Mr. Jayaswal, is that “The Hindu is not a fossil. . . . The golden age of his polity lies not in the past but in the future. His modern history begins in the sixteenth century when Vaishnavism preached the equality of all men, when the Sudra—the helot of the ancient Hindu—preached shoulder to shoulder with the Brahmin who welcomed and encouraged it, when the God of the Hindu was for the first time worshiped with hymns composed by a Mohammedan, when Ramdas declared that man is free and he cannot be subjected by force, and when the Brahmin accepted the leadership of the Sudra in attempting to found a Hindu state. The Reformation of the Hindu has come. But a force which is greater still is also coming.”

Gleanings from “The Gardener.”

Mr. Rabindranath Tagore has just been awarded the Nobel prize for idealistic literature. He deserves it and ought to have received it long before. But Tagore was not known. He translated his *Gitanjali* in 1912; and he receives this international honor in 1913. That is what knowledge does with impartial tribunals.

Shortly after the *Gitanjali* appears *The Gardener*, a volume containing eighty-five lyrics of love and life—written in his younger days. Instead of mysticism, as in *Gitanjali*, here we find romanticism. Here Byron, Shelley and Omar Khayyam have combined, as it were, to make this volume romantic indeed:

LOVE AS SIMPLE AS A SONG.

"Hands cling to hands and eyes linger on eyes: thus begins the record of our hearts.

It is the moon-lit night of March; the sweet smell of *henna* is in the air; my flute lies on the earth neglected and your garland of flowers is unfinished. This love between you and me is simple as a song.

"Your veil of saffron color makes my eyes drunk.

The jasmine wreath that you wove me thrills to my heart like praise.

It is a game of giving and withholding, revealing and screening again; some smiles and some little shyness, and some sweet useless struggles.

This love between you and me is simple as a song.

"No mystery beyond the present; no striving for the impossible; no shadow behind the charm; no groping in the depth of the dark.

This love between you and me is simple as a song.

~~~~~

"We do not stray out of all words into the ever silent; we do not raise our hands to the void for things beyond hope.

It is enough that we give and we get.

We have not crushed the joy to the utmost to wring from it the wine of pain.

This love between you and me is simple as a song."

GET DRUNK AND GO TO THE DOGS.

"O mad, superbly drunk;

If you kick open your doors and play the fool in public;

If you empty your bag in a night and snap your fingers at prudence;

If you walk in curious paths and play with useless things;

Reck not rhyme or reason;

If unfurling your sails before the storm you snap the rudder in two,

Then I will follow you, comrade, and be drunken and go to the dogs.

"I have wasted my days and nights in the company of steady wise neighbors.

Much knowing has turned my hair gray, and much watching has made my sight dim.

For years I have gathered and heaped up scraps and fragments of things:

Crush them and dance upon them, and scatter them all to the winds.

For I know it is the height of wisdom to be drunken and go to the dogs.

~~~~~

"I swear to surrender this moment all claims to the ranks of the decent.

I let go my pride of learning and judgment of right and of wrong.

I will shatter memory's vessel, scattering the last drop of tears.

With the foam of the berry-red wine I will bathe and brighten my laughter.
 The badge of the cavil and staid I will tear into shreds for the nonce.
 I will take the holy vow to be worthless, to be drunken and go to the dogs."

AN APPEAL TO THE BETTER KNOWLEDGE OF DR. W. B. SMITH.

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

Dr. Smith appeals (*Open Court*, 1913, p. 699) to "the open-minded reader to consider carefully" the accounts from Hegesippus and Clemens Alexandrinus in Eusebius on James the Just. All "open-minded" readers, on the contrary, will appeal to the better knowledge of Dr. Smith, that the church-fathers in the interest of the perpetual virginity of Mary, and to do away with the hard facts of the Synoptics, that she had other children besides Jesus, quite early declared the brothers of Jesus to be either sons of Joseph by a former marriage or cousins of Jesus, sons of Alphaeus and a sister of Mary, the latter on the basis of a very equivocal passage (xix. 25) of the Fourth Gospel. For while Matthew and Mark represent the three women, Mary the Magdalene, Mary the mother of James the Less, and Salome, as viewing the crucified Jesus from *afar*, the unhistorical speculative Fourth Gospel in flat contradiction says: "There stood *beside* the cross Mary the mother of Jesus and her sister, Mary the wife of Clopas (i. e., Alphaeus) and Mary the Magdalene." This passage has been understood in two ways, the one assuming that four women are meant, the other that "Mary wife of Clopas" stands in apposition to "her sister." The early Syrian translation of the New Testament already understood it in the first way.

Even if the churchfathers with their dogmatical and otherwise very doubtful basis were right in their assumptions, they would not help Dr. Smith a whit unless he insists that the assumed half-brothers and cousins of Jesus must be taken symbolically also in this case, spiritual half-brothers, what that may mean, and spiritual cousins. If Dr. Smith is right here also, let us be thankful that after an ignorance lasting from the composition of the New Testament in regard to the brothers, whether half-brothers or cousins of Jesus, till up to our times, we have finally come to the right insight through the labors of Dr. Smith.

LAOTOPATI'S SACRIFICE.

[NOTE.—The following version of a legend from the "Classic of the Thousand Buddhas" is offered as a slight but interesting contribution to the story of Chinese Buddhism. The thousand kings, profiting by the lesson of Laotopati, repented of their want of faith, and after due penance performed for a kalpa or two were promised Buddhahood in their turn. The account is of course legendary, and in view of the modern rehabilitation of Buddhism, involving the recognition therein of much that is fine, much that is wholesome and logical and truly spiritual, it may as well be recorded that the story is not accepted as other than imaginative either by *The Open Court* or by the translator. The latter must however confess to a good deal of appreciation for the wonderful idea of self-sacrifice that runs through the poem, finding expression in a great act, which, if it arouses horror in many, will not fail to awaken in some minds a measure of admiration. The concept in itself

is the greatest that humanity has discovered, and every manifestation of it touches and moves the heart as nothing else does.]

A BUDDHIST LEGEND, TRANSLATED FROM THE CHINESE BY JAMES BLACK.

'Tis Self that you must utterly destroy,
All will and all desire, and every joy
The body yields, and welcome every pain:
Failing wherein, no Buddhahood you gain.

"Remember," Buddha said, "the thousand kings
Who heard the word that Laotopati preached,
And hearing, straight laid down the regal power
And built them cabins in the wilderness,
Where they might search with him into the Law,
And seek the Way above all other ways.

"To them, one day, a hungry yakcha came,
And asked for food, and him they set before
Water and fruit, the fare by which they lived,
'Twas all these kings had then to give a guest.
'Water and fruit for me,' the yakcha cried
In anger, 'not such fare a yakcha needs.
My father lived upon the hearts of men,
My mother slaked her thirst in human blood,
And I the self-same meat and drink must have.'
Such hunger and such thirst the kings aghast
Denied the wherewithal to satisfy.

"Then burst the yakcha's loud reproaches forth,
'Oh kings, who live not by the vows you made,
And following charity, refuse this boon,
To Wisdom surely you have not attained,
Knowing not that from Self all ills begin,
And he alone is to be called a sage
Who Self in all its shapes can sacrifice.'
But Laotopati to the yakcha said,
'Behold, I give you my own heart and blood.'

"Thereon, the genius of the land appeared,
And cried, 'Oh Laotopati, yield not thus
Your life unto this bloody monster's greed,
But share the sacrifice you make with us,
The spirits of the mountains and the woods.'

"Then Laotopati sang before he died,
'This life is but a spark's illusory light,
Scarce seen till it is swallowed in the night.
This life is but a voice that seems to call
From out the Silence's enshrouding pall.

'This mingling of the elements that make us,
How short a journey will its vigor take us.

Though time's long cycled years afar may run,
The Law is Death, the goal is quickly won.

'And for the Law's sake now I freely leave
This life. My body and my blood I give.
I would not save my life to lose the Light,
For losing life, I win to Wisdom's height.

'And should this offering raise me to the seat
Of Buddha, then with pitying purpose meet,
Mine shall it be to help you, Oh my friends,
To walk the way that in Nirvana ends.'

"Then Laotopati laid him on the ground,
And pierced his throat to give the yakcha blood,
And from his bosom yielded up his heart,
Whereat the stricken earth in terror shook,
The sun was veiled before a sight so dire,
And thunder pealed around a cloudless sky.
Four other yakchas hastened to the spot
And there devoured the body of the Saint.
Which done, they rose and circled in the air,
Thus crying to the thousand waiting kings,
'With Laotopati, how can you compare,
For his the last, the noblest sacrifice,
By which alone is Buddhahood attained.'"

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

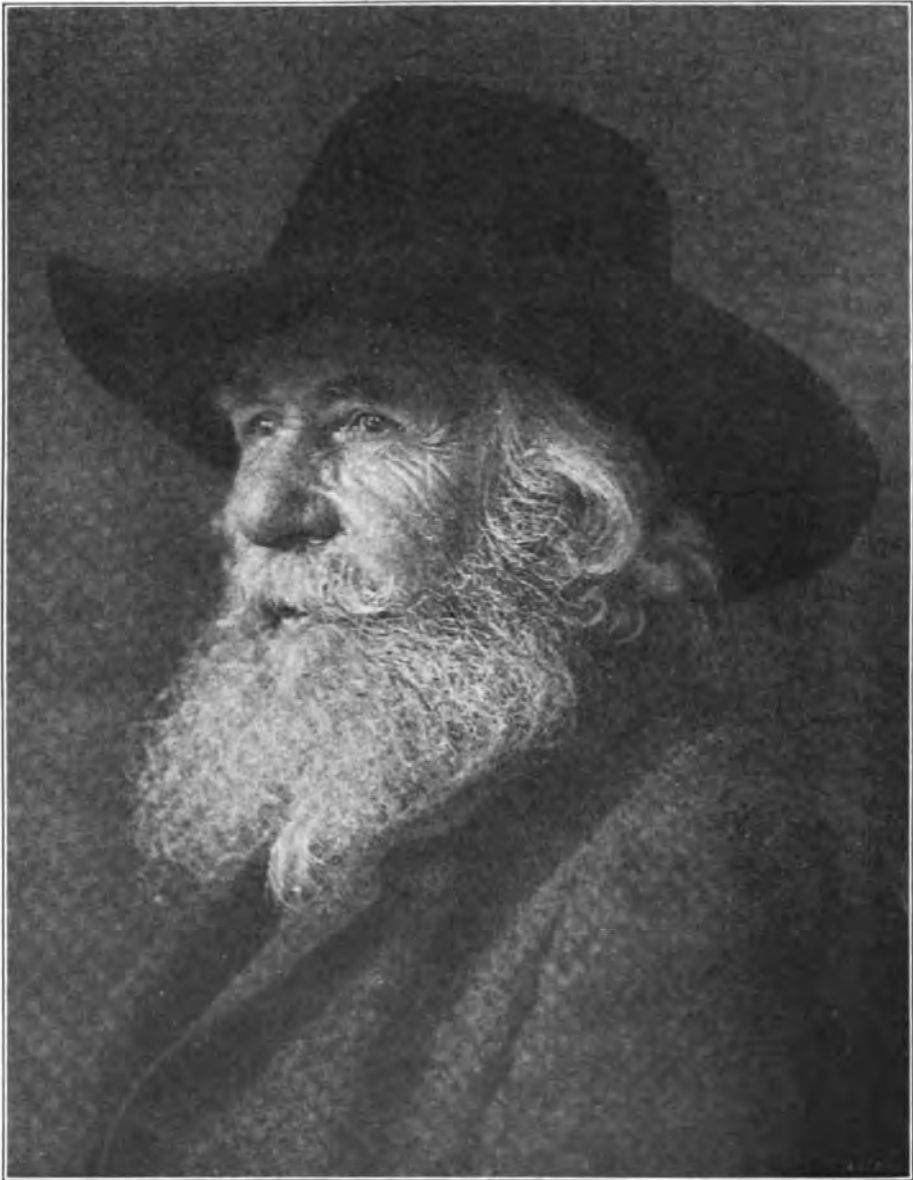
LES ETATS-UNIS D'AMERIQUE. Par *D'Estournelles de Constant*. Paris: Colin, 1913. Pages 536. Price 5 fr.

M. d'Estournelles de Constant is a prominent figure of international significance. He has been one of the most active representatives in France of the ideas of arbitration and international peace. His visits to America were in the interest of international peace through the medium of a better understanding between Europe and America. His first visit was in 1902 when he was invited to assist at a Washington's birthday celebration in Chicago. He came again five years later at the invitation of the Carnegie Institute of Pittsburg to help in establishing the Society for International Conciliation. This association planned his third voyage in 1911. Hitherto he had not been farther west than Chicago, and his observations were confined to the most conspicuous features of the leading eastern centers. But now a more careful campaign was arranged according to which he was to receive personal introductions to leading men in literally all parts of the country who would help him in each case to as thorough a knowledge of conditions as would be possible in the allotted time. In this way he was able to gain a familiarity with people, customs, conditions and motives which few foreigners have succeeded in receiving. His fourth visit was made the next summer (1912) as a delegate to the French-American committee for the Champlain celebration. He has

much to say of the presidential campaign of that year, in which he took a peculiarly strong personal interest as he had been in the most intimate relations with both presidents, Roosevelt and Taft, on former visits. The first part of his book is devoted to a description of the country from Washington city to Texas and the Mexican frontier; California; from Seattle to Salt Lake City; Colorado; Lincoln and Kansas City; New Orleans; the twin cities of Minnesota; Madison and Milwaukee; Illinois and Ohio. He discusses the specially burning issues of each locality. The second part is devoted to a consideration of the problems of the future, city planning, education, Indians, negroes, religion, interstate and international commerce, closing with our duties with regard to the army and navy, our colonies, Panama and the nations of the world. In France this book may well be expected to serve the purpose for the better knowledge of American people and institutions which the Hon. James Bryce intended his *American Commonwealth* to serve to the English. It cannot be as instructive to Americans because its descriptive portions deal with what is here generally known. But Americans cannot fail to be interested in this delineation of themselves by the hand of a most genial and sympathetic critic.

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At the end of 1913 there appeared in Paris a volume entitled *Melanges Bémont*, in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Professor Bémont's career as a university teacher. The contents are entirely the work of his former students of the Ecole des Hautes-Etudes at the Sorbonne, and have to do with the history of England, whose politics and institutions have long been M. Bémont's specialty. Among these papers is the hitherto unpublished journal of the siege of Louisburg in 1758, found in the archives of the French Colonial Office by the talented specialist on French colonial subjects, M. Léon Jacob, who holds degrees in letters and law from the University of Paris and a diploma for superior studies in history and geography, and who is also a laureate of the Institute. M. Jacob has published several monographs, one of them being a study of how the Panama canal will affect the French colonies. His Bémont contribution consists of some fifty folio sheets of manuscript and is unsigned, but the context shows that the author was an officer of the little French garrison at Louisburg. It forms part of the collection of "Fortifications de l'Amérique Septentrionale," composed of documents, maps, plans, etc., relating to Louisburg, among which is another account of the siege, also unpublished, the official report of Marquis Desgouttes, who commanded the French naval forces. M. Jacob's monograph affords several curious glimpses of the military customs of those days. Thus on June 17, we are informed that "the general commanding the enemy sends the wife of our governor a present of two pine-apples," and we learn that the next day "Mme. de Drucour responds to the gift of the English general by sending him a French officer with some bottles of Bourgogne." But under the same date appears this line: "The English have captured one of our frigates and have sailed it by us so that we can see it." On July 6, the English admiral proposes to the French governor that he chooses in an out of the way corner of the town a refuge for "the ladies," which he promises "shall be specially respected." And the chronicler makes this very just comment: "It is impossible to conduct war on either side in a more courteous fashion."—THEODORE STANTON.



Ernst Haeckel.

From a photograph taken October 18, 1913.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

**Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.**

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HAECKEL'S BIRTHDAY.

BY THE EDITOR.

PROFESSOR ERNST HAECKEL will celebrate his eightieth birthday on February 16, 1914, and a movement has been started to honor the venerable pioneer of monistic thought with tributes and ovations. In anticipation of further plans Professor Haeckel publishes the following open letter to his friends, pupils and followers:

"I have been informed from several quarters that a number of my friends, pupils and followers intend to celebrate my approaching eightieth birthday by donations and other testimonials, about the form and nature of which different proposals have been made. Having been honored repeatedly on former occasions by similar presentations, I beg leave to request that this time all such personal gifts to myself be omitted and that the amounts intended for this purpose be applied to a foundation which I should wish put at the disposal of the German Monistic League. This league founded in the interest of furthering civilization deserves support by greater financial aid on account of the wonderful development it has reached since its foundation seven years ago, and on account of its importance for the attainment of a liberal and rational world-conception, as well as for the practical application of this world-conception toward a higher moral conduct of life.

"The contemplated 'Ernst Haeckel Fund for Monism' is intended permanently to promote this humanizing work on the secure basis of natural science and to furnish the necessary means for the practical performance of its numerous important tasks. To all

friends and all sharing my views who desire to support my long life-work by contributing to this fund I hereby express in advance my most cordial thanks.

"At the first international congress of monists which took place in September 1911 in Hamburg, and which was especially successful because of the large numbers who attended, including a wide representation from foreign countries, the effort was made to extend the German Monistic League into an international society.



HAECKEL ON THE STREETS OF JENA (1907).

This universal monistic league, representing a powerful advance in our cultural tasks by uniting liberal thinkers of all countries, will be the more able practically to verify its importance the more liberally my friends in all parts of the world will share in contributing towards the new foundation."

[Contributions may be made payable to the "Ernst-Haeckel-Schatz für Monismus," and addressed to "Deutsche Bank, Filiale Hamburg, Germany." All inquiries and other correspondence should be ad-

dressed to the "Ernst-Haeckel-Schatz für Monismus, Hamburg 36, Klein Fontenay Nr. 1."]

The present number of *The Open Court* contains Haeckel's own most recent article in which he outlines his position. We further publish a discussion of his work by one of his most ardent supporters, Dr. W. Breitenbach, the editor of the *Neue Weltanschauung*.¹



VIEW FROM HAECKEL'S STUDY WINDOW.

Professor Haeckel's work is continued by Prof. Wilhelm Ostwald, whose prominent position as a scientist and philosopher renders him most fit for leadership.

It will be noticed that Dr. Breitenbach is not in full agreement with the *Monistenbund*, and so far as we know he has not even joined its ranks, but on this day of rejoicing he does not keep aloof.

¹ The editor's address is Brackwede i. W., and the publishers of the *Neue Weltanschauung* are Hausbücher-Verlag Hans Schnippel, Berlin-Halensee, Hektorstr. 20.

and raises his voice in the interest of the cause. Professor Haeckel himself stands above the differences of sectarian interpretations of monism. Though the movement may in some details not be quite satisfactory to his ideals, our octogenarian takes a friendly attitude towards all his friends and adherents, hoping that wherever they, or even he himself, may be mistaken their errors will by and by be overcome and their purpose will be more and more matured.

We too have our own conception of monism. We too insist on the significance of certain truths which should be heeded, and we may also now and then have occasion to criticize other monisms. But we have never failed to recognize the historical significance of Professor Haeckel's work and we take this opportunity on his eightieth birthday to congratulate him on what he has accomplished during the long and fruitful career of his scientific work.

THE BOUNDARIES OF NATURAL SCIENCE.¹

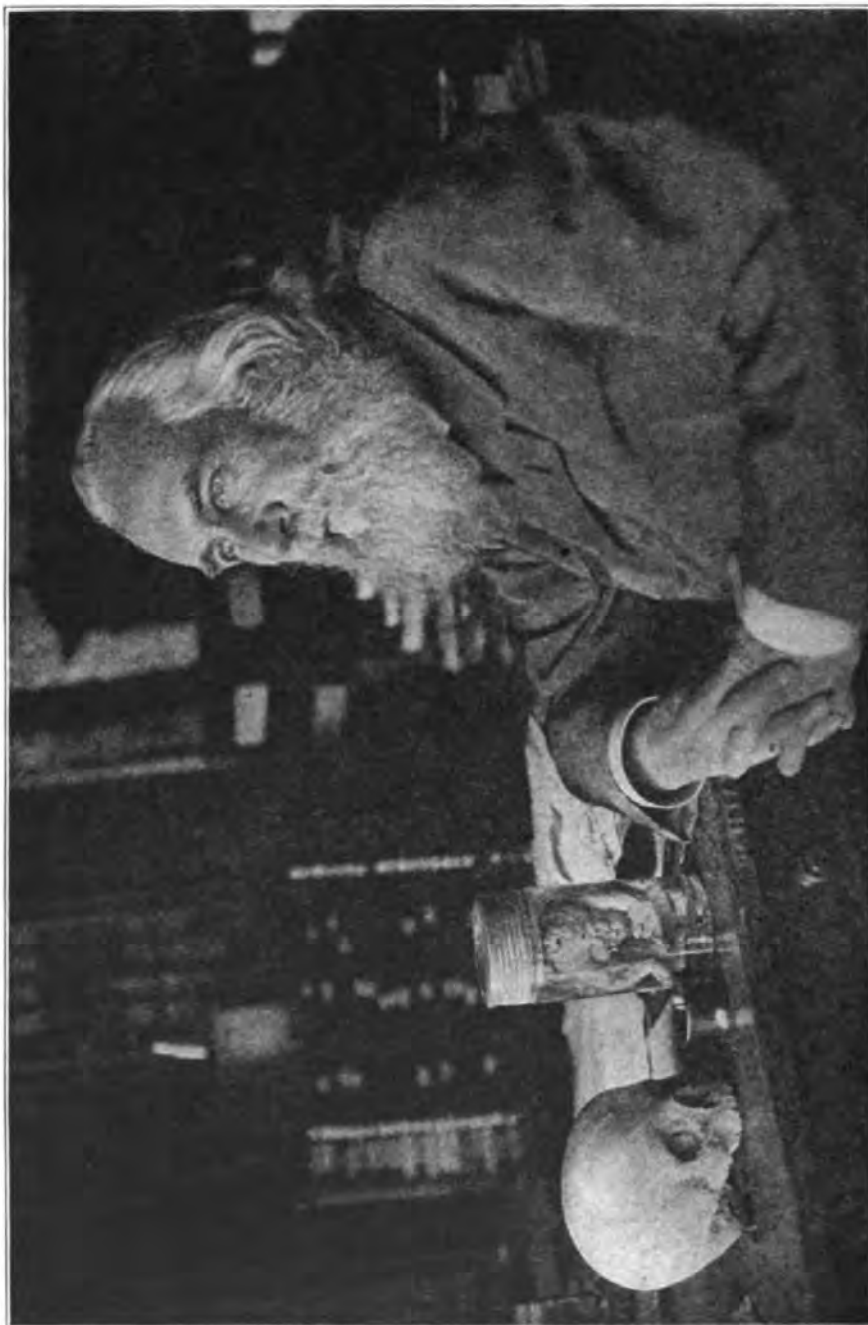
BY ERNST HAECKEL.

THE meeting of German naturalists and physicians of 1913 may look back more proudly than ever before upon the wonderful results accomplished by natural science in the last half century. In each one of its many sections there was opportunity to admire the marvelous immensity of the progress recently attained and to emphasize its practical significance for our modern culture. But disregarding all the separate brilliant results of the particular sciences and rising to the most comprehensive survey of the magnificent whole, the most gratifying result of all, indeed, remains the conviction that the study of nature has gradually taken by storm the entire domain of the human intellect, that *all* true "science" in the last analysis is *natural* science.

To be sure this legitimate claim is still opposed even to-day in large circles as an unwarranted presumption; the so-called mental sciences are opposed to the natural sciences as being of equal, or rather of superior, value. But unprejudiced comparison and critical investigation (free from all traditional dogmas) convince us that all branches of the former should be classified in the all-embracing domain of the latter. History in its broader sense—universal history as well as the history of the nations, the history of the earth and natural history—all are branches of the general theory of evolution. The philological sciences, comparative study of languages and psychology, are parts of physiology. Philosophy as the proud "queen of the sciences," gathering all general results of the special branches into the common focus of its "world-conception," has lasting value only as it is the monistic philosophy of nature. The an-

¹ On the occasion of the triennial meeting of naturalists at Vienna Professor Haeckel published this brief essay in the *Neue Freie Presse* in a somewhat abbreviated form. With the author's permission this was republished in the *Neue Weltanschauung* of October 1913, including the parts which had been previously omitted. From this more complete form it is here translated into English by Lydia G. Robinson.

cient traditional antitheses of spirit and body, energy and matter, *psyche* and *physis*, fuse into its unified concept of substance.



HAECKEL IN HIS STUDY (1907).
Photograph by Paul Carus.

The opposition which our firmly established unitary world-conception—"naturalistic monism"—still meets constantly from con-

servative and clerical circles, rests particularly upon the old vitalism, upon the dualistic hypothesis that a special life force (*vis vitalis*) creates the phenomena peculiar to organic life independently of universally prevailing physical laws.

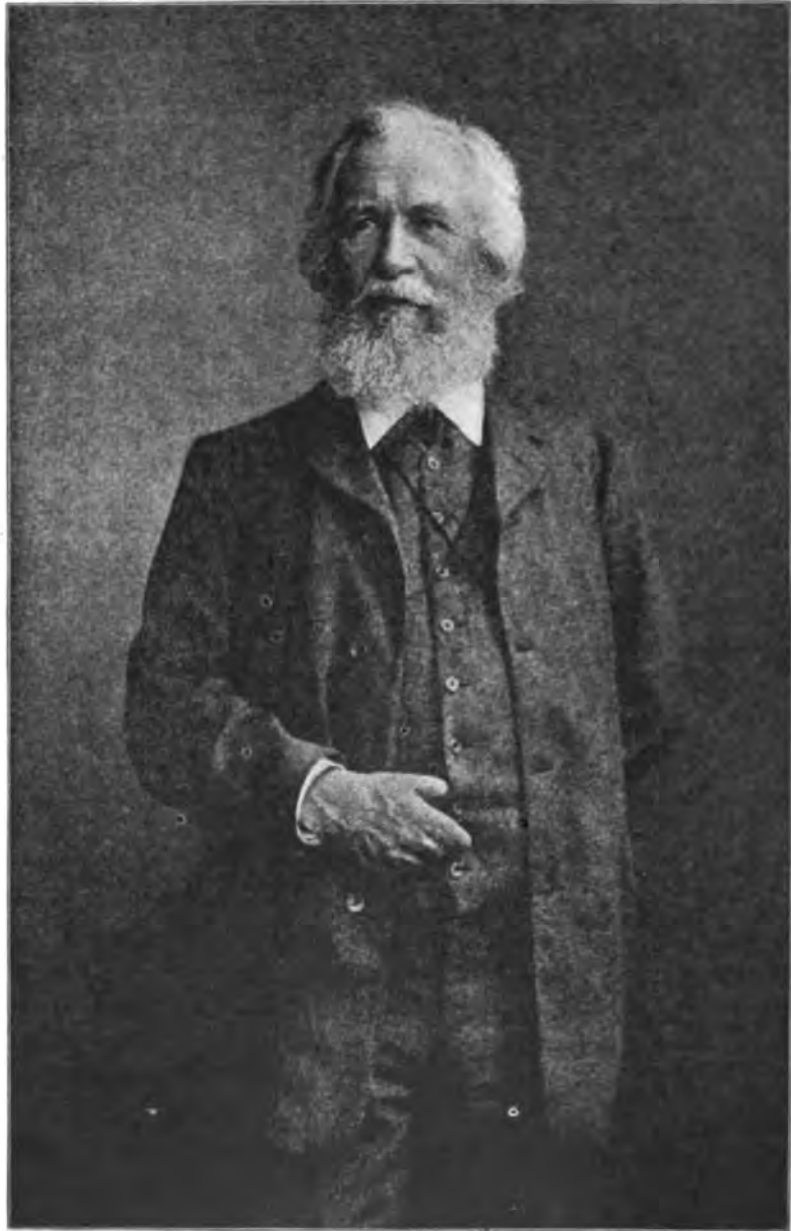
This "anthropistic romance" leads to the poetical fiction of a "personal God" who as creator, preserver and ruler of the world is supposed consciously to direct the entire course of its development according to a definite aim and purpose.

As much as sixty years ago this old misleading vitalism was thoroughly refuted, and since then our modern evolution theory has completely removed the ground from beneath its feet. When, nevertheless, a new form of the same thing, the so-called neo-vitalism, succeeds in again presenting its claims, this anachronism is explained on the one hand by the deficient biological education of its representatives and on the other hand by the deeply rooted primeval instinct of the speculating human mind toward the mysterious and occult. This is particularly true of the mystical conception of consciousness, a partial phenomenon in the psychic life of man and the higher animals, in which even some prominent naturalists perceive an impassable boundary to our knowledge of nature. The advanced comparative and genetic psychology of modern times has led us to the conviction that the most highly developed human consciousness does not owe its origin to any supernatural "spirit," but like all other psychic activities represents the work performed by the neurons, the ganglion-cells in the cortex of our cerebrum.

When now in spite of this fact the philosophy of the dualistic school speaks of a special universal consciousness (*Weltbewusstsein*) this error arises from the unjustified transference of human psychic activities to the realm of the universe as a whole. Our monistic natural philosophy has convinced us that "a spirit in all things dwells," and that the unitary and all-comprehensive "God-nature" does not require human personification. Although this natural monistic view of the world was a clearly formed conception in the minds of the prominent thinkers of antiquity, it has attained a firmer empirical foundation through the magnificent progress made in the knowledge of nature, and especially in the modern theory of evolution, in the last half-century.

At the head of this marvelous progress stands the final solution of the great "problem of man," the clear scientific answer to the world-old questions, Whence? Whither? Why? On the strength of its three great documents, paleontology, comparative anatomy and ontogeny, the theory of descent has convinced us that man is

the most highly developed mammal; that like the vertebrates he has developed in the course of many millions of years from a long line



HAECKEL IN 1905.

of animal ancestors. This has now become a "historical fact." Human ontogeny has taught us that every single human being, like every other vertebrate, takes its origin from a single simple cell.

The wonderful series of forms which this one-celled germ passes through until its full completion as a complex human organism is a brief repetition (dependent on the laws of heredity and adaptation) of the long and wonderful line of ancestors which our animal progenitors have passed through in the course of many millions of years. In other words, "the history of the germ is a short sketch of the history of the race." This "biogenetic principle" is no airy hypothesis but a clear theory firmly established by facts.

The great biologist who was the first fearlessly and with clear consciousness to consummate this important solution of the problem of man referred to it in 1863 with good reason as "the question of all questions." Since now exactly fifty years have passed since this world-moving discovery it is certainly fitting that the great meeting of naturalists in Vienna should at the same time celebrate proudly and gratefully this "jubilee of anthropology." This is more important and of greater consequence than all the brilliant festivals taken together which are being celebrated in this year of many jubilees. For the previous boundaries of natural science have now fallen; its dominion has become extended thereby over the whole realm of man's intellectual life. *Nature is everything*, and therefore all true science is also at bottom "natural science."

"Pure reason" sees at first in this advance in modern natural science only the most important reform of the theoretical world-conception, but sooner or later it must also involve a corresponding practical reform in our conduct of life. The deplorable state in which traditional dualism to-day still holds captive our social and ethical, our political and pedagogical conditions, will give place more and more to liberal progress toward rational freedom. The pure *monistic religion* which will develop therefrom will, thanks to the conquests of our modern natural science, lead the humanity of the twentieth century to a higher grade of perfection.

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FIFTY YEARS IN THE SERVICE OF THE EVOLUTION THEORY.¹

BY DR. W. BREITENBACH.

THIS year Prof. Ernst Haeckel can celebrate a peculiar jubilee. It is fifty years ago last September since his first public appearance, so pregnant with consequences, in behalf of the Darwinian theory. In the autumn of 1859 appeared Darwin's epoch-making work *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life*, which was edited the following year in the German language by the zoologist Bronn of Heidelberg. At first the book met but scanty approval from German zoologists and botanists. Here and there literary voices in Darwin's favor made themselves heard, but they aroused no responsive echo, and the general public particularly continued to know nothing of the Darwinian theory and its revolutionary significance. Even the writings of the German zoologist Carl Vogt and the English zoologist Thomas Huxley, which appeared in 1863, did not make any impression in spite of the fact that even then they were discussing the serious problem of the application of the Darwinian theory to mankind. Huxley, especially, in his *Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature*, which is still classical and well worth reading, made the assertion that the anatomical differences between man and the man-like apes are less than those between the latter and the lower apes. With this proposition, which Haeckel later called the "Pithecometra principle," it was expressly declared clear and distinctly that man is most closely related to the anthropomorphic apes and must historically have originated from them. Even Carl Vogt arrived at the conclusion that man has developed from the animal kingdom.

¹ Translated by Lydia G. Robinson from the *Neue Weltanschauung* of September, 1913. The illustrations in this article, though not directly pertinent to its contents, are reproductions of a few instances of Professor Haeckel's own artistic work.

Haeckel himself became acquainted with Darwin's book in Berlin in 1861 after his return from Messina (where he had been making a special study of Radiolaria) and was sure that none of the zoologists and anatomists of Berlin at that time recognized the Darwinian theory. Only the intelligent botanist, Alexander Braun, gave his assent in great measure. But from the moment in which Haeckel finished reading the *Origin of Species* he was an enthusiastic and confident adherent of Darwin, the further extension of whose theory was henceforth to be the most important task of his life.

He utilized the first opportunity which offered itself to declare his agreement with Darwin's theory. This occurred in a note in his *Monographie der Radiolarien* which appeared in 1862. The note reads: "I can not refrain from taking this opportunity to give expression to the great admiration with which Darwin's remarkable theory of the origin of species has filled me. The more, since this epoch-making work has met with a prevailingly unfavorable reception from German specialists, and to some extent seems to have been totally misunderstood. Darwin himself wishes his theory to be put to the test in as many directions as possible, and looks 'with special confidence to young aspiring naturalists, who will be capable of judging both sides of the question impartially. Whoever is inclined to the view that species are inconstant will perform a good service to science by scrupulously acknowledging this conviction; for only in this way can the mountain of prejudices be removed under which this object lies buried.' I fully share this opinion, and feel compelled for this reason to express my conviction with regard to the mutability of species and to the actual genealogical relationship of all organisms. Although I shrink from sharing Darwin's views and hypotheses in all respects, and from regarding as correct the entire demonstration he has attempted, I must still admire in his work the first serious scientific attempt to explain all the phenomena of organic nature from a sublime unitary point of view and to replace incomprehensible miracle by comprehensible natural law. Nevertheless, there may be more error than truth in Darwin's theory in the form in which it appeared as the first attempt of the kind. As incontestably important principles of the greatest significance, at all events, as are natural selection, the struggle for existence, the relation of organisms to one another, the divergence of character and all other principles elucidated by Darwin in support of his theory, still it is easily possible that just as many and as important principles which affect the phenomena of organic nature in the same way or with even greater restriction are still totally unknown to us." After

a few more observations the note then concludes: "The greatest defect of the Darwinian theory probably lies in the fact that it does not furnish any point of departure for the origin of the primitive organism from which all others have gradually developed, most probably a simple cell. If Darwin assumes for this first species another special act of creation, it would be very inconsistent to say the least, and, it seems to me, not intended seriously. But apart from these and other shortcomings Darwin's theory possesses as it stands the undying merit of having put sense and meaning into the whole theory of the relations between organisms. When we consider how every great reform, every long step in advance, meets with the more violent opposition the more unfeelingly it overturns well-rooted prejudices and opposes prevailing dogmas, we certainly can not wonder that Darwin's ingenious theory has hitherto met only attacks and repulses instead of well-deserved recognition and investigation."

In the text of the work on Radiolaria also there are single passages which show that Haeckel even then had fully grasped the great significance of the Darwinian theory, and he had previously sought to sketch a genealogical system of the Radiolaria.

This courageous open confession of the youthful zoologist was hidden in a large scientific monograph limited to the narrowest circle of specialists, and made no outward impression. But Haeckel was stirred in his inmost being by the new theory and regarded it as his duty to assist in obtaining for it the recognition it deserved. In 1863, the meeting of the German naturalists and physicians was held in Stettin. On September 19, Haeckel gave the first public address "On Darwin's Evolution Theory." The lecture is a clear intelligible presentation of the new theory of the English naturalist and thus early puts in systematic form the farthest reaching consequences to which Darwin himself at that time could not commit himself, and does so, moreover, from purely external reasons. Haeckel condenses the fundamental idea of the Darwinian theory tersely thus: "All the different animals and plants which are living to-day, as well as all organisms which ever have lived upon the earth, have not been created as we have been accustomed to assume from our earliest youth, each one for itself independently in its species, but have developed gradually in spite of their wide variety and great diversity in the course of many millions of years from some few, perhaps even from one single original form, one supremely simple primitive organism. Accordingly, so far as we human beings are concerned, we, as the most highly organized vertebrates, would have to look for our primitive common ancestors among the apelike mammals; still

farther back among kangaroo-like Marsupialia ; still farther, in the so-called secondary period, in lizard-like Reptilia ; and finally in a still earlier time, in the primary period, in low organized fishes." At the end of his lecture Haeckel calls the Darwinian evolution theory the "greatest scientific advance of our time, promising to do for organic nature what Newton's law of gravitation has accomplished for inorganic nature."

In the Stettin address Haeckel, the leading German naturalist, had not only brought Darwin's new theory before the forum of the



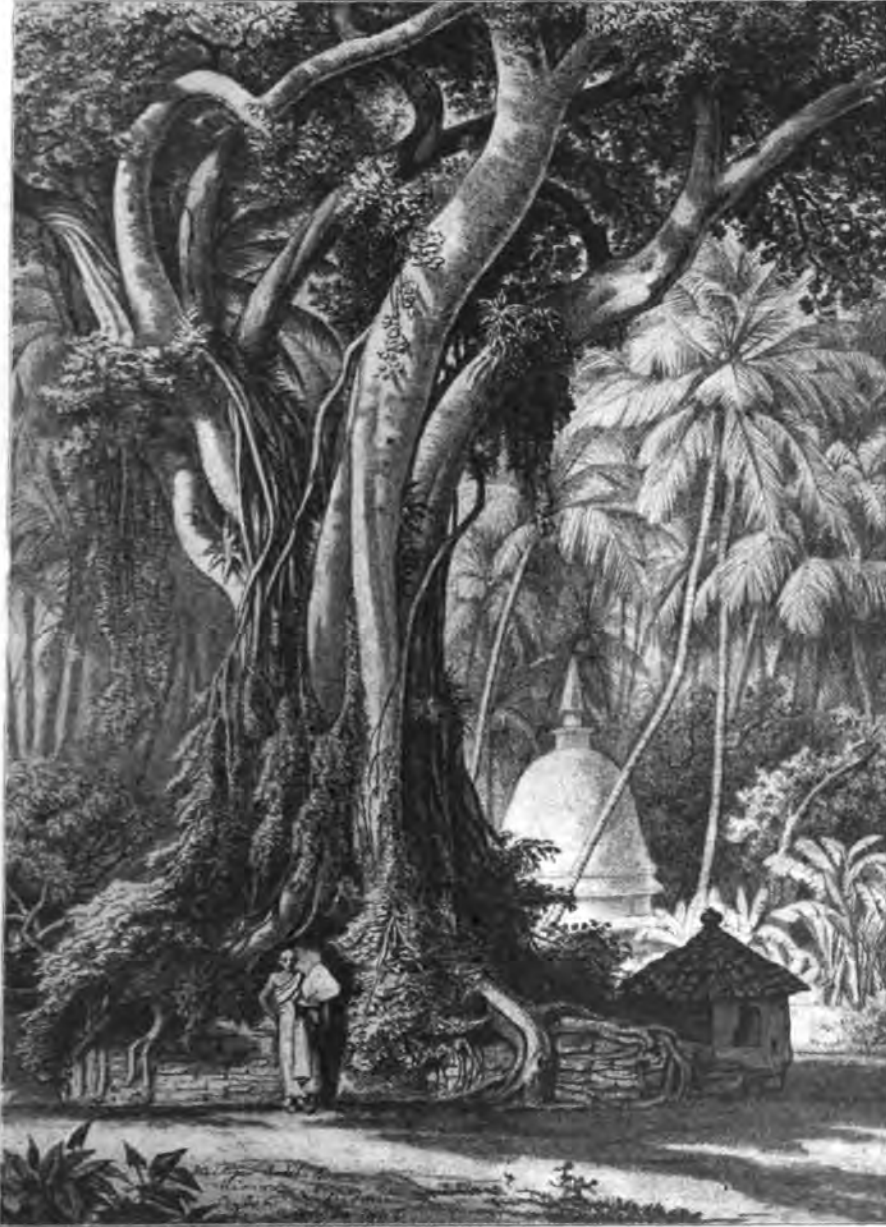
VIEW FROM RAMBODDE PASS.
After a photograph from *Wanderbilder*.

German scientific world but also before the broader public. With dauntless courage he deduced from it that most important inference of man's descent from the animals, by which Darwin's theory was destined to attain, and has attained, such prodigious significance for the transformation of our entire world-conception. Of course the address of the young Jena professor met with the liveliest opposition on the part of the older naturalists present who ridiculed Darwin's views and theories and declared them to be absolutely untenable, without suspecting what folly they themselves were com-

mitting. But this opposition, which is the lot of everything new and revolutionary, did not last long, and the result of Haeckel's speech was that the idea of a development of the higher from the lower took firm hold in science and in the educated public at large, and that the theory of man's descent from animals never again disappeared from the public view. So this speech at Stettin took its place by the side of the above-mentioned writings of Huxley and Vogt, and from that hour Haeckel took upon himself the leadership in Germany of the struggle for the theory of descent. He has kept it up for almost a generation and was later not unjustly called *the German Darwin*.

Let us see wherein Haeckel's further services in behalf of the new theory mainly consist. A few years after his speech at Stettin he gave two lectures before a small circle in Jena, "On the Origin and Pedigree of the Human Race." In them he developed the general arguments which compel us to classify man in the animal kingdom and to apply to him the same laws of evolution which prevail there. Since from his physical constitution man is undoubtedly to be counted in the animal kingdom, since he is a genuine mammal and must be placed at the top of these most highly developed vertebrates, it necessarily follows, if we grant the truth of the theory of descent in general, that man too must have developed from the lower animals, apes, semi-apes, the Marsupialia, and further back from the Amphibia, fishes and invertebrates. In 1865 Haeckel said literally: "If we can prove the truth of the Darwinian theory, our acceptance of a descent of man from lower vertebrates must necessarily follow, and we are altogether exempt from any special demonstration for the latter hypothesis." Even then Haeckel placed the greatest value upon this philosophical basis for the animal genealogy of the human race, and he worked it out still further a year later in his great work *Generelle Morphologie*. The following passage from this classical work deserves to be retained for all time: "The theory of descent is a general law of induction which follows with absolute necessity from the comparative synthesis of all organic natural phenomena and particularly from the threefold parallels of phyletic, biontic and systematic evolution. The statement that man has developed from the lower vertebrates, and indeed most clearly from actual apes, is a particular deductive conclusion which follows with absolute necessity from the general law of induction of the theory of descent." "All further discoveries which in the future will enrich our knowledge about the phyletic development of man," adds Haeckel, "can be nothing but special verifications of that deduction which rests upon the broadest inductive basis." All the

later work in all the domains of anthropological morphology, comparative anatomy and ontogeny, physiology and even physiological



THE SACRED BODHI TREE, CEYLON.
From a crayon drawing in *Wanderbilder*.

chemistry, has confirmed again and again this bold deduction of Haeckel in the year 1866.

In the above-mentioned *Generelle Morphologie* may also be

found the comprehensive foundation for that great law which must be regarded as Haeckel's most important contribution to the extension of the evolution theory and whose further development and application from that time on governed his Darwinistic labors. I mean his "biogenetic principle" which is hotly contested to this day. According to this principle of organic evolution, ontogeny, or the germ-history of the individual, is a brief repetition of the history of the race depending on the law of heredity. The separate stages of ontogenetic evolution give us at least an approximate picture of the development through which have passed the ancestors of the animal in question in the course of the geological evolution of the earth. In other words: In its development from the fertilized ovum every animal passes through a series of forms through which in a similar sequence his ancestors have passed in the course of the earth's history. The history of the germ is a sketch, a miniature, of the history of the race.

The first intelligent presentation of this law was furnished in 1863 by Fritz Müller in his brief paper "For Darwin," a paper whose great value Haeckel has laid stress upon throughout his whole life with the warmest words of approval. I gave an extensive report of the first proof of the biogenetic principle by Fritz Müller in my *Populäre Vorträge aus dem Gebiete der Entwicklungstheorie*.

By means of this law the significance of ontogeny, or the individual development of animals from the fertilized ovum, stood out more prominently than heretofore, and it was only natural that Haeckel should concern himself exhaustively with this branch of zoology. He investigated particularly the first development of the lower animals from the ovum, and by this means (at the same time utilizing similar investigations on the part of other zoologists, especially of the Russian Kovalevski) arrived at the ingenious conception of his famous "gastræa theory" which he worked out and established in various writings during the years 1872 to 1884, and which must be counted among his most conspicuous accomplishments in zoology.

Comparative germ-history or ontogeny has established by exact observations that from the fertilized ovum of all metazoans or many-celled animals after the general divisions of the ovum or segmentations, an early or germ-form proceeds which shows essentially the same construction in all classes of animals.

This germ-form in all typical cases is a small bubble- or cup-shaped formation whose wall consists of two layers of cells containing an opening at one end through which the inner cavity of the

sac is connected with the outside world. The two cell layers are the cotyledons, the inner or entoderm and the outer or ectoderm; these enclose the primitive digestive cavity (archenteron) and the opening in the partition is the primitive mouth (blastopore). The entire structure is called the gastrula. Such a typical gastrula appears in representatives of all metazoans. Often the form of the gastrula is secondarily modified as a consequence of various conditions, but the two cotyledons, the archenteron and the blastopore, can always be distinguished. From this simple gastrula all the later organs of the animal body are derived in a further evolution, as can be separately demonstrated.

To these ontogenetic facts Haeckel now applied the biogenetic principle, arriving at the following supremely important conclusion: The embryonic form of the gastrula is the repetition (dependent on heredity) of a primitive ancestral form of real animals, the so-called gastræa. In other words, all metazoans are descended from an original animal form, long since extinct, which was constructed essentially similar to a typical cup-shaped gastrula, the gastræa. This phylogenetic utilization of ontogenetic material is Haeckel's work. When some naturalists nowadays wish to dispute this service of Haeckel's they seem to understand but poorly the historical evolution of science.

In the biogenetic principle and the gastræa theory Haeckel has given to science clues which lead safely through the labyrinth of ontogenetic facts and solve the riddles of the history of the animal kingdom and hence also of our own race.

Haeckel attempted to apply this new knowledge to man in a comprehensive manner in his *Anthropogenie* which appeared in its first edition in 1874, after he had already worked out the fundamental features of animal and human descent in different editions of his popular *Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte*. The *Anthropogenie*, human ontogeny and phylogeny, was almost entirely disregarded by the narrower specialists, was even attacked from several quarters with extreme violence. Gradually, however, the attacks ceased, one edition followed another, and to-day the fundamental features of the *Anthropogenie* have been accepted by practically all well-informed and competent zoologists and anthropologists. The "question of questions," as Thomas Huxley called that of the descent of man, has been discussed for a number of years with extreme animation, not only among the laity but also in strictly scientific circles, and some of our best anatomists and anthropologists are devoting their entire energy to it.

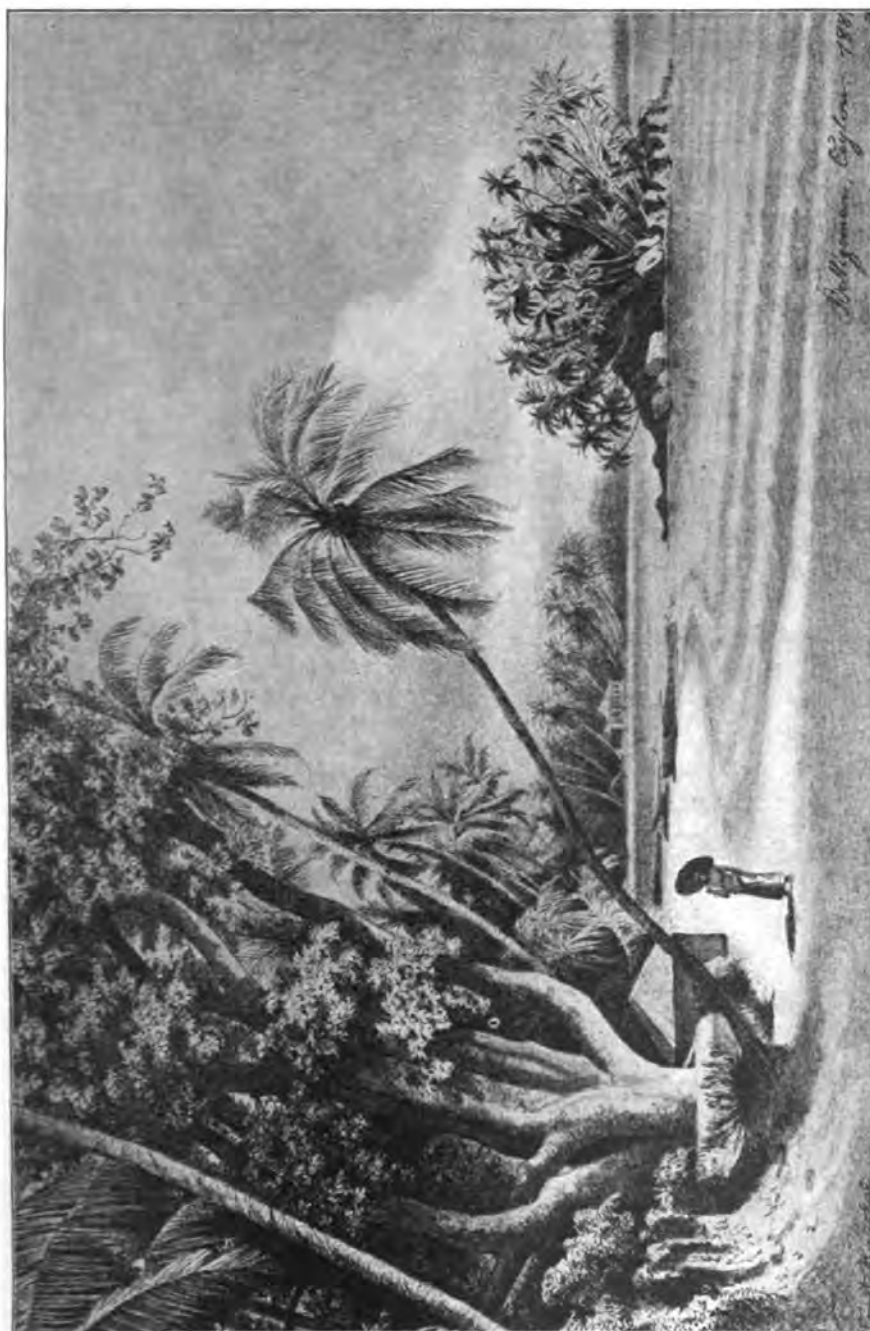
To be sure these investigators are concerned almost exclusively with the narrow specific question of the immediate antecedents of man, hence his relations to the nearest mammals, the apes. Haeckel on the contrary has from the beginning treated the problem of man in its widest scope and attempted to follow back the ancestral line of our race to the beginnings of the animal kingdom. In all the rapidly succeeding editions of the *Anthropogenie* and the *Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte*, he has constantly endeavored to improve his phyletic theories and hypotheses and to bring them into harmony with the state of research in each case. When he gave a condensed exposition "On Our Present Knowledge of the Origin of Man" at the International Congress of Zoologists at Cambridge in 1898, he met with entire accord from this forum of international science. For the last time he discussed and substantiated in detail his views on human phylogeny in his pamphlet *Unsere Ahnenreihe* (1908).²

In human phylogeny Haeckel distinguishes two great halves which he again divides into three grand divisions. The first and oldest half includes the time before the Silurian and is distinguished by the fact that there are extant no fossil records of our ancestors from that time. In this first main section of the line of ancestors there can have been only invertebrates whose soft bodies could not leave any fossilized relics. Here paleontology can give us no information about the race, and we are directed to comparative anatomy and very especially to comparative ontogeny. The safe guides to these domains are the biogenetic principle and the gastræa theory. It is to-day recognized by all competent investigators that the earliest ancestors of the vertebrates, to which man belongs, must also have been invertebrates; there is also general unanimity with regard to the fact that the earliest ancestors of all metazoans are to be sought in the one-celled protists. But where the connection of the vertebrates with the invertebrates is to be found, scholars can not yet agree, as I have pointed out in Volume VIII of the *Neue Weltanschauung* with regard to a very fantastic theory of an American zoologist. Any special hypothesis about the exact point of contact is just as uncertain as the general phyletic hypothesis of the descent of vertebrates from invertebrates is certain.

We have firmer ground beneath our feet in considering the second half of our ancestral line, which reaches from the Silurian up to the present time and of which we can gain information from many fossilized remains of the fauna of those times. Comparative

² Since I have given an extensive analysis of this work in the *Neue Weltanschauung* of 1908, pages 442-453, I will here simply refer to this essay.

anatomy and ontogeny bear conclusive witness to the unity of the system of vertebrates, and the increasing number of vertebrate



COCOA ISLAND AND THE REST HOUSE AT BELLIGEMMA.
From a crayon drawing in *Wanderbilder*.

fossils leaves no room for doubt that the higher vertebrates have developed from the lower. In the history of the evolution of the

earth there appear in succession fishes, frog-like fishes, Amphibia, lizards, the earliest mammals, later and higher mammals, and among these latter there again appear first the lower and then the higher forms and at last the real apes and man. Haeckel regards the following as the last stages in man's ancestral line: (1) The earlier cynopithecus (baboon and long-tailed monkey); (2) Later cynopithecus (senile and proboscis monkeys); (3) Early man-apes (gibbons); (4) Later man-apes (orang outang and chimpanzee); (5) Ape-men (*Pithecanthropus*); (6) Primitive man (*Homo Primigenius*, Neanderthal); (7) *Homo sapiens*.

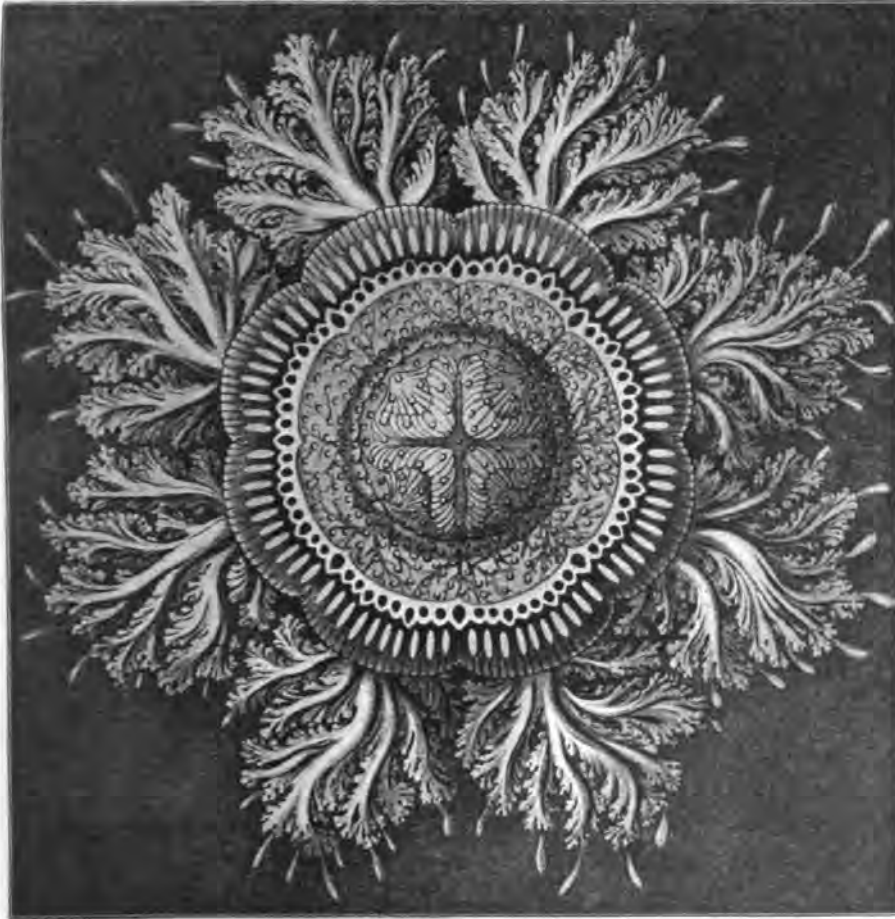
However one may regard singly the various phyletic hypotheses which Haeckel has advanced for the elucidation of the human genealogical tree in the course of fifty years, one thing must be granted even by his enemies: He has known how to open up the whole question in Germany, he has interested the great educated public in it, and last but not least he has compelled specialized science to take her proper place. At the end of his life he has the satisfaction of seeing that the ape-theory, formerly in such ill repute, has now become an integral component part of specific anthropology. The churches, that formerly were the keenest opponents of the theory of descent, have become familiar with the idea of the blood relationship of man with the animal kingdom, and even Jesuit authors give us to understand that the theory of the physical descent of man from the higher mammals does not stand in any insurmountable contradiction to the doctrines of the church.

In his fundamental work of 1859 Darwin had deliberately left man entirely out of account. Only in one passage at the end we find this significant sentence: "Light will be thrown upon man and upon his history." It is characteristic of the state of science in Germany at that time that Bronn, the first translator of Darwin's book, suppressed this passage. But I have pointed out in a pamphlet entitled *Die Abstammung und Vorgeschichte des Menschen* (Brackwede, 1907) that Darwin in reality had concerned himself with the application of the theory to mankind long before Huxley, Vogt and Haeckel. Later, in *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex* which appeared in 1871, Darwin decidedly espoused the theory of the animal descent of man and placed himself entirely on Haeckel's side, from which position he never departed as long as he lived.

Nevertheless it remains to Haeckel's undying credit that he continued to build up Darwin's structure. It is he who applied the

theory of descent most consistently to man and courageously taught that man was descended from apelike ancestors.

As in his work on *The Origin of Species* Darwin neglected to extend his theory upwards, he also let an important omission creep in at the bottom, to which Haeckel had already called attention in his Stettin address. Darwin did not explain the first appearance



RHIZOSTOME (*Toreuma belligemma*).

From *Wanderbilder*.

of organisms on earth, or, as they said in those days, the origin of the primitive organism. To this point Haeckel had already called attention in Stettin in the following words: "Another and probably the most important defect in the Darwinian theory lies in the fact that it furnishes us with no starting point for the beginning or spontaneous generation of one or a few most primitive tribal organisms from which all others develop. Was it a simple cell like those which

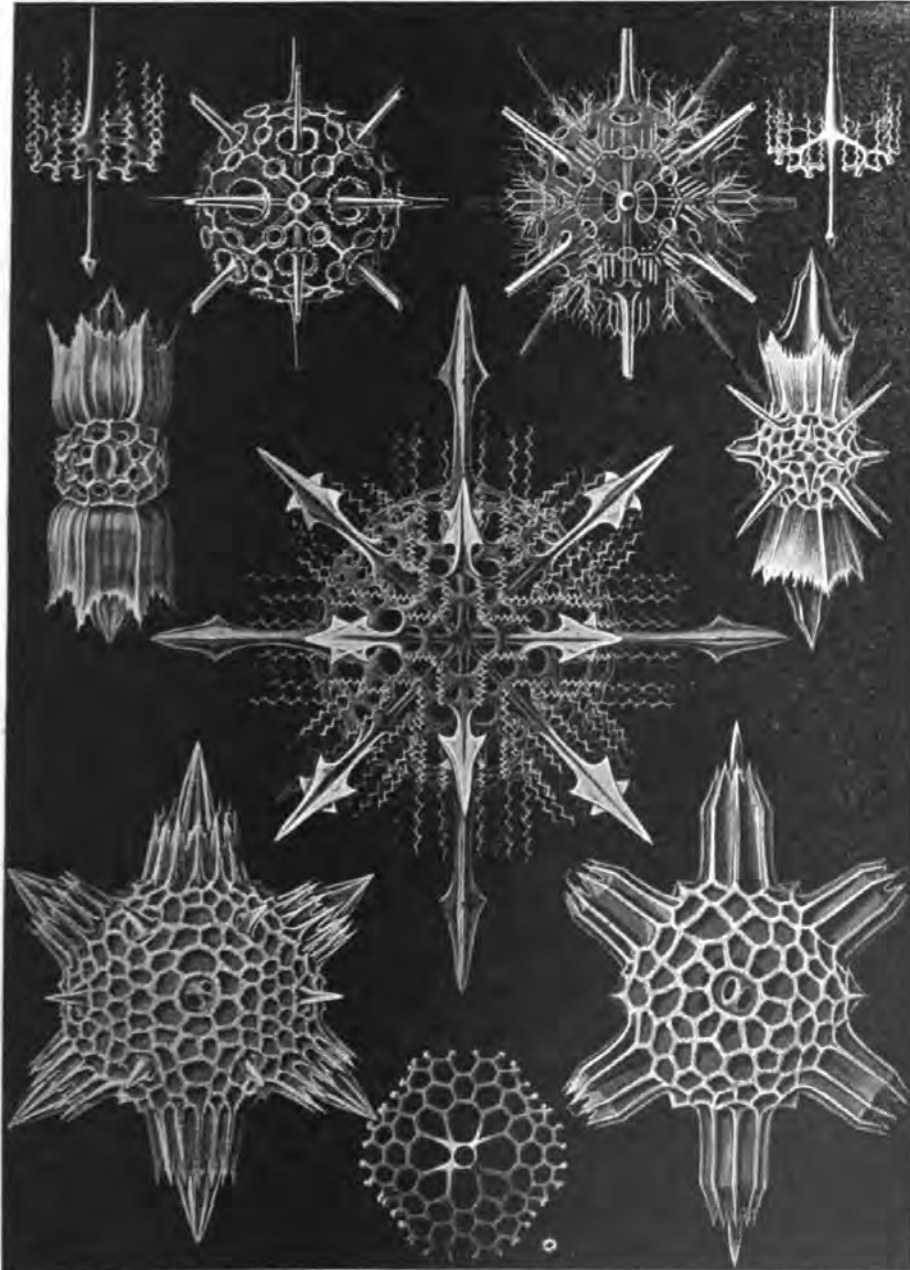
even now exist in great quantities as independent beings in the doubtful boundary between the animal and plant kingdoms, or such as one of the ovums of all organisms are represented to be at some time or other? Or was it in a still earlier time merely a simple animated globule of protoplasm, capable of nourishment, reproduction and growth, a moner similar to certain ameba-like organisms, which seem not yet to have reached the degree of organization of a cell?"

Haeckel with great keenness of perception has sought to fill up these lower gaps in the Darwinian theory by his hypothesis of spontaneous generation.³ There are of course a number of such hypotheses but the one which Haeckel has gradually built up in the course of time seems to correspond most closely to biological and paleontological facts. That spontaneous generation has distinguished representatives among specialists to-day is recognized from the fact that Professor Schäfer of the department of physiology at Edinburg, at the last meeting of the British Association gave a lecture on the subject which has received a great deal of comment and in which spontaneous generation was characterized as a necessary hypothesis. Spontaneous generation, i. e., the actual origin of primitive vital substance (similar to the protoplasm of to-day but by no means necessary as it is) from inorganic elementary substance and combinations, is a logical demand of the evolution theory, for it is the first hypothesis to produce a direct connection between the lifeless and the living world as implied in the concept of evolution.

The anthropogenetic works of Haeckel have still another important significance for our entire world-conception. Ontogenetically we can distinguish quite exactly the moment when a new human individual begins its existence. It is the moment in which the nucleus of the masculine sperm-cell coalesces with the feminine ovum-cell in fertilization. In this process the first tribal cell of the new individual has grown from the fertilized ovum-cell, and from this the whole body gradually develops ontogenetically. This one fact overthrows the old dualistic soul-theory of theology. If the soul were really a special immaterial being independent of the body, which abandoned it after death in order to continue in the "Beyond" a life of its own, then the great question arises, Whence comes the soul of the new human embryo into the mother's body? The church of course assumes that it enters the embryo at a definite moment.

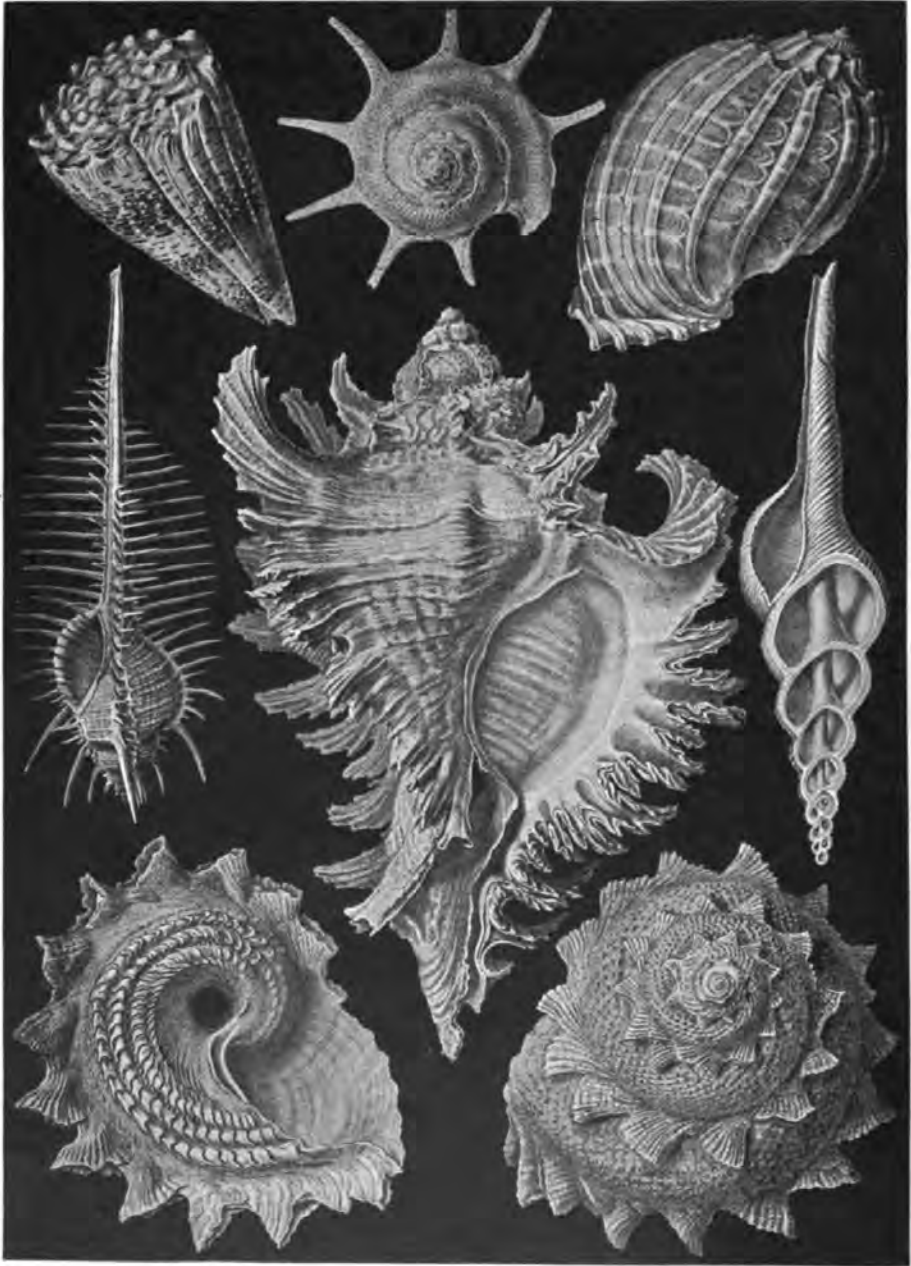
³ I have reviewed extensively the most important theories of spontaneous generation in my *Populäre Vorträge aus dem Gebiete der Entwicklungslehre* (Brackwede) and here refer to it for a more detailed consideration of the subject.

Monistic anthropogeny must reject such a fantastic view. According to this science the soul of the grown man is the aggregate of the functions of the neurons or psychic cells of the brain and develops



ACANTHOPHRACTAE.
From *Kunstformen der Natur*.

as gradually from the combined cell-souls of the blending sexual cells as the grown body develops from them. With the death of the soul-cells the soul also disappears, just as certain phases of it are



SNAIL SHELLS (*Posobranchia*).
From *Kunstformen der Natur*.

destroyed simultaneously with the loss of a part of the psychic organ. With this fact confirmed by every experience of physiology, falls the ancient dogma of the immortality of the individual soul and with it one of the main props of the dualistic doctrines of the church. It is exactly this knowledge that makes the churches such bitter enemies of the theory of descent in general and of anthropogeny in particular.

At the end of the nineteenth century Haeckel combined all the far-reaching and partly revolutionary ideas which were put forward in the *Generelle Morphologie*, *Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte* and *Anthropogenie*, in his famous *Welträtsel* and *Lebenswunder*, and elaborated them into a well-rounded and consistent monistic world-conception. This book on the "Riddles of the Universe" has called forth a veritable flood of writings, *pro* and *con*, such as has been the case with but few books in all the literature of the world. The controversy still rages with regard to the *Welträtsel*, which has been translated into about fourteen languages and has a circulation counting in the millions. Very recently a Hindu professor visited Haeckel and asked permission to be allowed to translate the book into the Hindu language. He felt able to prophesy definitely that copies of this translation would be sold in India in hundreds of thousands. Whatever may be a person's attitude toward the single points discussed in the *Welträtsel*, it remains, in spite of all opposition, the book which has pointed out the way to millions of people in their search for a new spiritual content in their life after they have ceased to find consolation in the old doctrines of revealed religion and dualistic philosophy. Even to the lowest strata of society in all civilized lands the *Welträtsel* has carried all the great ideas of the evolution theory and of monism, and no power will be able to eradicate them again from the world. In the course of time the consequences of this deed will be boundless. Not only must the philosophy of the schools, which still lies almost completely under the spell of Christian theology, come to an understanding with the monistic conception if it does not wish to sink back very soon to the rank of medieval scholasticism, but it will also recognize the important facts of anthropology (the vertebrate nature of man and his animal descent) and will even be obliged to utilize them in the construction of a new world-conception. But the direct consequence of the monistic philosophy of the future (whose beginnings we can see even now) will then be the upbuilding of a new conduct of life in all directions, gratifying beginnings of which are likewise to be observed.

Eight years ago the new world-conception of monism which Haeckel has supported since his youth formed with his cooperation an external organization which, however, has unfortunately not become what its founder had hoped. This is not the place to enter into details. We shall only mention the bare facts because the founding of the Monistic League signifies a certain rounding off of Haeckel's life-work in the service of Darwin and the evolution theory.⁴

Having now attained a general survey over the most significant work of Haeckel with regard to Darwin's new theory, the next thing is to consider briefly also his specialized work in purely zoological lines. However, these specifically zoological works of Haeckel which contain so many new Darwinistic ideas are so little known to the public at large, and also usually so little accessible, that I prefer to abandon any attempt here at a suitable appreciation, and the more since I have attempted to do the matter justice in my biography of Haeckel.⁵

I shall only recall briefly a few fundamental works. From the Darwinian theory there immediately arose a new conception of the systems of animals and plants. If the higher forms of life really are descended from the lower then all of them must be related to one another, and the system became a genealogy of animals and plants. Haeckel was the first naturalist to systematize the animal and plant worlds from this new point of view, and as early as in his *Generelle Morphologie* he sketched the first genealogical trees. They were persecuted for a long time and attempts were made to render them ridiculous. In the course of years, however, they have gained general currency in science, and to-day one meets them in almost all the better morphological and systematic works. Haeckel himself improved the first phylogenetic attempts from year to year, and in the years 1894 to 1896 published his three-volumed *Systematische Phylogenie* as a "sketch of the natural system of organisms on the phylogenetic basis," which contains the pedigrees of all the larger divisions of the animal and plant kingdoms.

The gastræa theory made possible for the first time a real phylogenetic classification of the animal kingdom. From this theory there first followed the very important division of the animal kingdom into protozoans and metazoans, the one-celled lower and the many-celled higher animals. Then followed the so-called homology of

⁴ More details are contained in my recent pamphlet *Die Gründung und erste Entwicklung des Deutschen Monistenbundes* (Brackwede, 1 Mark).

⁵ W. Breitenbach, *Ernst Haeckel; ein Bild seines Lebens und seiner Arbeit*, 2d. ed., Brackwede.

cotyledons which gave further basis for a natural division of the metazoans. The fundamental features of the gastræa theory are to-day recognized very generally as correct, and by most zoologists are made the basis of a classification of the animal kingdom. This theory has also given the impulse to many other investigations, and especially has made possible an actually scientific comparative germ-history, or ontogeny. The often remarkable facts of ontogenesis or germ-history, Haeckel sought to make intelligible by the biogenetic principle. To him ontogenesis was causally conditioned by phylogenesis or race-history. How greatly these Haeckelian ideas



CHANDELIER MEDUSA (*Rhopilema Freda*).
From *Wanderbilder*.

have influenced zoology is shown by a glance at the literature of that time and later.

If in the face of these great services (of which many more could be enumerated) many of the younger zoologists to-day believe that they might throw Haeckel aside as old iron, the explanation of this attitude in many cases is not difficult. Some of these gentlemen are concerned with the most delicate researches in the structure and division of cells, others perform experiments in the artificial generation of monstrosities and the like—in short a great part of zoology has again become the tiniest (and often very fruitless) detail work,

and the present generation of zoologists seems gradually to have lost sight of the great whole. For there are people who concern themselves all their life long almost exclusively with the nuclei of cells, regarding these tiny particles as more important than the powerful synthetic works which Haeckel has accomplished in the biogenetic principle or in the gastræa theory, or than the great and permanently fundamental monographs on Radiolaria, Medusae, and Siphonophora. It may also appear precarious to many younger men who would fain make a speedy career for themselves, to attach themselves to the atheist and monist Haeckel, even though they can not avoid utilizing in their work many ideas and terms which Haeckel was the first to introduce into science. For experts in these matters this fact only increases the greatness of Haeckel, which in spite of all persecutions, calumnies and insults still endures. They matter less for the man, whose services for zoology can not be entirely denied, than for the great work which now for fifty years he has supported and built up so courageously and so successfully, which was called into being by Charles Darwin, the great master of us all, and which becomes more and more the solid foundation of our monistic naturalistic world-conception. May it be vouchsafed Ernst Haeckel, who is soon to celebrate his eightieth birthday and who for fifty years has fought "for Darwin," to pursue for many more years from the exalted height of his purified world-conception the further development of the teachings of Darwin and of himself.

RELIGION IN A MONISTIC INTERPRETATION.

BY THE EDITOR.

MANKIND has passed through a period of dualism, but the spirit of scientific investigation has more and more firmly established a unitary world-conception commonly called monism, and at present in monistic circles the tendency prevails to combat dualistic notions and the practical applications drawn therefrom. Many ardent monists go too far in this direction; they see a dualism where the nomenclature still suggests it, and so their efforts are sometimes like Don Quixote's fight with the windmills. The victory of the unitary world-conception is practically complete, and the time has come to understand the paramount significance of the subtler, higher and so-called spiritual relations of nature, to appreciate the superiority and dignity of thought, of man's intellectual, moral and religious aspirations.

It goes without saying that all phenomena of life belong to the all-comprehensive domain of nature. The spirit of man is not a foreign importation from extramundane spheres, but develops right from the roots of all existence,¹ and is as much subject to natural law as are physical phenomena, yet nobody who has given any thought to the matter will deny that the spiritual life of man is far more important than purely physical happenings. If it is but understood that the whole realm of existence constitutes a unity we need not be afraid to emphasize both the paramount significance and the unquestionable superiority of the intellectual in life. In fact a true monism would not be complete without understanding and rightly appreciating the higher phases of life and their proper place in the system of the universe. Spiritual life is by no means an accidental

¹ For a brief explanation of these and kindred problems see the author's *Philosophy of Form* which has appeared in German under the title *Die Philosophie der Wissenschaft*, in French under the title *Philosophie comme science*, and of which an Italian translation is now on the press (Formaggini, Genoa, Italy).

by-play. It reveals to us the meaning of the cosmos, and to grasp this meaning is the task of religion, philosophy and science.

It is a poor principle of fanatic radicals to condemn religion as a mere invention of priestcraft. Religion is the precursor of philosophy and finally also of science. It is true that the religious development of mankind passes from the crudest notions of animism and kindred superstitions to higher, purer and more scientific views. But so does philosophy, so does science. Religion in its inmost being is nothing but a popular philosophy applied to practical life. The nucleus of every religion is a world-conception so simply outlined that even unthinking masses can comprehend its significance and follow the rules of conduct derived therefrom. Religion has passed through many phases and the end of its development is not yet. We must not forget that religion is the result of a search for truth, and that the actual forms of religion which we meet in different countries and in different ages are the temporary precipitates of this function of the human mind. It is noticeable that in contrast to philosophies they presuppose social interaction, and their products always represent views of whole communities where the opinions of leading personalities are mere factors, not final results.

A comprehension and a study of the development of religion is an essential feature of a scientific world-conception, and therefore it will not do to reject religion offhand as a conglomeration of superstitions. The importance of this view becomes the more apparent since religious life is developing even now, and modern science is molding and reforming the traditional beliefs as they are embodied in the churches of to-day. There is no need to fight the superstitions of the dogmatic formulation of the dead creeds of present-day religion, for the dogmas and a belief in their letter are nowadays no longer of great consequence. It is much better to study the origin of the great religions, to learn to understand the laws of religious development under the guidance of the facts of comparative religion, and to appreciate the meaning of dogmas by digging out what might be called the philosophy of religion. In following this plan we find that many religions which are often mutually contradictory in their dogmas express the same fundamental ideas if we but understand the spirit that has begotten them.

For instance the similarities between Christianity and Buddhism are obvious even to a most superficial consideration, but if we comprehend the original interpretation of the leading ideas, the several religions shall in the end be found to forestall views of a tenable scientific world-conception. Thus the God-idea embodies

the theory of authority. It means this world is not a chaotic medley but a law-ordained whole. The course of evolution shows a definite aim. It is not planned by a designer after the fashion of human conceits but is due to an intrinsic necessity, and we may be sure that the same norms of morality, the same advance from lower to higher stages and the rise to a higher and higher plane will obtain in all planets on which life develops and where rational beings appear and are living communal lives.

Remember this, that all religions teach in one form or another the cultivation of the ideal. There is hero-worship which helps to incite the growing generation to strain all their efforts in the cause of the good. This aspiration has found expression in the belief in a god-man, in avatars, in the incarnation of divinities whether personal or impersonal, in realizing a superior type of manhood, and so forth. So it is noticeable that the Christ-ideal in the church has been a living factor which molded the Christian world and inspired its representative leaders. This Christ-ideal is by no means stable. We may trace the errors of the successive world-conceptions in its changes from century to century, and whether or not the traditional Christianity will be able to maintain itself depends exclusively upon the adaptability of church life to the new demands. What does the idea of a god-man mean but the truth that human reason, human aspirations, human morality are but an enthusiasm to lead a life of the whole, which means to have the world-order incorporated in our own very being? And truly, what is reason, the gist of the human in man, other than the world-order incarnated in a living sentient being? If this world-order is the divinity of the universe, what is man, every man, but a child of God, and the ideal man but the actualization of perfection? The man in whom the norm of right conduct has become realized is the god-man, or as Christians say, the Christ; as the Buddhists say, the Buddha; as the Taoists say, the superior man; as the Persians say, the Mithras; etc.

When the religious superstitions are pointed out to us we should remind the enemies of religion that many superstitions had to be overcome also in other phases of the intellectual life of mankind. The eradication of superstitions in the domain of science is by no means as yet complete. We must have patience with science and its errors, why should we not have patience with religion and its shortcomings? Here is one of the greatest tasks of mankind, and here the religious leaders will find a large field. "The harvest truly is plenteous, but the laborers are few," and the work ought to be done, not in contempt of religious traditions but in sympathy

with them. The very principle of evolution teaches us that we must build upon the past to develop higher forms of life, of institutions, of ideals. Instead of being satisfied with a mere tearing down, we ought to build up, and if with our own aspirations we expect to find recognition we must not denounce our fathers—or, generally, our remoter ancestors—as villains, hypocrites and frauds. Religion originated in response to an inborn want, the desire to know the truth and to live the truth—in a word, to do our duty. No doubt our fathers have erred, but they were inspired by an anxiety to do right; let us criticise them with reverence. Let us honestly and energetically take up our duties of building higher and higher.

WILHELM OSTWALD, PRESIDENT OF THE GERMAN MONISTIC LEAGUE.¹

BY ERNST HAECKEL.

(With portrait of Professor Ostwald.)

AMONG the most gratifying phenomena in the stirring intellectual life of the present day belongs the constantly increasing significance and extension of our naturalistic monism, that is to say, of that unitary and natural world-conception and conduct of life which is based solely upon knowledge of pure science. The greatest credit for its promotion and extension is at present due to Wilhelm Ostwald, the eminent naturalist who celebrated his sixtieth birthday on September 3 of last year (1913). In here devoting to him a few personal words of sincere thanks I feel myself impelled not only as honorary president of the German Monistic League but also as a friend of twenty years' standing who have seen my own efforts for the advancement of monism, which I have pursued untiringly for half a century, continued and perfected by Ostwald's indefatigable labor in a manner most worthy of sincere recognition.

Since the close of 1910 when Wilhelm Ostwald undertook the presidency of the German Monistic League in response to my earnest request, and especially since he created the *Monistische Jahrhundert*, as an organ (now a weekly) for our league, the interest in and comprehension of our monistic movement has penetrated to the remotest educated circles. The vigorous impulses which the movement has received from him are so various and have been so generally diffused through his "Monistic Sunday Sermons," that I may limit myself here to pointing out only the most important of his great services.

First in importance in my opinion is the consistent aim to have science regarded solely and alone as the source of any rational world-

¹ Translated from the German by Lydia G. Robinson.



conception at the exclusion of all so-called revelation, of all ideas and dogmas which attempt to explain the world of phenomena in a supernatural way. Hence all transcendentalism, all belief in the miraculous, is excluded—without detracting from the great value which these products of creative imagination can possess for our emotional life as forms of poetry, and in a wider sense of art. They must not cloud the clear light of knowledge which pure reason, on the basis of experience and experiment, disseminates over the profuse variety of phenomena.

This is particularly true in the entire realm of intellectual life for those highest and most surprising natural phenomena which the earlier dualistic world-conception—now happily vanquished—was accustomed to look upon as the product of a “higher supernatural power.” In fact, however, nature as a unified coherent “cosmos” comprises the entire realm of our human knowledge, and consequently all so-called “mental science” is in the last analysis “natural science.”

Now it is the task of philosophy to collect, and by a critical synthesis to unite into one composite whole, all the most important universal results which all the special sciences by conscientious research and analysis have achieved in their special realms of observation. Accordingly, if all true science having for its aim the knowledge of reality is in truth natural science, then it follows that all its most universal results fall under the concept of “nature-philosophy”; for not the so-called philosophy of the official schools is the genuine wisdom of the world (*Weltweisheit*), but our modern monistic natural philosophy which is founded upon the positive experiences of observed facts.

As early as towards the end of the eighteenth and in the beginning of the nineteenth century the great progress of the empirical study of nature had impelled great minds to found a new nature-philosophy, and our great German genius Goethe has in this sense laid the foundation of a “morphology” in the most recondite and most difficult realm, that of comparative anatomy. But the rash and all too hasty generalizations of a “philosophy of identity” and the imaginative products of its untenable metaphysics has thereafter brought “nature-philosophy” into such ill repute that in the first half of the nineteenth century the majority of naturalists cared nothing at all for philosophy but considered their task to lie solely in exact observation and faithful description of individual facts.

When Charles Darwin had solved the great problem of the natural origin of organic forms in 1859 and revived the forgotten

theory of descent, established fifty years earlier by Jean Lamarck, I myself made the attempt in 1866 in my *Generelle Morphologie* to construct this comprehensive theory of evolution as the basis of a true "monistic nature-philosophy." In the meantime the mechanistic character of this monism, which was decried as materialistic, continued to arouse suspicion in wide circles and did not receive the appreciation it deserved until after Wilhelm Ostwald in 1898 had effectively emphasized its "energetic" side.

Ostwald opened up a wider realm for these investigations in 1902 by starting his *Annalen der Naturphilosophie*, after he had already established in 1887 a new valuable organ for the advancement of universal chemistry, his particular department of research, by issuing his *Zeitschrift für physikalische Chemie*. But the great text-book of this special science, followed later by a brief sketch of universal chemistry (*Grundriss der allgemeinen Chemie*), forms only a part of the extraordinarily many-sided and productive activity which this indefatigable investigator and thinker has displayed in the most varied branches of human intellectual life and which has raised him to the rank of a leading philosopher of nature in the best sense.

Ostwald deserves particular credit for spreading our monistic convictions most extensively by issuing since 1911 his popular "Monistic Sunday Sermons." They are intended for the edification of all those "who among the pretensions and confusions of to-day have preserved an inner need for clearness in the great and universal questions of human life." Many of these thoughtful and stimulating sermons perform this high educational task in a remarkable degree; others again call forth opposition rather than applause, but this is equally true of all similar publications which appear at short intervals (weekly or semi-monthly) and which throw light upon the most diverse universal questions from new points of view.

In Germany such creditable efforts in behalf of civilization often meet with distrust and ill-will chiefly because of the narrow-minded bureaucratic spirit of regulation which still places upon the instruction of our schools the fetters of medieval scholasticism. During these last fifty years I myself have had many experiences of this kind while trying to make the most important results of our modern nature-philosophy accessible to wider circles through popular essays. But the harsh criticism which I thereby drew upon me from narrow-minded specialists is far outweighed by the grateful recognition of many intelligent laymen who were thirsting for knowledge.

In 1853, the year in which Ostwald was born, began that sig-

nificant controversy over materialism in which Jacob Moleschott, Karl Vogt and Ludwig Büchner succeeded in justifying the claims of natural science as against the dogmas of the dominant philosophy of the schools. At that time I was studying anatomy, physiology and the history of evolution in Würzburg. Through the excellent lectures of my teacher Rudolf Virchow, who at that time was entirely permeated by monistic convictions, I was even then, at the age of twenty, filled with those views which later constituted the firm foundation of my monistic nature-philosophy.

In 1853 I first became acquainted with the remarkably stimulating writings of Jacob Moleschott, the eminent physiologist and naturalist in whom I soon gained a lovable and faithful friend. When a *Privatdozent* in Heidelberg in 1853 he had founded a physiological laboratory, and in opposition to the dominant dogmatic conception of vital force endeavored to refer all vital phenomena of man, like those of other animals, to physical and chemical processes. On account of his views, branded as "the lifeless materialistic conception of all vital activity," he was compelled by the pious Baden government to give up his academical activity and so removed in 1856 to Zürich as professor of physiology, and in 1878 to Rome. His writings at this time belonged to the most important works which blazed the path of a strictly physico-chemical explanation of vital processes. This monistic physiology was spread among the widest educational circles, especially by Ludwig Büchner in *Kraft und Stoff* (1855). The unitary world-conception connected with this physiology also was insisted upon at that time by the physiological chemist Moleschott, just as it was forty years later by the physical chemist Ostwald. Both chemists contended with equal energy against vitalism, the dogma of a supernatural organic power.

The remarkable progress of biology and especially of the theory of evolution in the last three decades of the nineteenth century seemed to have finally disposed of the ancient vitalism. Nevertheless it has again received new life in the beginning of the twentieth century and as neo-vitalism plays a significant part not only in the dualistic philosophy of the present, especially in psychology, but also in certain circles of a confused spiritualistic physiology. This surprising step backwards may be accounted for on the one hand by the primeval inclination of human imagination towards mysticism and miracles, and on the other hand by the short-sighted repugnance of many careful naturalists to any universal philosophical consideration of nature.

Finally we must emphasize as a particular merit of Ostwald's

monistic nature-philosophy that he constantly endeavors to promulgate in all directions not only its theoretical part, the rational world-conception, but also its practical manifestation, a wholesome conduct of life. The far-reaching reform of modern ethics which continues to advance in a gratifying degree in sociology and politics, in pedagogy and the management of schools, owes its inspiration in many directions to his rich and fertile imagination. It is our hope and desire that Wilhelm Ostwald will continue with equal energy and with increasing success in the seventh decade of his industrious life, upon which he is now entering, to bring about the enlightenment of mankind by means of pure science, and their true happiness by rational conduct of life.

CONSERVATISM AND MORALITY.

BY T. T. BLAISE.

THE conflict between progressive and conservative thought is as necessarily endless as is the antagonism between motion and resistance. It arises largely through a difference in viewpoint, although it is to be regretted that in numerous instances the conflicting opinions are due to sentiment, prejudice, bad logic, or a false, unwarranted conservatism, as also immoderate or progressive radicalism.

The thing that is, ever abhors the thing to be, unless the latter serves as complement or synergist to the former. The *status quo* of the present is ever the *status quo ante bellum*. The "I," the subject, stands in relation ever opposite to the object, and even the right hand of an individual is designated the antagonist of the left, and we scarcely find a muscle in a living organism that has not its fellow opponent. These facts lead many thinkers to adopt a dualistic world-conception. But however we may view existence we find endless activity and conflict as it were. And how could it be otherwise in a world where the new is the old in substance, but changed in form; in a world where the old must ultimately relinquish its body and soul to become a part of the new? Thus, individuals in observing these transforming concatenations, take sides, the one group favoring more or less the conservation and preservation of existing states, while the other contends for a hastier dissolution of the old; the one becomes a conservative, the other a progressive.

Moralists and ethicists of all times have always honestly and earnestly disagreed along this line. At the beginning of the Christian era the conservatives saw in the new Christian doctrines a progressive reform movement that seriously menaced their existing institutions of culture and religion. They strove to maintain principles and doctrines that to them had not been found wanting, and

had existed from time immemorial. But such has been the case with all cultural and ethical reforms. The new was always a menace to the old, and the conflict between the conservatives and the progressives was ever on.

Since the reformer is of necessity always a progressive, it naturally falls to his lot to be the aggressor. He is therefore generally looked upon as a disturber. In matters of state he is charged with political disloyalty, may be deemed guilty of treason and suffer banishment or execution, while as a religious reformer he meets a similar fate under the accusations of heresy and infidelity. It is rather a sad fact that so many of our noblest reformers, such as Socrates and Jesus among others, were executed for agitating principles which the conservatives of their time deemed inimical to existing conditions. These reformers were radicals, and their persecutors well knew what would happen to the social fabric if they were allowed to preach their doctrines unmolested.

This contest continues to-day no less lively, but in a modern form. Agitation in church and state still begets political and ecclesiastical odium, monarchies are threatened, dissolved and republics are born, cabinets are forced to resign, modernists and higher critics are menacing with disruption a staid and revered orthodoxy, school reformers are accused of introducing fads that are dangerous to the good old three "r's," Froebel is still denied admission in some schools by ultra-conservative educators, and even the sanest sanitary measures of modern science are under fire almost within gunshot of our most enlightened institutions of learning, not excluding Oxford, Boston and others.

But all this is not an unmitigated evil. Woe to that people who without investigation accept all reforms and innovations, for they must fare as badly as those who reject them dogmatically; both are destined to irrevocable decay and dissolution.

But the import of this all consists of the fact that the conflict between conservative and progressive thought involves the greatest problem concerning humandom, that of the *ultimate principle of right*. The conservative sees in the modern tenets an instability that smacks of pseudo-morality, and he calls it the "new morality." Since modern, scientific thought, science *per se*, is the offending promoter of this new morality, the accusation is directed against the "triumphs of science." On the other hand, the ultra-progressive sees decadence in the old tenets and accuses the old school of theological thought. Both, however, are contending for the establishment of that ever elusive *ignis fatuus*, the ultimate principle of right, an absolute

guide to moral conduct. It is the old transmutation dream of the alchemist, the Utopia of the optimist.

He who would proclaim an absolute and unfailing tenet as a guide for human conduct has hardly reckoned with the Master of concatenations. The problems of human life are infinite in complexity, as infinite as are the tasks and trials that accompany the endless moments. To be sure, there are rules that in a general manner cover groups of work-a-day problems, "shotgun" prescriptions, as it were, but it must be confessed even at the hazard of seeming radical, that all the principles and rules of ethics at our command are frequently inadequate as an unerring guide to our conduct. It would seem that nothing more disastrous could befall our future ethics, than to accept as sufficient and final our present code governing right living. Rules of conduct, moral, mental or physical, have their origin and foundation in the creative order of the world. Moral conduct must above all always mean adaptation of the individual to the All, or rather, there must be unison of aim between the individual who is the creature, and the Creative Process which is the Creator. The motive force of the individual and the process of creation must be identified, since the individual is a part of creation. If, then, there is such a principle or principles that are ultimate and absolute as a moral guide, we must seek them ever in the all-dominating creative order. Thus as we familiarize ourselves with the immutable law and order of all creation, so shall we likewise become familiar with the meaning of moral conduct, duty and humanity's religion.

True, many of the maxims of our past moral code given us by our immortal forebears are beyond contradiction of highest quality, and we may well consider them sacred and divine. They have guided us over a multitude of pitfalls, and, no doubt, shall do so for time everlasting. The maxim that man must be true to himself and others seems beyond question one that can never be contradicted, but after all, the maxim is but first aid to the needy, for the all important question is how always to be true, so that in each instance of human procedure the question demands solution anew. But granting that our old code of morals is quite adequate as a moral guide, who is there gifted with such prophetic foresight to assert that we shall never have another moral genius like Socrates, Mohammed, Lao-tze or Christ? Who would have the audacity to bid us shut our eyes against a future saint because the past, forsooth, had one? And if no one of equal luster should rise again on earth,

would that of necessity preclude the discovery of new laws governing human conduct? Let us hope not.

True conservatism at all times is commendable, but when it approaches the extremity of denying the future's competence to achieve what the past has achieved, then it loses the dignity of the name conservatism, and approaches something more akin to scepticism and prejudiced intolerance. At first sight it would seem that under the leaven of modern enlightenment such pseudo-conservatism were exceedingly rare, but it is abundantly prevalent among all so-called, strictly orthodox ethicists. These are usually men of intense moral and religious bent. Their chief, if not sole, authority, consists usually of a text, a ritual, a code of reputed supermundane origin, which last attribute renders all so-called "infra-mundane" authority incompetent as a test or criterion. Transcendental revelation, then, falls not within the pale of mundane adjudication.

From this it follows that there still prevails to a remarkable degree the notion that there are two classes of truths, the one divine and sacred, the other secular and profane. That one truth may possess a moral application and another not, goes of course without question. That man must be charitable is an injunction involving a moral worth, and is an indisputable truth, but that gravity tends toward the center of the earth is another truth, but devoid of moral attribute; that is, it is unmoral, not immoral. But gravitation is not to be looked upon as having no moral applicability. The law of gravitation enters so abundantly and intimately into the form of the human body, into the shaping of our sensations, our thoughts and very souls that we must acknowledge its application in the moral domain to no small extent. But this is merely reiterating the fact that in the realm of the creative order we must ever look for our principles of right living.

It is a quaint and yet perfectly natural excrescence of a defunct dualism that would have one truth more true than another. The "Holier than thou" notion is one of the tenacious logical obliquities of the race. A conservatism that defends a supposed truth against another on any other grounds than its intrinsic practical applicability in the realm of right conduct, defends it because of its reputed extra-mundane source, or because of antedating another truth, or because of the unique character of the person who first enunciated it, is a conservatism that harms both the truth it defends and assails.

But this species of pseudo-conservatism lies at the bottom of much of our present-day pseudo-morality. From it springs the notion that one day of the week is holy and six are secular. One

day we act as holy as we can, and six days we are,—I was about to say as profane as we can be. It is nevertheless true that on the week days we practice conventionalities that we refrain from on the Sabbath day for the sole reason that they are questionable. We know well the hollowness of it, but we continue the practice. Nor is that all. We carry this subversive standard of morals into our varied activities. We recognize "holy vestments," speak of the "divine cloth," make wearied and laborious pilgrimages to the "sacred Ganges" and kindred places, bow before sacred statues, altars and vessels, wear on our bodies for their amuletic charm icons, crosses, swastikas and an endless array of portentous and mystic accoutrements and oracular symbols and superstitious excrescences, all of reputed power to ward off evil, physical, moral and spiritual. Now science has no quarrel with these symbols as symbols, and does due reverence to the motives underlying them, but it is their employment as objects of miraculous and talismanic power that science condemns.

It may be urged that the belief in the miraculous power of the cross is a factor of great power in furthering the good faith, and besides we have seen a furious mob quelled by the mere display of the cross in the hands of a good priest, but ever and ever does science demand a reply to the question: would there have been any mob had these people been truly enlightened of the non-miraculous and true meaning of symbols? No class of humanity is more inflammable than the superstitious. It is these who would have a panacea for each illness as well as for moral afflictions. To follow in series each precedent and sequence to ascertain the several combined causes of a phenomenon cannot appeal to them, besides it is too laborious. A cause with one handle is to the man of nescience ever attractive. A succession of meteorological factors indicates fair or foul weather to the scientific thinker, but the "hang of the moon" has still its adherents among the countless simple folk who guard these quaint faiths with an unyielding conservatism. And as we ascend the scale of human intelligence we find these elements of an ultraconservatism lurking in the minds of even reputed thinkers. The one prefers the single-handed materialism to explain all phenomena, the other sees nothing but mind and spirit and denies even the existence of matter, the other sees it all in Buddha, or Kant, or Christ, or Darwin, each however deeming the others' doctrine in error.

Comes now the true conservative thinker who sees in neither of the various "isms" a panacea nor a solution of the moral problem confronting humanity. He prizes and praises with equal fervency, and with due candor, that which survives the test of truth, be it a

tenet of the extreme conservative wing or of the radical progressive. To him all data are of equal value, be they of the realm of biochemistry, psychology, ethnology or history both profane and sacred. In no one thing, in no one individual does he see the consummation of the "higher" knowledge, the ultimate principle of right conduct, but ever in immutable truth, in the revelation of the eternal, evolving process of the All does he see the true light that illumines the path that leads to man's destiny. To him the meaning of creation, endless creation, call it evolution, revolution, genesis, mutation, cataclysmic or catastrophic, is the meaning of the "Word of God." What the Creator *does*, that is ever of highest import to the true conservative scientist and scientific philosopher, and in these creative deeds he seeks revelation, he recognizes the unimpeachable revelation of the Author of creation, His will and Word. If he finds not here the providential pabulum whence spring our rules of ethics and morals, then science must stand condemned as a failure of having achieved its highest and noblest purpose.

Can it really be otherwise than that right conduct, moral behavior, means the harmonious adaptation of man's conduct to the creative motive, to the aim and purpose of the All-process? Is man in need of greater knowledge than that which gives him an insight into the immutable laws that govern his sole destiny, yea, moreover the destiny of his soul? The norm governing the evolvement of all things must be the true guide for rational beings who are the creatures of it. That act of man which is not in attune with the laws governing creation, that act is either unsanitary, immoral or impious—nay it is a degree of insanity. Live as God acts, and there will be less need of quarreling over what He is supposed to have said.

It seems without question that all the truths and maxims ever uttered, be they ever so sublime and lofty, ever so sacred and divine in character, are but a small part of all the truths and maxims yet to be learned. Nor can any new truth invalidate one single historic truth, but,—and here is the nub of it all,—*a modern truth may and can be of more practical applicability to modern conduct*, and let us note that there is only modern or present conduct. Past conduct belongs to the past and is unalterably as it was. But past truths and maxims live in the present and we may well be concerned regarding their preservation, but only against the influence of falsehood and the spurious need we defend them, never need we fear the unwholesome effect of a new truth upon an old one.

That the "light of science" and "its dazzling triumphs" may

have a material rather than an immediate moral tendency, is in a measure true. But this is only the inevitable temporary reaction following all innovations beneficent and maleficent. We cannot abolish the law of the moral pendulum and we must let it swing in obedience to the behest of Providence. When science deals with lavish hand it is then that man is apt to overindulge, but never can we condemn the blessings of science because of our shortcomings. So the novelty of a sudden triumph in science may raise man's sensual proclivities into a wave of immoderation, but the crest of this wave must in obedience to eternal law give way to the dip of the curve of cooler judgment and moderation. That we must endeavor to restrain indiscretion, irreverence, and overindulgence, goes without question, but what we must not do, is the inhibition and condemning of science. Though we abuse them, these new truths of science are all blessings nevertheless. They can never harm an older truth, though it be hoary with age. How otherwise could a modern truth affect a past truth than embellish it? Truth, ancient or modern, represents positive life in all its phases, biologic, moral and spiritual, while falsehood is life negated.

To one whom modern culture and scientific triumphs imbue with a radiant hope for humanity's future welfare, nothing could have a more lamentable ring than the despairing deprecations of Rev. Orde Ward in *The Open Court* of December 1912, viz., that "the danger seems to be, that practical ethics, or ethics of the gutter, in which right yields precedent to the expedient, will eventually be the confessed creed of the world," or that "we seem returning to something immeasurably inferior to ethnic morality"; or that "nothing just now seems to be taken seriously, and perhaps least of all the sacred," etc.

This attitude has a note of gloomy and despondent foreboding. It is a conservatism begotten by a fear lest the triumphs of to-day will bring decadence upon the "religious and ethical standards" of the past. It is a note of alarm and warning that "dislocation of establishments suggests, if it does not create, dislocation of the sanctities." It has of late become quite fashionable among writers on ethics to "view with alarm" the present civilization. The cry of a negative conservatism, that "the civilized world is in a state of decadence," as a prominent educator recently proclaimed, is, to say the least, bad philosophy. It is quite untenable, difficult to verify, and its effect upon society is decidedly open to suspicion. And this in the face of our increasing number of institutions of charitable and eleemosynary character, the raising of the standards

of these institutions from one of humility to that of at least a semblance of respectability, the reform movement in the management of our criminals and institutions of correction, inaugurating a training and educational method in place of the old "eye for eye and tooth for tooth" method of vindication and revenge, the multiplying of hospitals, schools, libraries, the increase of philanthropy among rich aristocracy, especially in America, the Hague Tribunal, the organization of a formidable International Peace Society who advocate with the Carpenter Philosopher the principle of "Peace on Earth" and are trying to do literally what others for twenty centuries have only preached, and believe firmly that soon "Neither shall there be war any more."

True, in many instances the glamor and dazzle of modern scientific discovery and invention entices the irreverent individual to rush on as if bereft, and trample under foot the sanctities of established society, and yet, modern states of irreverence need have no alarm in a competitive comparison with analogous states of irreverence of the past. It is not necessary here to recite *ad nauseam* the lax morals of our ancestors, for they are only too well known, besides, it were a pleasanter task to point with pride to those indomitable human characteristics by dint of which the race forged ahead to the present state of high culture in spite of the moral morass it encountered through the centuries.

But where does the conservative alarmist chiefly err when he characterizes our present civilization as lacking in due appreciation and reverence for the sanctities and moral tenets? Let us consider:

To the scientific thinker it can but seem strange that upon science the blame is so often saddled for modern epidemics of moral obliquity. In no sense can science itself be conceived as being either moral or immoral; at most we might acknowledge that science is un-moral, possessing no moral qualities at all; that is, science as a method or system of investigation and research, as a means of acquiring pure knowledge and facilitating revelation, can no more possess the attribute morals and ethics than can time possess the quality of color, and space the property of energy. Nor does it seem aught but maudlin to suppress, or put a restraint on science, because, of its very efficient productivity, weaklings succumb to too much milk and honey.

There is, however, a justifiable element of alarm in the fact that science in its quest for truth is ruthless and unsparing, is devoid of sentiment and compassion, dealing death to the false and spurious regardless of rank or color. To the orthodox conservative this

must on occasions give rise to offense, especially when an old authority is found wanting in the test of a relentless crucible. And it is likewise true that its "dazzling triumphs" do intoxicate at times the hoity-toity class of thoughtless beings to the extent that they lose sight of the sanctities and the sacred side of existence. But because of this it does not at all follow that the blessings of science are a curse.

It is an old and homely saying that a weak man can not stand prosperity. This man, however, succumbs under prosperity not so much perhaps on account of an evil bent, as he does because of his inability to adjust himself to a new and unaccustomed condition of plenty. The moral laws governing a poor man's conduct demand a different application than in a state of prosperity. That the mendicant must obey a somewhat different code of morals than the opulent individual, may seem at first sight paradoxical, yet let those numerous unfortunate ones who perish under the change from mendicancy to opulency attest. But the important point here sought is the unimpeachable fact that moral conduct is a question of adaptivity to dominating conditions.

Man's life is an interminable succession of contacts with the objective world, and for each contact he must render a moral or ethical judgment either consciously or subconsciously, *nolens volens*. No one can in advance project a code of guidance that will solve human problems as they are met. This were only possible if he knew actually the conditions of the subject acting and the object to be acted upon. And let us emphasize that *act* is the word *per se*, for acts alone can be moral or immoral. Though we say, this man is moral, it is in fact not he who so is, but his acts or deeds are so or not so. In a narrow sense we may term his desires, or the inclinations of his will moral or immoral, but only as mental acts can they be so, for who sins in thought must think a wrong act.

Now, since act or deed always involves irrevocably the object to be acted upon, because in this world of unbroken continuity action implies of necessity interaction, is it not then paramount to our moral acumen that we scrupulously familiarize ourselves with the existing world in a scientific manner, learn to comprehend the laws dominating subjective and objective existence, acquire a sane conception of the laws governing sanitation and of the ever impinging elements of destruction and construction, and at least render Dame Science the homage due her as an incontestible and impartial revealer of truth?

It is therefore time we cease laying at the door of science the

blame for the shortcomings of our moral rectitude. Nor should we restrict the attribute of sacredness to isolated pretexts and writings, or to some of the objects of antiquity and here and there a historic individual. Though trite, it is true that "holy is that holy does"; nor does it matter when or where it does holy. A maxim's value does not depend upon its authorship nor time of birth. A truth is a truth though it issue from the mouth of Ananias, and a falsehood is not the less so if uttered by a saint. Human language is exceedingly amenable to error. The truest prophet has but the language of mankind with which to convey and express his truths. Even though his truths were infallible, his language is of necessity fallible. And in ancient times, or, to be accurate, in all times, language had to be guarded, so as not to offend the conservative authorities, because many an unguarded word led to the execution and imprisonment of many a noble reformer. It is no small wonder that so many of the old writers resorted to parable, similitude and allegory. This fact burdens many of the old texts with perplexing ambiguities.

It is in part also due to this fact that all systems of morals and religion develop sooner or later internal dissension and then more or less conflicting factions and sects. The spirit and the meaning of the text we may deem sacred, but the words intended to convey these, they are the husks and dross enveloping the golden kernel within. Thus conflicting interpretations must ensue, and what other than science, the method of truth, can come to the rescue? In no other realm can science do greater service for man than in the domain of moral and precept, and instead of an enemy, it would become, if permitted, the defender of true ethics and religion.

The true scientist recognizes in all things an inherent divinity and sacredness. This is good orthodoxy, for the lexicon defines the word "divine" as "proceeding from God, appropriated or pertaining to God," etc., etc., and since all would seem to proceed from God, all must be divine. He with due reverence recognizes the fact that to certain objects, especially historic, there attaches a lofty or sacred sentiment, but cautiously avoids the common error of revering the symbol instead of its message and purport.

The custom of ascribing sanctity and divinity exclusively to a few score of objects, such as scripts, vestments, rituals, and various accoutrements and paraphernalia, is not altogether an unmingled blessing to our moral habits. The odd dual conception of a part sacred and divine world, and the other part secular and profane, has led to its logical consequence, inasmuch that we now entertain something like contempt for "common things," and even our nearest kin we

assign a place outside the pale of holiness and divinity. In fact, we live as if this were a dual world, constituted of a divine spiritual quantum, and a corrupt, material one. It is remarkable how we carry this into our every-day activities. Cults and numerous systems of so-called philosophy are waging war against the "unholy and material." We associate under the same meaning "sin and flesh," speak of the "temporal earthy," of this "vale of sin and corruption," of six secular days and one "holy" one,—nay, this double standard of ethics has become so fundamentally impregnated in our soul-fabric as to form a dominant factor in our every-day moral judgments. It ultimately leads to that form of ultra-asceticism which regards life on earth as a term of penal service, a reformatory.

But true, modern conservatism, tempered and guarded by science as the conservator, tends more and more toward a monistic world-conception, seeing in all things a common origin and destiny. It knows of no cleft between subject and object. Its adherents do not fear the invasion of the new, since the new is but the old in change of garb. In all existence they see the throb and meaning of divinity, and inasmuch as this be true, so much must all existence be divine. Thus they deal with things godly alway, and thus they would fain bid the habitué of the old double standard morality turn about face and behold in all creation and creature a compelling majesty, a true divinity,—nay, more, he shall behold all things dominated by a unifying mandate that bids him fraternize in good fellowship with all existence. Thus the true scientist finds himself always in the realm of God, and with him obedience to His laws alone means success, and disobedience leads to defeat, morally and physically. To him Christ is nearer than is commonly accepted. He meets the Good Man from Galilee in his daily walks.

"I heard a child's cry tremble up,
And turn to share my scanty cup.
When lo, the Christ I thought was dead,
Was in the little one I fed."

Nor does he see the world through the eye of pessimism. Here on earth within reach of us is all worth having:

"Here, here, on earth I find it all—
The young archangels white and tall,
The Golden City and the doors,
And all the shining of the floors."

The modern conservative ethicist does in fact reject in form, and in form only, the sanctities and precepts of the old orthodox conservative. He does not reject the faith in immortality, but with

him immortality is a law far more than a mere belief. All things in existence are in essence immortal, that is, he knows that man and all are immortal, and, be it observed, he has no fallacious idea of the meaning of knowledge. Knowledge can only be relative and never absolute, that is, our knowledge of the objective world.

The old concept of heaven has also undergone a change of form in the mind of the modern thinker. Heaven has become a reality to him as much as bread and butter, and he has transformed the concept of heaven into a condition instead of a place. Modern man lives fast and furious, and he is impatient to wait for the celestial heaven, but has set out with a will to build a terrestrial one. He finds earth God's workshop, and has become well pleased with it himself. He finds here the material and the tools to construct and bring about that condition which his forebears called heaven, and who can foretell his eventual result?

"To be sure," said one of these modern philosophers of cheer to the writer, "we are going to have heaven on earth, and it is a simpler project than some might imagine. I enjoyed a respite in heaven the other evening literally for the pittance of a twenty-five cent admittance price. It was like this: A small girl scantily clad came along the street weeping until I thought her heart would break. She was apparently searching for something and she could not see me for her tears. Upon inquiry I learned that she had lost the piece of coin that was to purchase the supper for the family, and that this caused a calamity of no small scope in the household. To the little one it seemed something irreparably awful, for she entertained no further hope of finding her lost treasure. Right here I then and there violated the 9th commandment. I told that grief-stricken child that I had found her money and gave her the amount she alleged to have lost. When I saw the light of joy displace the anguish in her face and listened to her effusive expression of gratitude, I experienced that soul-feeling called heaven, or at least that should be denominated heaven. Yes, you are right," he concluded, "man can and will master the art of being happy on earth, and trust God to see to the life beyond."

This man intentionally prevaricated so that he might not in the least degree fail in giving a full measure of happiness to a grief-stricken child. Nor did he stop to think about the sanctity of a holy mandate, "Thou shalt not lie." He is a man who has faith in modern sanctities. He does not pray, "Give us our daily bread," because he wants to earn it in the sweat of his brow. In fact the modern world has turned earners. Witness the present-day conflict

for the "job"! Men commit crimes to procure labor, the mere right to work. Idleness and vagrancy are almost universally condemned by laborers. Time was when the problem how to make men labor demanded solution, now they appeal to court for the privilege to labor, and resort to violence to further their end. Labor bureaus both private and public dole out jobs at a premium. A distinctly new enterprise has sprung into existence, and it is typically modern; it is the labor-giving enterprise. If men still believe in the happiness of idleness, they have at least learned that they must procure idleness through arduous labor. The sense of duty is a distinctive characteristic of modern man. He has ceased to pray, "Give us our daily bread," but has formulated a new "sanctity" and prays, "Permit us to do our duty." What prophet of the past dreamed that in *anno Domini* 1914 we would be called upon to solve the problem of how to give men as much employment as they want?

Our sane aristocracy know this. Our silly aristocracy are the only remaining vestige of humanity who do not know that in labor there is true dignity and genuine sanctity. Achievement to-day ranks above preachment. Doctor Montessori has startled the world with a new system of education, the chief feature of which is that she relies upon the child's sense of duty to initiate its own method of learning. This profoundly religious and highly cultured woman avoids to a large degree all mandate and "thou shalt or shalt not." She would not dwarf the divine will and freedom of the child, and acting under this principle her success has been in many instances almost marvelous. She laid aside old rules of conduct and looked into the soul of a child, finding there a new sanctity, a sermon, a commandment which reads, thou, father and mother, shalt obey thy children. Thus she not only lets little children come unto her, but she has learned to obey them.

We need not, then, be immoderately alarmed at the turn modern ethics is taking. The old and sacred precepts are not as much cast aside as they are applied to modern conditions. The Good Samaritan of to-day wears the garb of a Jane Addams, and she is indeed a modern representative of the olden types of saint and saviour. Even a modern artist had the temerity to paint female angels which brought upon him much criticism and odium from the orthodox conservatives, and for a time furnished the press attractive copy.

The modern Good Samaritan plies his craft of charity on a different scale than his prototype of old. He profits by the aid of science and method. He does not carry the stricken victim to his home and there nurses him. This would be exposing his family to contagion

and disease. Society to-day strives hard to supply the unfortunates with asylum and home. Organizations carry on a veritable enterprise in caring for the helpless. Commercialism, however crass some of its features may seem, has transformed Good-Samaritanism into a colossal business corporation that encircles the earth, but has retained the original essence of the altruistic motive, and through the aid of scientific development has heightened its efficiency. Scientific charity means Christian charity reduced to a science, systematized, coordinated and rendered effectual with modern appliances of power and precision. One of its chief aims is also to reduce the cause of pauperism, rather than alleviate. Prevention and the knowing how to prevent has become its great aim. The eradication of hovel and slum, the purifying of air, water and food, the cleansing of streets, public places, conveyances and buildings, these and countless other measures for immediate results, and then general race betterment and eugenic improvement for ultimate results, all these are distinct phases of modern charity and good will on earth to men. We might mention that colossus of civilization, the public school, for this is indeed the greatest and most efficient charitable institution of all times, and how distinctly modern in its mode and method! These are to-day some of man's ethical forces that make for heaven on earth.

The heaven *post obitum*, it must be confessed, is becoming a more secondary consideration, for the welfare of the present life is making greater and greater claims on man. To reach heaven by worshiping the Architect has become somewhat obsolete, but to help the "least of these" and then take chances on heaven is getting decidedly popular. It is the philosophy of doing; doing rather than enjoining others to do, acting instead of asseverating, performing of duty instead of preaching duty.

If the world has become less God-fearing, it has become more God-law respecting. Man is acquiring a wholesome regard for the laws and principles dominating creation in its varied phases. No man of research, investigator, educator, discoverer, moralist, and religionist can for a moment afford to disregard them. They dominate soul and body and shape the destiny of all things. If they are not the word of God, they are the compelling *modus operandi* of the Word. They are immutable, but themselves the cause of all mutations. Though imperishable, by their behest all present forms must perish to be transformed into their irresistible equivalents. But never need edict or precept fear these laws as long as either is in attune with them.

And so it has come about with the sweep of time that the

beautiful romance of the Star of Bethlehem interests men less than Arcturus, nebula and cluster stars. These have become more and more replete with presages of a wondrous revelation. When,—nay, how soon will flash from that starry silence of eons startling messages on wires of ether, bearing tidings of the life romance of strange races in the skies, bearing epic and slumber song that lulled to sleep the skyman's babe! The cradle of man has journeyed from Eden to the very border of the archæan azoic realm. Not content, comes now a venturesome Arrhenius and proclaims the birth of man in pre-archaic cosmic dust.

“Though old, though new
What does it mote,
If tale and rote
Are only true?”

TIME.

BY THE EDITOR.

A WISE philosopher with gloomy look
Sat in his easy chair before his desk ;
And, thinking of old King Solomon,
Said, "All is vanity beneath the sun."
Then he took pen in hand, and thus he wrote :
" 'Tis Time which maketh all things vain :
The past is gone as if 't had never been ;
The future, ever distant, never comes
But as the present ; and the present, lo—
The moribund, the ever-dying present—
It disappears into the dread, dead past,
Never to rise again from out its tomb.
What difference then between the rotten bones
Of noble lion and of curséd cur,
Of king or hero, and a wretched beggar !
What difference then how life be spent ! 'Tis Time
Which stamps its woeful seal of vanity
On all existence. Now we live and flourish ;
We glory in our strength, yet are we doomed ;
Alas ! The morrow finds our place no more.
Oh, tyrant Time ! Oh, King of Vanity !
Thy breath 'tis makes the sweetest roses fade ;
Thy breath acts like a bane ; it proves the curse
That blights life's health and glory, and brings death."

There loomed a figure from the living present
Awful in majesty yet wondrous mild.
'T was Time himself in his unfading glory,
The ever young and yet the ever old,
Eternal Time, archangel of creation,

And smiling he looked down upon the sage.

Quoth he:

“Poor mortal, blinded by thy wisdom
Thou dost not know what Time Eternal means.
I harbor in my bosom all that was,
That is and ever will be: All the past
Is here, here in the ever-living present,
And all the future lies within my grasp.
I shape it; it will be my handiwork!
Whate’er I touch is actual, it partaketh
Of the eternal, of my own true being.
The thoughts of God I render real, change
Things possible to facts.”

Aloft rose Time,
And with divine compassion he looked down
Upon the ignorant of human kind,
Upon the frivolous, the multitudes
That do not think, and as a still small voice
In deepest depths of their subconscious conscience,
He made appeal to them: “Ye thoughtless, hear!
Hear, ye deluded mortals, and give heed!
And what I tell you is the truth of God,
’T is th’ eternal truth that never changes:

“ ’T is not indifferent whate’er ye do,
Evil or good. Whate’er ye do is done
For better or for worse. No power on earth,
No god in heaven can make a deed undone.
Whate’er ye do, forsooth, becomes established,
And thence ’t will be immutable for aye.
Imbedded in the universal structure,
’T will be a building block of your own make
As an enduring part of cosmic life.
And mind the truth, ‘Ye are your own creators.’
Whate’er ye do, ye are yourselves; and ye
Are called upon to make the best of life,
To change, each in his sphere, the world for better.
Yea, ye can do it! Therefore heed my word:
Whate’er ye do is not indifferent.
In all your doings ye do shape yourselves
As ye shall be for all eternity,
And thus ye shape eternity itself.

With God Almighty, as His own true children
And His co-workers, ye participate
In moulding this great Universe of His."

Time paused awhile and let his searching eye
Glance o'er the motley crowd of human kind
Which throngs the world's kaleidoscopic show.
How all these puny creatures hate and love,
How wildly do they struggle; and they scramble
For worthless goods but leave the pearls of life
Unheeded by the wayside! Father Time,
Their guardian, endureth patiently
Their many follies, wickedness, and crimes.
He stands unmoved by errors and by failures,
And smiles at their uncounted vanities.
Divine forbearance hushes in his mind
The bitterness and the contempt he feels,
And now his speech rings with benevolence:

"Surely, I cherish all whoe'er they be
As types of the attempts at actualizing
The aspirations that ensoul their hearts.
I treasure every one of them, be they
Marked characters of greatness that would boldly
Not shrink from aught and dare to be themselves,
Or be they weaklings, commonplace and humble.
They all are welcome, I preserve them all,
Yea, even for the wretch I have a place
And hold him safe in my impartial hand.
But most I treasure those rare noble souls
Who their own selves will freely sacrifice
To live for greater aims, for higher purpose.
I watch all creatures in their origin,
I see their growth, becoming, and decay;
I hold them all and I preserve their types.
All stay with me, all help me to work out
The future which they long for."

Thus Time spake

And pointing to the future, he addressed
The living generation of the present.
In fatherly and mellow voice, he said:

"A special message have I for each child
That enters life, a message which the youth

Should mind when he begins to be himself
And shape his destiny with clearer vision.

“O listen, youth, consider life's great boon!
I offer thee a chance to be thyself,
And to immortalize thy better being.
Rise to this glorious opportunity
And act as thou wouldst fain have acted, when
After thy death thou couldst revise thy doings.
Abstain from deeds thou surely wouldst regret
When thy allotted time of life be spent—
From deeds which then thou wouldst have left undone.
Yet do accomplish with thy utmost vigor
What then in having done thou wouldst take pride.
Dare be thyself, yet shun all selfishness,
Shun wrong, shun hatred, vanity and greed.
Give to thine inmost being real life;
Work out the aim that lurketh in thy soul.
Nor fear the joys of life nor shrink from pain.
Be as thou wouldst endure eternalized,
For life is not indifferent nor vain,
And as thou actest so shalt thou remain.

MISCELLANEOUS.

ARTICLES BY HAECKEL AND ABOUT HIM.

In connection with the present number which is chiefly devoted to Professor Haeckel and his work we here append for the convenience of our readers a table of references of articles by Haeckel and about him which have appeared in *The Open Court* and *The Monist* in former years.

Articles by Haeckel.

- Goethe on Evolution (1890). *O. C.*, IV, 2111.
Phylogeny and Ontogeny (1891). *O. C.*, V, 2967.
The New Course of German Politics and the Purport of Its World-Conception (1892). *O. C.*, VI, 3215.
Our Monism: The Principles of a Consistent Unitary World-View (1892). *Mon.*, II, 481.
The Problem of Progressive Heredity (1894). *O. C.*, VIII, 3975.
The General Phylogeny of the Protists (1895). *O. C.*, IX, 4401.
The Kingdom of Protista (1895). *O. C.*, IX, 4423.
The Cellular Soul (1895). *O. C.*, IX, 4439.
The Phylogeny of the Plant-Soul (1895). *O. C.*, IX, 4458.
Epigenesis or Preformation (1895). *O. C.*, IX, 4513.

Articles About Haeckel.

- Paul Carus—Professor Haeckel's Monism (1892). In answer to Haeckel's "Our Monism." *Mon.*, II, 598.
Haeckel's Panpsychism (1892). *Mon.*, III, 234.
Haeckel's Confession of Faith (1893). *O. C.*, VII, 3528.
Haeckel's Work on the Artistic Forms of Nature (1902). *O. C.*, XVI, 47.
The Haeckel-Loofs Controversy (1903). *Mon.*, XIII, 24.
Haeckel's Theses for a Monistic Alliance (1906). *Mon.*, XVI, 120.
Professor Haeckel as an Artist (1906). *O. C.*, XX, 428.
A Visit with Professor Haeckel (1907). *O. C.*, XXI, 615.
Monism of *The Monist* compared with Haeckel's Monism (1913). *Mon.*, XXIII, 435.
Thomas J. McCormack. Professor Haeckel's New Phylogeny (1895). *O. C.*, IX, 4369, 4401, 4423, 4458.
Paul von Rautenfeld. Haeckel's Theses: A Protest (1906). *Mon.*, XVI, 626.

Otto Herrmann. The Monism of the German Monistic League (1913). *Mon.*, XXIII, 543.

C. W. Kendall. Reflections on Immortality; Chap. XI of Haeckel's *Riddle of the Universe* (1913). *Mon.*, XXIII, 595.

CURRENTS OF THOUGHT IN THE ORIENT.

BY B. K. ROY.

Jagadish Chandra Bose and His Resonant Recorder.

Ask any educated man in India who the greatest of all living scientists in that country is, and the unanimous reply will be—Dr. Jagadish Chandra Bose. Dr. Paul S. Reinsch thus writes in his *Intellectual and Political Currents in the Far East*: "While it is the genius of India to be imaginative and philosophical, the Hindus are by no means lacking in capacity for accurate scientific work. That they are thus gifted has been abundantly proven by the achievements of such men as the renowned physicist, Dr. Jagadish Chandra Bose, who is by many considered to be the first inventor of wireless telegraphy; and of P. C. Roy and Gazzar, both noted chemists."

In the October *Modern Review* (Calcutta) Dr. Bose (author of *Plant Response, Comparative Electro-Physiology and Researches on Irritability of Plants*—all published by Longmans, Green & Co.) contributes an interesting article in which he gives an account of his newly invented "resonant recorder" by which the speed of nervous impulse in plants may be automatically recorded.

"All plants," says Dr. Bose, "are sensitive, and in certain plants there are tissues which beat spontaneously like the heart-beat of the animal. These throbbings are affected by drugs precisely in the same manner as the pulsations of the animal heart are affected by similar circumstances. As regards the electric response, the writer had in the year 1901 in his Friday evening discourse before the Royal Institution demonstrated the identical nature of reactions in the plant and in the animal. There remained only the question of the nervous impulse in plants, the discovery of which was announced by the writer ten years ago. It took, however, all those years before his conclusions found full acceptance by the publication in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society....

"Though the effects produced in the animal and plant are so similar, yet from the results of certain experiments carried out by the leading plant physiologist, Pfeffer, it had been definitely settled that in the plant there is nothing corresponding to the nervous impulse in the animal. The effect transmitted in the plant is supposed to be one of hydro-mechanical blow and not of true excitation....

"The question of nervous impulse in plants has thus to be attacked anew and I have employed for this purpose twelve different methods. They all prove conclusively that the impulse in the plant is identical in character with that in the animal. Of these I give below a short account of three different methods of investigation. It is obvious that the transmitted impulse in *Mimosa* must be of an excitatory or nervous character:

"1. If it can be shown that physiological changes induce appropriate vibration in the velocity of transmission of the impulse.

"2. If the impulse in the plant can be arrested by different physiological blocks by which nervous impulse in the animal is arrested.

"3. If excitation can be initiated and propagated without any physical disturbance. The central fact in the mechanical theory is the squeezing out of water for starting the hydraulic impulse. The hydro-mechanical theory must necessarily fall to the ground if stimulation can be effected without any mechanical disturbance whatsoever.

"The research ultimately resolves itself into the accurate measurement of the speed with which an impulse in the plant is transmitted and the variation of that speed under changed conditions.... In making these measurements the results are vitiated by our personal limitations. The conditions of the experiment demand accurate measurements of time-intervals shorter than a hundredth part of a second; but sluggishness of our perception makes such an attempt an impossibility. It is therefore absolutely necessary to invent a special device by which the plant itself should be compelled to write down the propagated speed of its own excitation."

So Dr. Bose after constant application with his characteristic assiduity invented his "resonant recorder," of which he says:

"The principle of my 'resonant recorder' depends on a certain phenomenon, known in music as resonance or sympathetic vibration. We may be so tuned as to thrill to certain notes and not to others. An artificial ear can be constructed to resonate to a sound of a definite pitch. The drum of the artificial ear is made of thin soap-film; a beam of light reflected from its surface forms characteristic patterns of color on a screen. To various cries this ear remains deaf, but the apathy disappears as soon as the note to which the ear is tuned is sounded at a distance. On account of sympathetic vibration the artificial ear-film is thrown into wildest commotion and the hitherto quiescent color pattern on the screen is now converted into a whirlpool of indescribably gorgeous colors of peacock green and molten gold.

"In the same manner, if the strings of two different violins are exactly tuned, then the note sounded on one will cause the other to vibrate in sympathy. We may likewise tune the vibrating 'writer' with a reed. Suppose the reed and writer had both been tuned to vibrate a hundred times in a second. When the reed is sounded the writer will also begin to vibrate in sympathy. In consequence of this the writer will no longer remain in continuous contact with the recording plate, but will deliver a succession of taps, a hundred times in a second. The record will therefore consist of a series of dots, the distance between one dot and the next representing one hundredth part of a second. With other recorders it is possible to measure still shorter intervals. It will now be understood, how by the device of the resonant recorder we not only get rid of the error due to friction, but make the record itself measure time, as short as may be desired. The extraordinary delicacy of this instrument will be understood when by its means it is possible to record a time interval as short as the thousandth part of the duration of a single beat of the heart....

"The plant has thus been made to exhibit many of the activities which we have been accustomed to associate only with animal life. In the one case, as in the other, stimulus of any kind will induce a responsive thrill. There are rhythmic tissues in the plant which like those in the animal go on throbbing ceaselessly. These spontaneous pulsations in one case as in the other, are affected by various drugs in an identical manner. And in one case as in the other, the tremor of excitation is transmitted with a definite and measured

speed from point to point along fiber-like channels. We have now before our mind's eye the whole organism of the moving, perceiving and responding plant—a complex unity and not a congeries of unrelated parts. The barriers which separated kindred phenomena are thus thrown down, and the animal and the plant are seen to be a multiform unity in a single ocean of being.”

The Problem of Irreligion in Japan.

In his paper on “Can We Ignore Religion?” in the *Japan Magazine* for December, President Masataro Sawayanagi of the Imperial University of Kyoto complains in a rather pathetic tone of the decadence of the religious spirit of Japan. He says:

“The present prevailing indifference to religion in Japan seems to me fraught with exceeding danger to the country. The degree in which religious motives influence the minds of the young men of Japan to-day is very limited indeed. But both history and experience teach that the more genuine religion pervades the national mind, the better for the country. That religion is an essential element of all high civilization goes without saying.... Religion, as known among the Japanese to-day, means something suited to soothing the declining days of the aged and unfortunate. It is obviously not a power over the mind of youth; certainly not to the extent that it is in the west.... In Japan we have nothing at all like the admirable influence that the church is exerting in the west. There is a complete divorce between youth and religion in Japan; and the consequence is that in times of moral and mental distress our young people are all at sea.

“How to create a stronger aspiration after faith among the people is one of the pressing problems of Japan. It is a task involving tremendous difficulty.... Religion is not something to get; it is rather an atmosphere to live in. If we are to find God, may it not be by abiding in Him rather than by endeavoring to contain Him? What Japan lamentably lacks is this atmosphere. Listening to evangelistic orators and trying to catch the inspiration of great teachers are all well enough, but what the nation needs most is to create an atmosphere wherein religion can feel at home and grow till all men are enveloped in it. Let this divine atmosphere pervade the home and the community and the miasma of irreligion must inevitably disappear....

“Where then is the youth of Japan at this time to find the authority that should be obeyed? He will find it in the obligation that attaches to all good. The moral and spiritual laws that compel the best of men to right conduct are equally binding to all. There is no higher authority than that of righteousness, the motto of our present era. Man should lead a rational life; and it is irrational not to obey and follow the best. And the best is not necessarily the new. The best is that which has the authority of right, an authority that is very old, though always growing stronger because better appreciated. Good manners and customs are based on this authority, and such manners and customs are binding to all true men. Therefore let our young men follow in the way that leads to life.”

The Tug of War in China.

Immediately after the southern revolution Dr. Sun Yet Sen issued the following manifesto:

“During the period of the union of the North and South I recommended Yuan Shi Kai to the consideration of the national council, in the belief that

he would be true and loyal to the public and act according to the expectation of our countrymen. Ever since that time I have avoided power and interest, and have supported him whenever he was beset with danger and suspicion. Unexpectedly Yuan's treachery was wholly exposed by the murder of Sung. At the time, I published to the world my determination to oppose Yuan. If Yuan understood that public opinion could not be gainsaid, he should have resigned his office then. Unfortunately, Yuan is working solely for himself, and has shaped his actions accordingly in direct opposition to the people's desire, culminating in the people of the south-east taking up arms against him. Judging by the general situation, the safety of the nation and the vitality of the people will all depend upon Yuan alone, upon his remaining in or retiring from office. Although Yuan is a public servant, he is not only disregarding the welfare of the nation, but, on the contrary, he is willing to sacrifice both the country and the people in order to strengthen his own position. No such precedent should be permitted to be created in the republic of China."

The Chinese governmental reply is couched in the following words of General Yuan Hung:

"The present rebellion is founded on nothing but the personal ambition of certain men. The principal persons responsible for this rebellion are Huang-Hsing and Sun Yet Sen. Hardly was the republic formed when they began to scheme to get Yuan Shi Kai out of office. They have never supported him sincerely. Sun Yet Sen had nothing to do with the actual work of overthrowing the monarchy. The revolution was finished when he reached China. The world has a false idea about him. If Sun Yet Sen provided any tangible aid to the real revolution, I did not know of it. The least said about Huang-Hsing's military services to the revolution the better. The crowd squeezed \$30,000,000 while it controlled the Nanking provisional government."

Let our Chinese friends of all parties remember that united they stand, divided they fall, for enemies are at their gates.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

HAWAII PAST AND PRESENT. By *W. R. Castle Jr.* New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1913. Pp. 242. Price \$1.25 net.

The author was born and brought up in Hawaii and his account of the islands will be of particular interest to all Americans who may have an opportunity of visiting or settling in this beautiful territory recently acquired by the United States. The book is well illustrated. It is best characterized in the author's own words, who writes in the preface:

"This book has a double purpose: to tell those who stay at home something about Hawaii, the youngest of American territories; and to help those who are going there to plan their trip intelligently. Baedeker has not yet extended his labors to the Pacific islands, and no guidebook is available for the traveler. Many books have been written about special phases of Hawaii—its history or its commerce or its industry—but none has attempted to give concisely a survey of its history, its present conditions, and its natural beauty.... The information it contains has been gathered from most diverse sources, books, pamphlets,

and even railroad folders, the whole checked by my own personal knowledge. The facts, I am sure, are accurate. The descriptions are largely from my own observations, and I have tried not to fall into the error of exaggeration so common in books of this kind.

"The very comprehensiveness of the book has made it difficult to write. It would have been easy to devote all the space to discussion of industrial conditions, or of the Hawaiian people, or of the volcano, but this would have been to write an essay for specialists. It would have been still easier to tell of my own boyhood experiences on the funny little inter-island boats, but this would have resulted only in another "Diary," this time of a quite ordinary boy. I have tried, however, to keep myself in mind in so far as to tell things as I myself have seen them, expressing so far as possible in the descriptions my own feelings about the scenes described. And I hope the book may do something toward stirring in others an interest in Hawaii, an interest which, with fuller knowledge, must issue in something of the affection for the islands that is felt by all of us who have spent there our childhood days." κ

THE WALLED CITY. A Story of the Criminal Insane. By *Edward Huntington Williams, M.D.* New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1913. Pp. 263. Price \$1.00 net.

Although Dr. Williams was for fifteen years on the staff of more than one public institution whose duty it is to care for the criminal insane, he is not now connected with any of them in an official capacity. He is therefore able to give a true picture of the daily life that goes on in these institutions "untrammelled by the restraint that curbs the person holding an official position, the bias that blinds the former inmate or the mere surface knowledge of the outsider." Most people will be surprised that his picture is not a more somber one, but, as he says, there are high lights in every picture. Incidents which to most of us will seem new and startling are but commonplace facts to those familiar with the subject. The various chapters deal respectively with Types of the Insane, Social Position, Law and Order, The Citizens at Play, The Law's Long Arm, The Shortcomings of the City Rulers, Wits *vs.* the Long Arm, The "Shot," Contented Citizens, When Danger Threatens the City, Injustice Within the Walls, The Effects of Good Government. All are interspersed with pertinent and interesting anecdotes. The book is illustrated with fifteen photographs giving interior and exterior views of the asylums at Matteawan and Dannemora in New York, and Overbrook, New Jersey. ρ

DIE MUSIK ALS TÖNENDE WELTIDEE. Versuch einer Metaphysik der Musik.

Von Curt Mey. Leipzig: Seemann. Pp. 398.

This work has been undertaken with serious purpose and in a serious spirit, and the author expects and desires it to meet only serious readers. The reader need not be a professional musician—in fact Mr. Mey considers many such specialists too uncultured and onesided to comprehend the significance of his work—but he is required to have certain other definite qualifications: In the first place, advanced general education, especially one of a seriously philosophical character; he must be familiar with Schopenhauer's philosophy and

must know intimately and thoroughly understand the writings of Richard Wagner, especially his "Beethoven"; and he must have some knowledge of musical notation and if possible also of the elements of the theory of music and of piano playing. By these stipulations we can see how highly Mr. Mey regards the philosophy of Schopenhauer and the principles of Wagner. The chapters of the first volume—devoted as a whole to a consideration of "the metaphysical primitive laws of melody"—have the following headings: (1) On the connection of esthetics with the main doctrines and systems of philosophy, and also on the development of the metaphysics of music previous to Arthur Schopenhauer and Richard Wagner; (2) Classification of music for the purposes of the present investigation and a survey of the historical development of music with reference to this classification; (3) The orchestral overture to "Rhine Gold" as a musical expression of the evolution of life on our planet; (4) Remarks on the various intervals—derivation of the fundamental law of intervals; (5) The first metaphysical law of melodics combined with the law of intervals: the motive of assertion or becoming; (6) The second law of melodics, etc.: the motive of negation, or death; (7) The third law of melodics, etc.: the motive of weaving, or will; (8) The fourth law of melodics, etc.: the motive of life or knowledge; (9) Illustrations of complex motives.

ELIAS ARTISTA REDIVIVUS ODER DAS BUCH VOM SALZ UND RAUM. Von Dr. med. Ferdinand Maack. Berlin: Barsdorf, 1913. Pp. 198. Price 5 m., bound, 6.50 m.

Former numbers of the "Secret Science" series (*Geheime Wissenschaften*) which offers a collection of ancient and modern writings on alchemy, magic, Cabala, Rosicrucians, freemasonry, witchcraft, demonism, etc., have been exclusively concerned with the literature of antiquity, but the present volume attempts a synthesis between the old science and the new. This "Book of Salt and Space" (of alchemy and chemistry) presents a vast variety and mass of the most interesting material of early and later date and arrives at the most surprising results, among which are the comparative researches for a panacea which under the name "pantatropin" the author tries to assimilate to modern needs, and the studies in space to which he adapts his own construction of a cosmic "space chess" (*Raumschach*). The author claims to represent a strictly mechanistic standpoint, but by regarding his mechanistic conception as "allo-matic" in distinction to "automatic" comes closely into touch with the most mystical problems. It will prove an interesting task to many people to discover for themselves how successfully Dr. Maack with his mystical predisposition and his strictly scientific training accomplishes the synthesis he has undertaken.

A History of Japanese Mathematics by David Eugene Smith of Columbia University and Yoshio Mikami of Tokyo, has been completed and will be ready for the market in a short time. It will have an interest not only for mathematicians but for the general public on account of the many quaint modes of Japanese thought. It is very fully illustrated, and may be ordered directly from the publishers, The Open Court Publishing Company of Chicago.



CHRIST AS A PILGRIM.
By Fra Angelico.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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THE LAST OF THE SHOGUNS.

BY ERNEST W. CLEMENT.

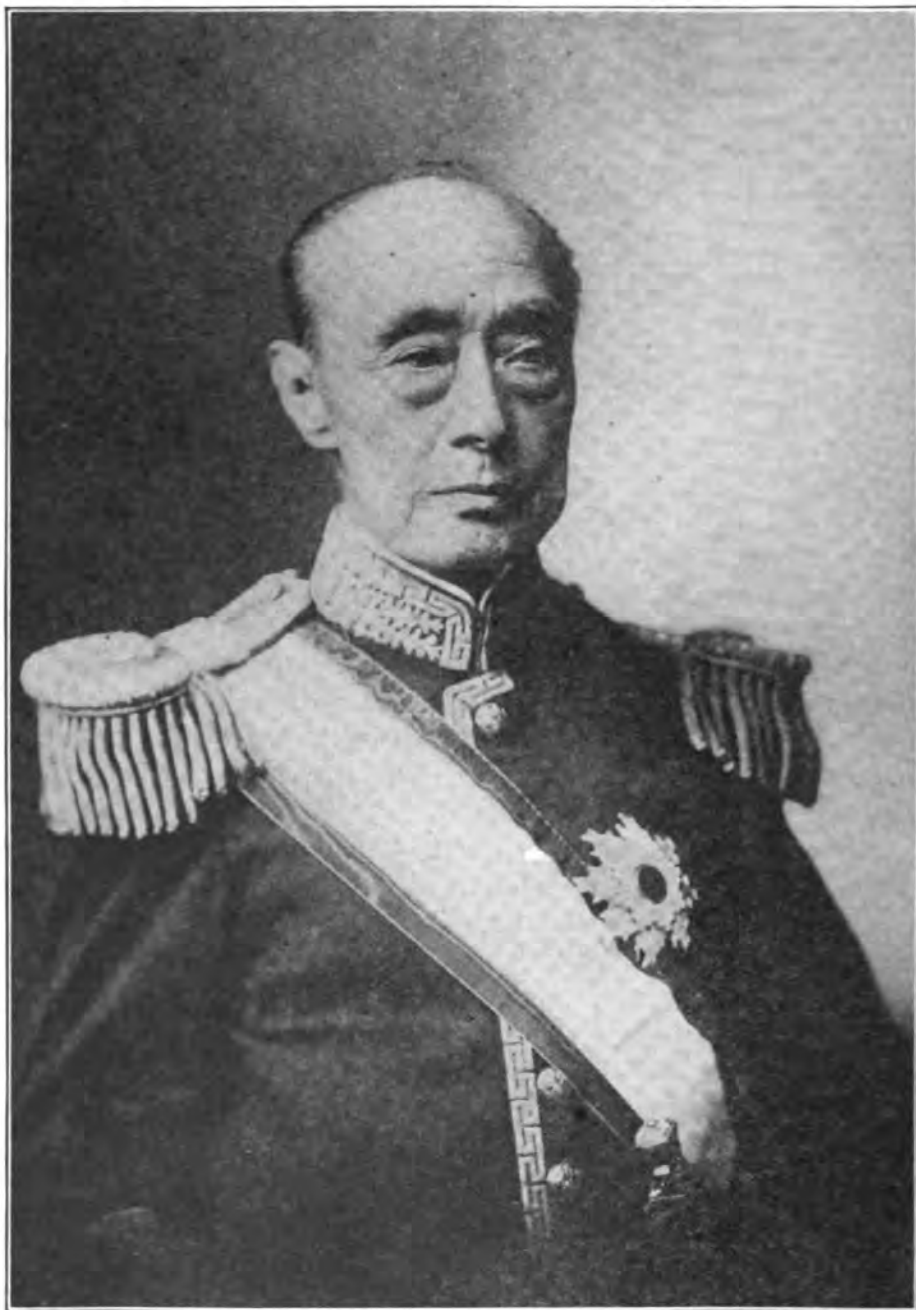
PRINCE Keiki Tokugawa, the last of the shoguns, who died last November in Tokyo, was a more distinguished personality than was really appreciated even in his own country. He was in more than one respect the ideal type of a modernized Japanese man, and he acted in a quiet and unassuming way even where his people did not yet recognize the change that was setting in.

The first of the shoguns was nominally one Watamaro, who, in 813 A. D., "was appointed *Sei-i-Tai-Shogun*, that is, Barbarian-Subduing Generalissimo," to wage war against the Ainu in the north of the empire.¹ After that, similar appointments were made from time to time. But the first of the shoguns was really Yoritomo, of the Minamoto family. He was appointed to that office in 1192 (in the days of Richard the Lion-Hearted and of Saladin); and he made himself the real administrator, the actual ruler, a Japanese mayor of the Palace, nominally under the authority of a puppet and *fainéant* emperor.

But the Minamoto family degenerated after the death of Yoritomo, so that in less than a century the real power was held by the Hojo regents of the effeminate shoguns of the *fainéant* emperors. Then the Hojo family was overthrown after 150 years, and the Ashikaga family of shoguns was established and wielded the power for over two centuries. The Ashikaga dynasty was overthrown by Nobunaga, who did not, however, receive the title of shogun. He was succeeded, after a few years, by Hideyoshi.

¹ Some say that the title was first bestowed in the reign of Kwammu (782-805), on Tamura Maro.

who likewise did not receive that appellation, but under the title of Taiko (Great Prince) was the actual ruler of Japan for more



PRINCE KEIKI TOKUGAWA.

than a decade. Next came the great Ieyasu who, after defeating his rivals in the battle of Sekigahara in 1600, was made shogun

in 1603 and established the last, but not least, famous line of shoguns, the Tokugawa. This dynasty continued for over 250 years, until 1868, when Keiki, resigning his office, ended not only the Tokugawa dynasty but, once for all, the system of a shogunate. He truly was in the fullest sense "the last of the shoguns."

This famous individual was born in 1830 as the seventh and favorite son of Nariaki (Rekko), the well-known Prince of Mito, who was leader of the anti-foreign party in the troublous days after Perry's arrival in 1853. His given name was Yoshinobu. He was adopted into the Hitotsubashi family, so that he is often called by that name in the historical records of his time; but he seems to have been best known by the name Keiki.

He came first into public prominence in 1859, when he was strongly supported, "in consideration of his high abilities," for the position of shogun, in place of Iesada, deceased. But, in view of the necessity felt for concluding the treaties with foreign powers, a son of the anti-foreign leader was a kind of *persona non grata* with the great Regent, Ii Kamon no Kami, who obtained the position for a mere child, only 12 years of age, of the Kii family. And at that time the old Prince of Mito was condemned to perpetual confinement at Mito, and his son, Hitotsubashi, "for having desired the office of shogun," was forced into retirement.

But in 1862 he was released from his domiciliary confinement,² and a little later was appointed guardian of the shogun and then vice-shogun. The next year the emperor fixed upon a certain date for the expulsion of foreigners from Japan and proposed to visit a famous shrine of Hachiman (the god of war) near Kyoto and there deliver to the shogun "the sword emblematic of his authority to expel the barbarians." The shogun, however, was conveniently sick and sent Hitotsubashi as his representative. The latter, too, was "extremely embarrassed and, pretexting illness, descended from the shrine." This so incensed some ronins that they exclaimed, "Bah! this sluggard is not fit for the work." Fortunately, however, this hostile plan was afterwards overthrown.

A few months later Hitotsubashi addressed to the emperor the following letter: "I have been the unworthy recipient of your majesty's boundless favors and have received the office of guardian to the shogun. But I have been completely unsuccessful and feel most uneasy in mind. Your Majesty has also specially instructed me to arrange for the closing of the ports; but, though I have striven day and night to requite one ten-thousandth part of the

² Ii had been assassinated in 1860 by Mito ronins.

benefits I have received from Your Majesty, I have been unable to carry out that measure also. My guilt in accepting such a grave responsibility without duly appreciating the action of events and estimating my own capacity, is too great to escape unpunished. I pray Your Majesty, therefore, by an exercise of that great goodness which is Your Majesty's chief attribute, to release me from the office of guardian of the shogun." The emperor, however, refused to grant his request at that time; but in the following year that office was taken from him, and he was made "protector of the imperial palace and commander-in-chief of the maritime defences in the Bay of Osaka."

Near the end of 1865 when the ministers of the foreign powers went to Kobe to request the emperor to ratify the treaties which the shogun had made, Hitotsubashi was one who recognized the futility of further opposition or delay; and he, with others, presented a joint memorial to the court, as follows: "The foreigners have come up to the home provinces to request that Your Majesty will signify your consent to the treaties and to demand the opening of Hiogo. They say that they have come to arrange these matters directly with Your Majesty, as the *bakufu* [shogunate] is unable to settle them. Your servants will do all in their power to create delays, but unless the imperial consent to the treaties is given, the foreigners will not quit the Inland Sea. If we were lightly to use force against them we might be victorious for the moment, but a tiny piece of territory like this could not long withstand the combined armies of the universe. We are not so much concerned for the preservation of the *bakufu* as for the security of the throne. If the result be what we must anticipate, your people will be plunged into the depths of misery. Your Majesty's sacred wish of protecting and succoring your subjects will be rendered unavailing, and the *bakufu* will be unable to fulfil its mission, which is to govern the country happily. Your servants cannot find heart to obey Your Majesty's order to break off foreign relations, and humbly pray that Your Majesty, deigning to take these things into consideration, will at once give your consent."

Another writer adds the following: "At last, all the members of the *gorojuu* [council], the great *metsuke* [censors] and high officials of the Tycoon [shogun], with Hitotsubashi at their head, called on the Mikado and prostrated themselves at His Majesty's feet. The Mikado was moved; but messages containing threats were brought in every minute and the sacred emperor was still hesitating, when all the high officers declared they would die at once

should they not obtain what they were sent for. Hitotsubashi went so far as to take hold of the sleeve of the Mikado, respectfully swearing that he would not loose his hold until His Majesty sanctioned the treatise. Finally, the kwampaku, the first officer of the Mikado, was directed to bring the book of the irrevocable wills—and the sanction was given." Quite a dramatic scene, if real!

About this time the young shogun, Iemochi, "who felt severely the weight of domestic and foreign affairs," asked permission to resign in favor of Hitotsubashi, but was refused, although he made a plea of ill-health. This was probably a true reason, because it was not long before he died, right in the midst of civil commotions which had about reached their climax. Toward the end of 1866 Hitotsubashi was declared successor, and in January, 1867, was installed as shogun at the age of thirty-seven.

Although Hitotsubashi, or Keiki, as we shall hereafter call him, was judged by some to have been ambitious, yet he seems to have been truly reluctant to assume the shogunate at such a stormy period. During the time between his election and installation he made attempts to be relieved of the dangerous though honorable office; and he finally accepted on two conditions: "First, that the Mikado should give ear to his advice as that of a councilor who should by his office be brought into closer contact with foreigners than the great *daimios* [lords], and should give preference to his counsel; secondly, that all the *daimios* should not only approve of his appointment, but promise him their entire and unconditional support in carrying out the internal and foreign policy he might deem it necessary to pursue."

He then assumed the reins with great energy. We quote again from Mossman's *New Japan*: "It was acknowledged on all hands that he devoted to the public business of Japan at this transitional period an amount of intelligence, energy and earnestness, seldom, if ever, exhibited by the executive ruler of the realm. At the same time, while he conciliated the people, he was held in great esteem by his sovereign. The only dissentients were the *daimios*, who were jealous of his abilities and power." And we might add to these words of Mossman, that upon him seemed to fall, unfortunately and unjustly, all the accumulated obloquy felt toward the shogunate.

Soon after this the emperor suddenly died, and after an interregnum of eighty days was succeeded by the late emperor Mutsuhito, posthumously named Meiji Tenno. This change of imperial masters was most providential, as later events proved; and at that time it was thought to be most fortunate for the country, "that

such a man as Hitotsubashi [Keiki] was at the head of affairs." It could scarcely have been foreseen, but was indeed providential, that about the same time "the young Tycoon and the bigoted barbarian-hating Mikado" were removed, and their places taken by such liberal successors.

In May, 1867, the new shogun received the foreign ministers in official audience at Osaka in a manner that pleased them and reflected credit upon himself. The following is a description of him at that time: "The Tycoon is a man of ordinary stature, with a pleasant and very intelligent face, very bright, sparkling eyes and a voice of remarkable sweetness. His manner is most easy and refined. He had never sat down to European dinners before he did so on this occasion."

But this friendly and hospitable action on the part of the shogun and his negotiations with foreigners were the occasion of severe criticism by enemies of his own nationality. Some of the leading *daimyo* claimed that he should not have carried on negotiations alone and surrounded only by his own immediate officials, but that he should have made a display of imperial troops and armed retainers of *daimyo*. This would seem to have been an expression of jealousy on the part of those who, in the words of Mossman, "were not bidden to the feast."

It was in October of 1867 that the Prince of Tosa sent to the shogun his famous letter advising the latter to restore to the lawful hereditary sovereign his power in all its fulness. This letter ran somewhat as follows: "It appears to me that although government and the penal laws have been administered by the military class ever since the Middle Ages, yet since the arrival of foreigners we have been squabbling among ourselves, and much public discussion has been excited. The East and West have risen in arms against each other, and civil war has never ceased, the effect being to draw on us the insult of foreign nations. The cause of this lies in the fact that the administration proceeds from two centers, causing the empire's ears and eyes to be turned in two different directions. The march of events has brought about a revolution, and the old system can no longer be obstinately persevered in. You should restore the governing power into the hands of the sovereign, and so lay a foundation on which Japan may take its stand as the equal of all other countries. This is the most imperative duty of the present moment and is the heartfelt prayer of Yodo.³ Your Highness is wise enough to take this advice into consideration."

³ The personal name of the Prince of Tosa.

This recommendation was supported by other prominent *daimyo* and their retainers, so that Keiki, "yielding to the force of public opinion," as Griffis puts it, resigned his position as *Sei-i-Tai-Shogun*.

What followed is more or less confused, and therefore difficult to narrate in precisely logical or chronological order. It appears, however, that in some way or other the opponents of Tokugawa increasing in number and influence in Kyoto, were enabled to get possession of the young emperor's ear and person. The Aizu troops, loyal to the shogun, were deprived of their position as guards at the palace gate; and their places were taken by troops of Satsuma, Tosa and other clans. The old Tokugawa officials were dismissed and superseded by men favorable to the "combination." In Yedo, too, there were disturbances: Satsuma men attacked the shogun's palace; and Tokugawa adherents in return burned down the Satsuma *yashiki* (mansion).

It would seem that the reforms in the administration of the government were interpreted by Keiki, whether rightly or wrongly, as amounting to the overthrow of Tokugawa and the establishment of an authority equivalent to that of the former shogunate, but in the interests of the Tokugawa enemies. There seems to have been no small reason to suspect the ambition of Satsuma. These suspicions Keiki stated to his councilors as follows: "Why has the policy of the court altered thus in the last few days? There must be some one who, in order to succeed in a plot, is misleading the young emperor." He therefore abandoned Kyoto and went to Osaka, because, in the opinion of his friends, "it was better to take possession of this, the neck (key) of Kyoto, than to fall into the trap that was being laid for them." But this was apparently "a fatal move," because the new men thus had it all their own way in Kyoto.

Now, however, the new administration was in financial straits. As the imperial councilors put it, "although the imperial family is now in possession of the government, it has no means of meeting its expenses. Tokugawa and other clans should be made to contribute." In order to render the *bakufu* revenues available, an attempt was made to conciliate Keiki. The princes of Owari and Echizen, both of the Tokugawa family, were sent to Osaka, to invite him to become one of the councilors of the new régime. He seemed willing to accept, but was persuaded by the advice of the warlike Aizu and others to this effect: "The word of Bishiu [Owari] and Echizen cannot be relied upon; if you must go to Kyoto, we

will go with you, to die, if necessary, in your support." Another writer adds: "On this expedition, we will remove, from the emperor his bad councilors, and try the issue with them by the sword."

Although the latter statement furnishes the pretext for this move, it was undoubtedly an unfortunate one. When the troops of the shogun marched on Kyoto, they were met at Fushimi by a large array, chiefly Satsuma and Choshu men, but with an imperial prince as commander-in-chief and the imperial gold brocade banner in the van. Thus the shogun's men became technically rebels or traitors. They, however, excused themselves as follows: "Our prince is going to court by order of the Mikado; and, if you venture to obstruct his passage, he will force his way through." In a hard-fought battle of three days, the imperial troops were finally victorious. Keiki and his followers fled first to Osaka, then to Kobe, and embarked thence on the "Kaiyo Maru," one of their own war-vessels, for Yedo.

At this point we quote from the reminiscences⁴ of one of Keiki's retainers: "Having been defeated at the battle of Fushimi, Keiki, with his prime minister, Itakura, and the princes of Aizu and Kuwana, took passage for Yedo. At this time, English war-ships seemed to act somewhat imprudently toward the ships of the *bakufu*. Therefore the refugees intended to change and get on a French war-vessel for protection. For this purpose a letter from the British minister (Sir Henry Parker) was delivered to them. But nothing happened during the voyage; the 'Kayo Maru,' war-vessel of the *bakufu*, brought the anxious passengers in safety to Yedo. The letter was afterwards read and found to run as follows: 'Please pity this poor ex-shogun.'"

The emperor now issued a proclamation by which Keiki and his followers were deprived of all their honors and dignities; and, according to one authority, the ex-shogun was ordered to commit *harakiri*. Griffis also states that one of Keiki's own ministers "earnestly begged him to commit *harakiri*, urging its necessity to preserve the honor of the Tokugawa clan. His exhortation being unsuccessful, the proposer solemnly opened his own bowels."

The emperor also sent to Yedo an army, named "army of chastisement," under an imperial prince, with not only the brocade banner but also a "sword of justice." Keiki, however, was now willing to follow the wise counsels of more peaceable advisers like Katsu and Okubo, and to give up entirely any further contest. He therefore accepted the terms of a lenient decree and retired to

⁴ Taiyo, June, 1901.

private life, first in Mito, where he was said to be "busily employed in composing Japanese poetry." Later he was permitted at his own request to retire to Shizuoka, where he remained in strict seclusion till 1899, when he returned to his old capital, called no longer Yedo but Tokyo.

If we confine ourselves strictly to the limits of our subject we should stop here and have nothing to say about Keiki after he retired from the shogunate. But as we have written some about his career before he became shogun, so we may refer briefly to his career as ex-shogun. In fact, there is little to be said. He has been living in the utmost seclusion; even in Tokyo he has avoided society and lived very quietly. His chief sports have been hunting and riding a bicycle. He had audience once of the late emperor, to whom he, formerly the actual administrator of the empire, paid his respects as a loyal subject. The ex-shogun represented the old feudal Japan, which has passed away never to return; the late emperor represented the new constitutional Japan which is developing in the most wonderful manner. In 1902, at the annual "poem meeting" or poetical symposium held in the imperial palace, Prince Tokugawa, as he is now called, was the official reader. In short, he has been living the simple life.

It is interesting to note the conflicting opinions concerning the character of the last of the shoguns. As he was a son of the leader of the anti-foreign party, he was generally considered by the foreigners of that time to be, by heredity, "a determined opponent of foreign intercourse"; but he turned out to be "most friendly to foreigners," and, as we have already seen, was very active and earnest in persuading the emperor to give his sanction to the treaties with foreign powers. He has been condemned by Griffis in *The Mikado's Empire*, on the "testimony of his best friends," as being fickle; but he has also been vigorously defended from that very charge by Black, Reed, Mossman, and other writers of that day, who picture him as an able and energetic man.

Although from the Japanese point of view Keiki was severely condemned, yet by Occidental standards he should be highly praised for refusing to commit *harakiri* after his defeat. As Mossman puts it, "instead, therefore, of abandoning himself to the fatalism of his race, he exerted his political foresight to review the position of affairs, and saw that an inevitable change had revolutionized the governing classes of Japan, through the influence of foreign intercourse."

With reference to Keiki's general character, ability and pur-

poses, it may be profitable to consider the opinion of a man of that day, as stated in his own book, *Young Japan*, in which Black says: "I always contended, and I maintain the same opinion to this day [1881], that, had Hitotsubashi [or Keiki] been allowed to work out his plans in his own way, we should have seen by this time quite as great an advance as we see to-day; and it would have been more sound and solid. There would have been no sanguinary revolution; and yet the Mikado would have been restored to the fullest powers. This had already been reported as a portion of his scheme. There would have been, long ere now, a representative assembly; and, as the country would not have been put to the heavy expenses incurred in the civil strife of 1868 and the Formosan expedition, there would not have been all the financial trouble that has been, is being, and will be increasingly, experienced in the empire. There would have been no Saga, no Satsuma, rebellions. It is most likely that the *daimyo* would have retained their princely names and been an acknowledged hereditary nobility; but arrangements would have been made by which they would have been relieved of the old feudal duties and responsibilities; for a standing army was a part of the Tycoon's design; and this would have involved, necessarily, a modification of the old relations between the *daimyo* and the ruler with regard to revenues."

In another place, Black writes as follows: "It is now sometimes alleged against him, that he was inert and even cowardly in the latter days. But he had, as I have just related, distinctly said that he would resign, if he had not the requisite support. That he was not originally either inactive or cowardly we may infer from the fact that he, of all others, had been selected as the guardian of the young Tycoon: and it is evident that, in this capacity, he soon realized the unmistakable fact, that, whether the making of treaties was right or wrong; and whether the Tycoon Iesada, or his representative the Go-Tairo, had or had not legitimately the power to enter into them, the deed was done, and the treaties must be maintained. We have seen how prominent a part he took in obtaining the Mikado's sanction; and up to the very last he was most true to all the engagements they imposed upon Japan. He initiated many reforms for which the present government obtains the credit; and whatever advantages there may be—and undoubtedly there are many—in having the government in its present shape, he had foreseen them and declared his hope of gradually bringing it about. It is my sincere belief that, had he been permitted to work in his own way, we should have seen Japan make as rapid

progress as she has made, without all the horrors of revolution and repeated outbreaks of internal strife that have occurred."

Now, these opinions of Black, who was a keen observer of that time, are entitled to some weight. At least, if the charge of fickleness is the worst that can be brought against Keiki, he was no more a sinner than most of his contemporaries. Even in ordinary, peaceful times, consistency is a jewel; and in revolutionary times, inconsistency is not a great crime. Keiki's mistake seems to have been the withdrawal of his resignation and his attempted return from Osaka to Kyoto. But he had reason to believe that Satsuma was working for the overthrow of Tokugawa and the establishment of a Satsuma dynasty of shoguns; while his own honest purpose was the abandonment of the whole system of a shogunate. In this complicated situation of affairs he was persuaded against his better judgment to pursue a course which placed him in a most unfortunate position and precipitated a civil war. But instead of condemning Keiki for one mistake, let us rather give all honor to the man who had the vision to see, and the wisdom to recognize, that he was the last of the shoguns.

THE PORTRAYAL OF CHRIST.

BY THE EDITOR.

[CONTINUED FROM THE JANUARY NUMBER.]

THE oldest Christian artist whose name has come down to us is Hermogenes, and he was reproached with having been influenced strongly by pagan ideas. This accusation was probably founded on fact, for there is no doubt that Christian art developed from pagan art, and there is no harm in recognizing that Christianity owes more to ancient paganism than the early Christians themselves were aware.



EROS AND PSYCHE TOGETHER WITH THE GOOD SHEPHERD.

Relief on a sarcophagus.

Paganism was in a state of decay. The common people knew little about Plato and Aristotle, and the better educated classes disappeared in the general deluge that swept away the classical civilization and gradually doomed it to oblivion. But some of the most beautiful ideas, such as forgiveness of evil-doers and the Logos conception, were saved from the shipwreck of Greek thought.

That in certain circles Christianity was adopted without any

antagonism to pagan traditions can be seen from the combination of pagan and Christian symbols which now and then occurs, the most interesting one being the representation of the Christian good shepherd placed side by side with Eros and Psyche, for this latter group is purely pagan and has never been adopted by Christianity. We must grant however that the good shepherd need not be Christian and has often served as a purely pagan picture. The most extreme syncretism appears in a box (possibly a wedding gift) ornamented with a portrait of Venus and the exhortation of the donor inscribed on the rim to enjoy wedded life in Christ.

We must not think that Christians were from the beginning Christians pure and simple, or that they thought alike, or that all of

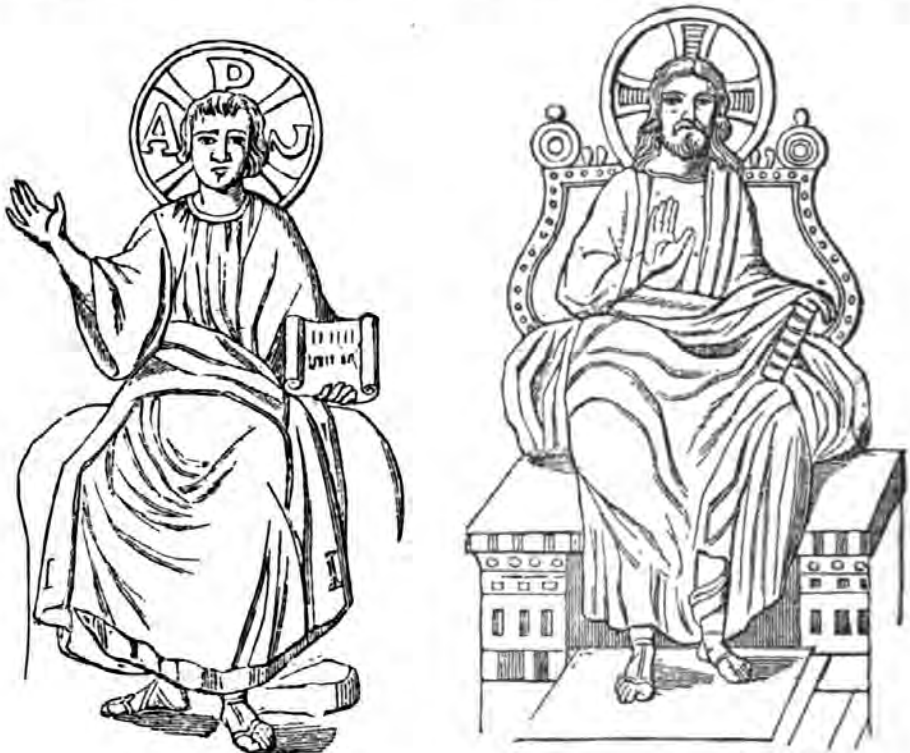


JEWEL CASKET IN THE DUKE OF BLACA'S COLLECTION.

Now in the British Museum. Showing syncretism between the old and new faiths.

them hated paganism. We believe that on the contrary with the exception of a very active minority, there were all shades of syncretism constituting all kinds of heresies and sects, mixtures with Egyptian, Syrian and Babylonian lores, with Mandaism, with Mithraism, with the baptizers, the creed of the disciples of St. John, with Sethites, with worshipers of Serapis and Isis, etc. It must have been an age of unrest, of a general fermentation, and few really knew what the outcome would be, but all this confusion was dominated by definite tendencies towards a belief in individual immortality, a dualistic world-conception, a rigorous monotheism, ethical views verging on asceticism, a purified worship without bloody sacrifice, and a hatred of polytheism. The old conceptions lingered with the people. Often the gods were not rejected but were regarded as

wicked demons; and in the same way many superstitions continued in a less virulent form. When the fear of idolatry began to abate and there came a general demand for a representation of Christ, Christian artists were for some time doubtful how to picture the features of Jesus. It was natural that they would not intentionally follow pagan prototypes, yet unconsciously they fashioned the Christ type after the traditional figures of pagan saviours, either by picturing representatives of light or eternal youth such as Apollo and Dionysos, or of vigorous manhood, such as Æsculapius or Zeus, and



THE TWO CHRIST TYPES CONTRASTED.

The one on the left from St. Aquilinus in Milan, on the right from St. Agatha of Ravenna.

the latter type proved the predetermined outcome. Nevertheless, the Christ type finally resulted in something entirely new, and had to be new in order to meet the demand, for there was a strong prejudice against pagan gods, which is evident from the story told by Theophanes⁸ that in the year 454 the hand of an artist withered while using the head of a Zeus as a model for a picture of Christ. No doubt the Christians succeeded in creating a new and independent

⁸ *Chron.*, I, ed. Bonn, 174.

type. While we need not deny this obvious truth, we may grant that they could not help utilizing their pagan traditions. The struggle lasted long, and at first wherever they produced an original type it possessed morbid features, the face of a consumptive or of a pathologically affected man.

It would seem as if the bearded type of Christ, as the lord, the king, the judge, which finally prevailed, was not formed after a classical prototype, but should be considered original and typically Christian. In the main this is quite true but not absolutely so, for even here we can trace the influence of classic art, or possibly a



JUPITER SERAPIS ON AN ETRUSCAN MIRROR.

return to it. Not only is there a similarity of this Christ type to the healer Æsculapius, but we find also a portrait of Jupiter Serapis on an Etruscan mirror in which the similarity to the bearded Christ type is quite apparent. Here in the face of Serapis there is even a slight suggestion of the pathological so common in Christ pictures. But we need not for the sake of a mere similarity insist on the theory that this Serapis type actually furnished Christian artists with the model for their Christ pictures, although this has been claimed even by some orthodox archeologists.* The similarity is rather an

* See Roscher, *s. v.* "Serapis," col. 380.

instance of the truth that everywhere the same or similar factors produce the same or similar results.

It is characteristic of the ancient paganism of Greece that it humanized its gods. The Christians, however, believed in a supernatural ideal, and so they attempted to produce a supernatural conception of Christ which in their opinion could be attained by exaggerating those traits of the human face and figure that showed symptoms of unearthliness and so appeared to them to be divinely significant. They elongated the features of the face, especially the nose, and the hands and in fact the whole figure; they enlarged the eyes, raised the eyebrows, let the hair fall down in long strands over the shoulders, took out every possible indication of gladness or



CHRIST HEAD IN ST. CALLISTUS.
After De Rossi.

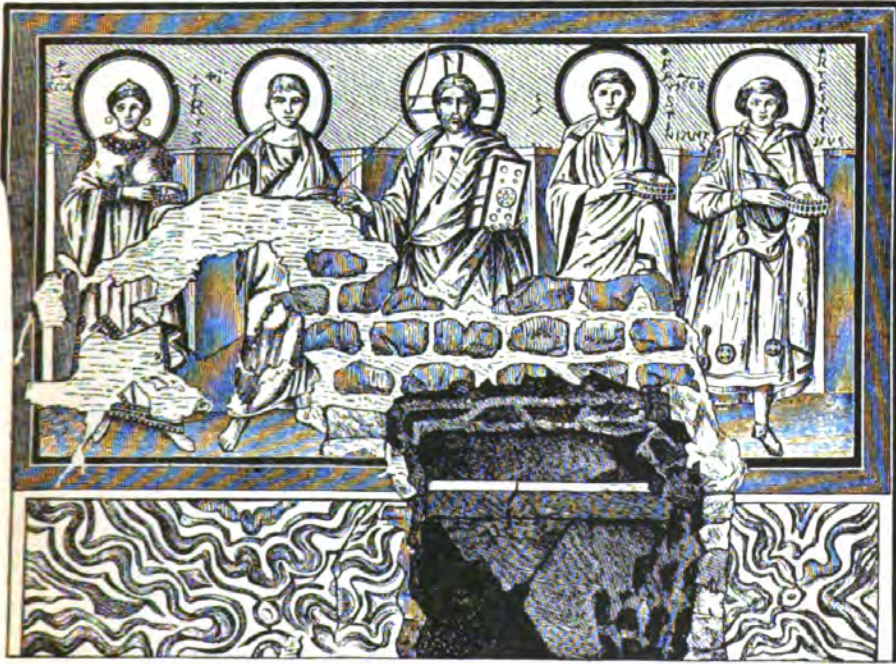


CHRIST HEAD IN ST. GAUDIOSUS.
Naples.

human joy, and endowed this intendedly supernatural ideal with a disdain of worldliness and an awe-inspiring sternness, so as to deprive it of all sympathy. They intended to make Christ grand. However, what was meant to be supernatural degenerated into a morose expression and so the superhuman became morbid.

The head of Christ in the catacomb of St. Callistus discovered by De Rossi is a pronounced instance of this type. It found a parallel development in the Veronica portrayals, and was cultivated mainly in Byzantine art, the style of which did not find much favor in the Occidental church. The Christ head in St. Gaudiosus in Naples is of a similar character.

De Rossi discovered in his excavations between 1866 and 1869 a little chapel connected with the catacomb of St. Generosa ad Sextum Philippi which had lain concealed for centuries, and there he found a fresco of the bearded Christ seated with four saints. The age of the painting is difficult to determine, and for lovers of Christian art the temptation is strong to claim it as very old. The cemetery of St. Generosa contains the tombs of the brothers Simplicius and Faustinus, who were martyred under Diocletian (245-313). Might we not be justified in assuming that the fresco was made soon after the death of the martyred brothers? It is almost a pity that all the data of the history of the development of the Christ



MURAL PAINTING IN THE CATACOMBS OF ST. GENEROSA.

picture militate against the supposition that it is older than the fifth century.

After Constantine Christ came more and more to be regarded as the conqueror and ruler of the world, and thus it was natural that in this period a new Christ type began to be developed in which the pathological feature became more and more subdued, and he appeared as a stern bearded man in the prime of life.

While symbolic representations of Christ and imaginary scenes of his life abound in the catacombs, we do not find portraits of Christ dating back much earlier than the fourth century, and then they show at once the later type. The oldest among them is prob-

ably the one in the catacomb of St. Callistus, and in various chapels of the catacombs we find types which show not so much the majestic



A HEAD OF CHRIST IN ST. PONTIANUS.
After Carucci, Plate 136.

king as the aweinspiring judge of the world, as, e. g., the two portraits in the Chapel of St. Pontianus.



MOSAIC IN THE CHURCH OF SS. COSMAS AND DAMIAN.

In a mosaic in the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian and in the apse and above the arch of St. Paul Outside the Walls (both churches in Rome) Christ is represented as a full-grown man of

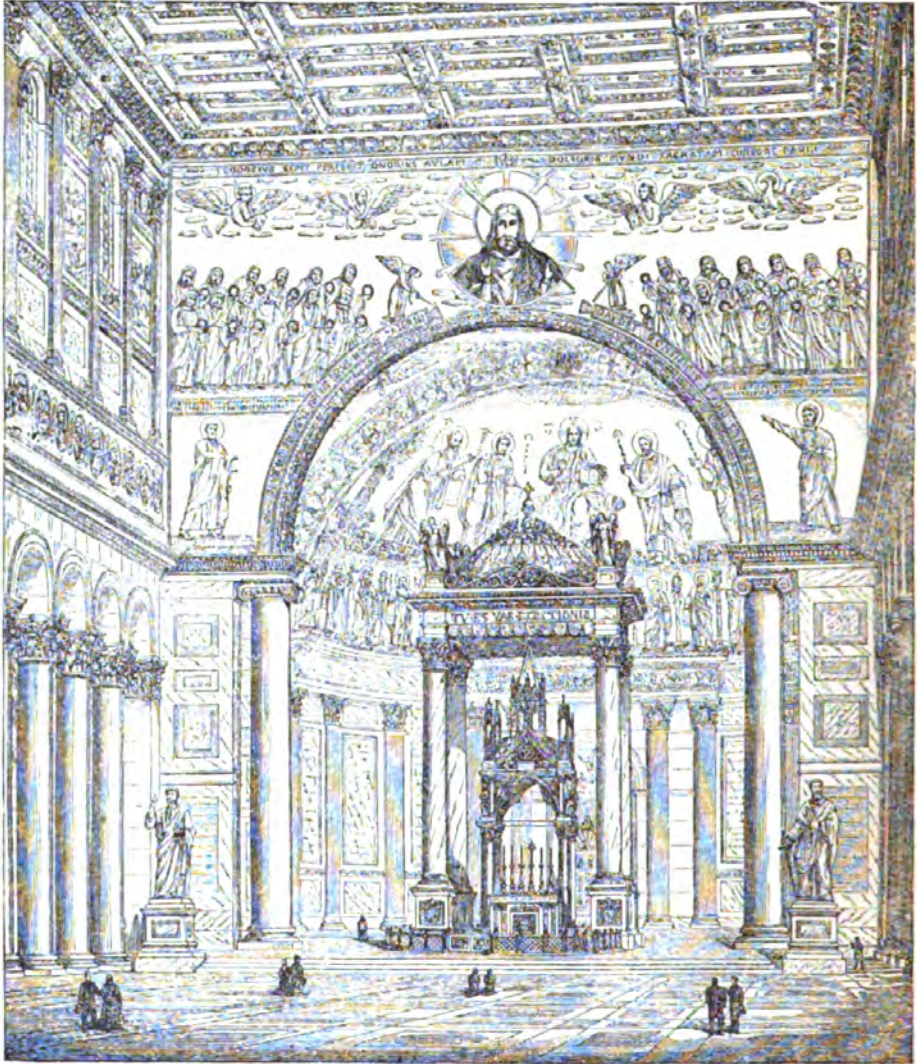


A NINTH CENTURY FRESCO IN ST. PONTIANUS.

From a photo.

majestic appearance and, especially in St. Paul's, he is the stern judge and not the gentle saviour.

The same church of St. Paul Outside the Walls contains another picture of Christ enthroned between saints which is most

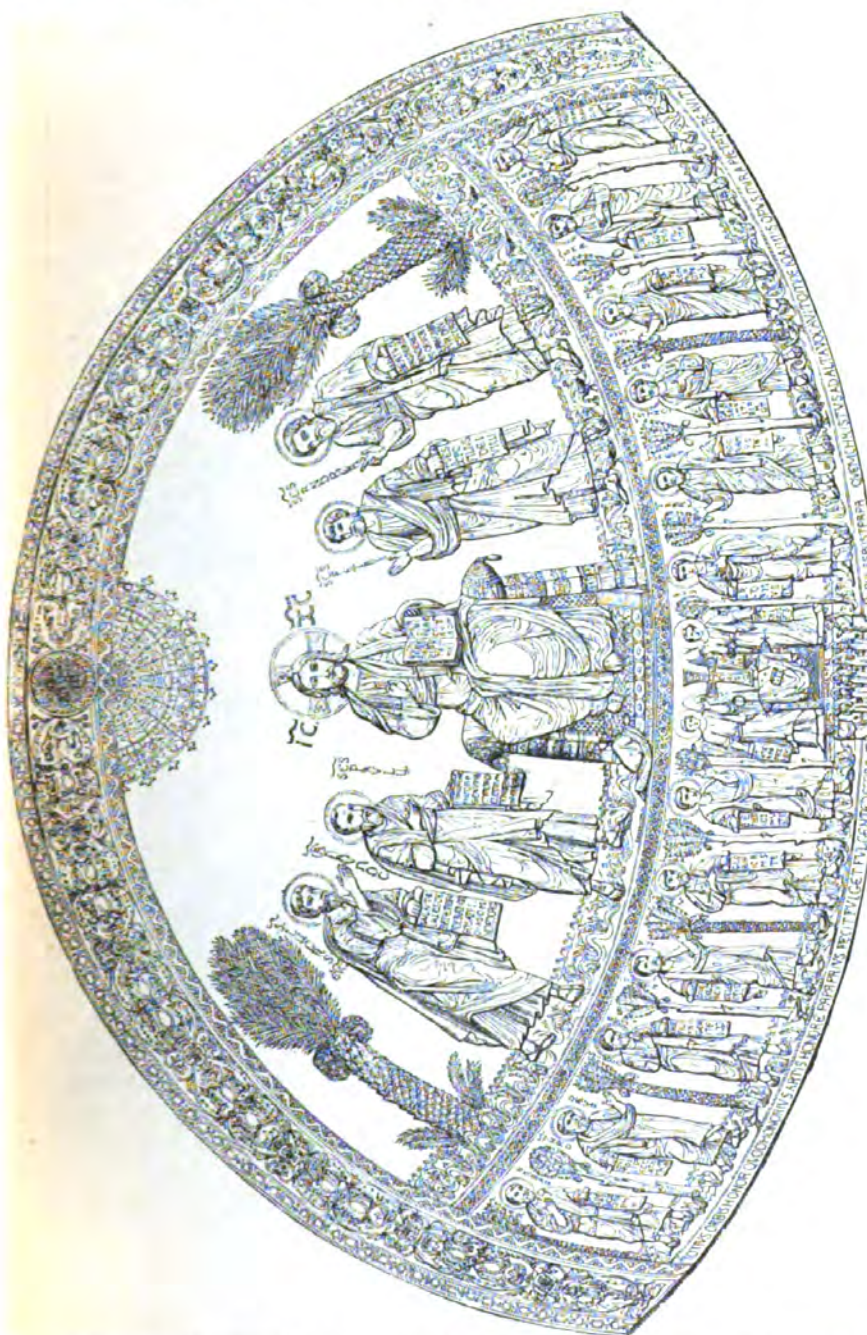


INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH OF ST. PAUL OUTSIDE THE WALLS.
Showing the apse with the Christ picture in the center and another one above the arch.

artistically developed and possesses a dignity not often attained.

Among other pictures of the bearded Christ we will mention first the oldest representation of the last supper, picturing Christ with the eleven disciples, Judas having left, lying around a table

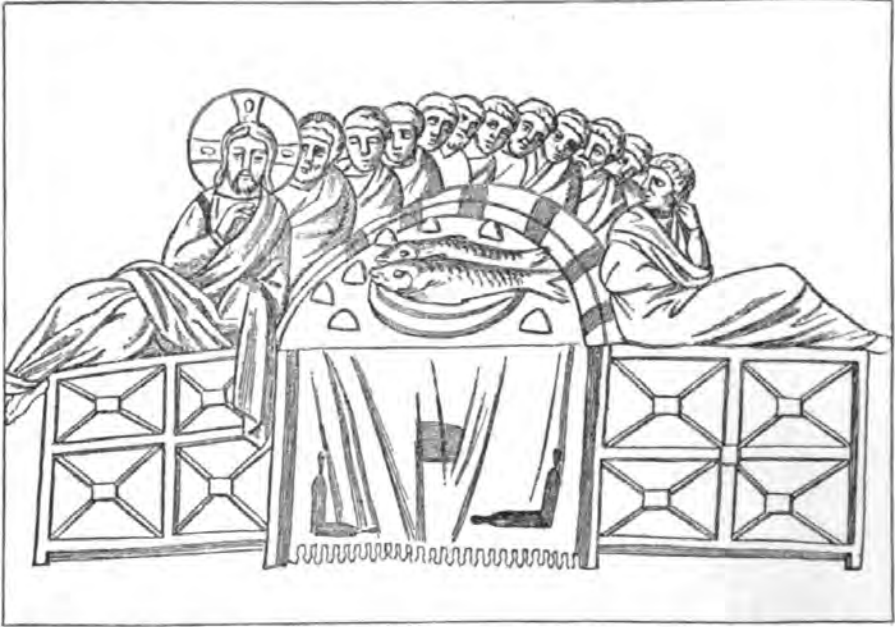
set with two fishes. The drawing here represented is made after an old mosaic in the new St. Apollinaris at Ravenna.



CHRIST ENTHRONED.
Mosaic in St. Paul Outside the Walls.

From the Christ pictures of the Greek church, we choose as one of the best and worthiest the mosaic on the portico of the church of St. Sophia, in Constantinople, one of the few remnants which for

a long time escaped Turkish iconoclasm and which were copied by Salzenberg.¹⁰ Christ is seated on a highly decorated throne in the



THE OLDEST PICTURE OF THE LAST SUPPER.
Mosaic in the "New" St. Apollinaris at Ravenna.



MOSAIC FROM ST. SOPHIA.

usual attitude as a teacher with three fingers raised. At each side of him a medallion is inserted, one of Mary on his right, and one

¹⁰ Salzenberg, *Altchristliche Baudenkmäler von Constantinopel vom 5. bis 12. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1854.



AN IVORY MEDALLION OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.



HEAD OF CHRIST FROM GEORGIA.

of the archangel Michael on his left. Before him kneels an emperor distinguished by a halo.

How generally this type has been imitated in the Greek church appears from a Christ picture, reproduced after Kondakoff from an original in Grusia (Georgia).

An interesting medallion carved in ivory is now preserved in the Museo Cristiano, which shows the bearded Christ with a round



MOSAIC IN THE NEW CHURCH OF ST. APOLLINARIS AT RAVENNA.

halo and a christogram on his head, the latter in an unusual form, a cross with a loop on top representing the Greek XP (i. e., Chr.). Boldetti was the first one to call attention to it, and De Rossi has determined its date to be near the end of the fourth century. Its place of provenience is supposed to be the catacombs of St. Domitilla.

Among other ivory reliefs which represent Christ personally without any attempt at symbolization is the carving on a piece of



AN IVORY RELIEF IN THE BERLIN MUSEUM.

ivory now preserved in Berlin. It shows Christ as a well-grown boy among the doctors in the temple. In the right corner we see Abraham warned by the angel not to sacrifice Isaac.

The bearded type remained the favorite Christ-conception in the eighth and ninth centuries, instances of which can be offered



MOSAIC OF THE BLESSING CHRIST.

Preserved in the Lateran.

in many of the best Christ portrayals although in many cases the morbidity of the features is not entirely absent. One of the most artistic and imposing among these Christ pictures is probably a mosaic in the new St. Apollinaris in Ravenna.

A more sympathetic mosaic is preserved in the Lateran. It

portrays the saviour in an attitude of benediction and characterizes him as gentle and benevolent.

More morose, yet of much later date, is the Christ picture in a mosaic on the tomb of Emperor Otto II. Christ holds up his hand in benediction. St. Peter on the right side grasps three keys, an unusual number, while St. Paul holds in his right hand a burning candle and in his left a scroll.

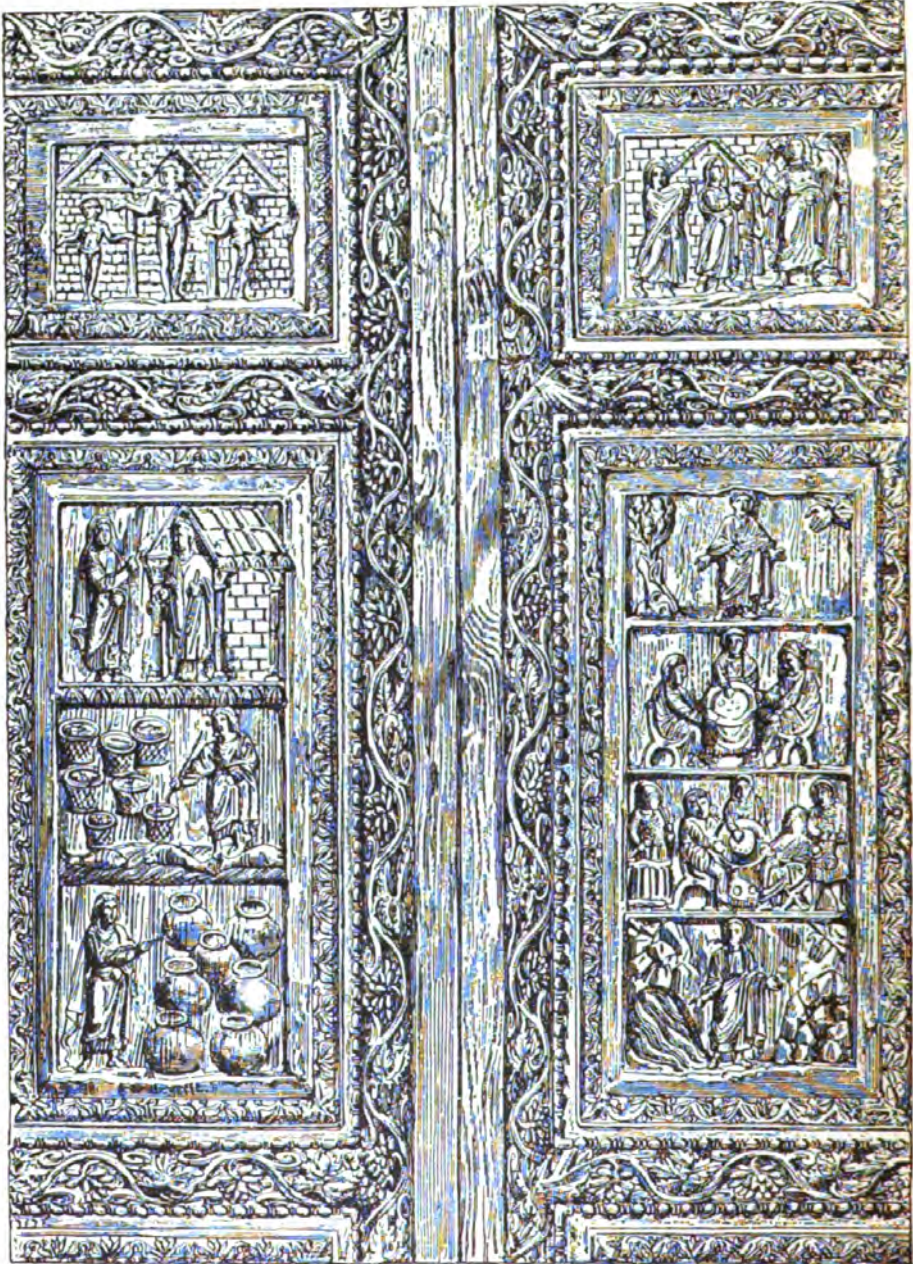
The details of the Christ-conception were naturally subject to change according as the notions of the age changed with regard to



MOSAIC OF THE TOMB OF EMPEROR OTTO II.

the ideal type of mankind. Thus when the Teutonic race became predominant, when the powerful Goths and Lombards were still remembered and when German kings of the Frankish, the Saxon and the Swabian houses had been crowned emperors in Rome, Nicephorus Callistus (about 1333) described Jesus as having been seven feet high with golden yellow waving hair, dark eyebrows and an oval face of a delicately pink complexion. This description strongly resembles the Ravenna mosaics and kindred types of Christ for which the mighty northern conquerors may have furnished the models.

One phase in the development of the Christ type appears in a series of Biblical scenes on the doors of St. Sabina on the Aventine.



SOME DETAILS OF THE DOORS OF ST. SABINA.

Twenty-six of these represent the life of Jesus, thirteen portray his passion, and it should be noticed that the former ones show Christ

beardless as a youth with large eyes and a simple-minded face, with thick hair surrounding his forehead, but the Christ of the passion is a man of superhuman size with a thick beard and long hair falling down upon his shoulders.

Before Constantine Christian art had still been reluctant in the portrayal of Christ, but as soon as Christianity had become state religion of the empire all doubt disappeared. Henceforth the progress was rapid. Christ was not only represented freely in portraits but also in scenes of his life. Such illustrations may be dated from the end of the third century, and the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus in the middle of the fourth is the best known example extant.

A peculiar inversion of the general rule that the glorified Christ is represented by the bearded type while during life he is pictured



CRUCIFIXION ON THE DOORS OF ST. SABINA.

as a youth, is to be noted on a Dalmatica (about the year 800) which belonged to Charlemagne, the king of the Franks, and the first emperor of the restored Roman empire. The glorified Christ is seated surrounded by angels and saints, having the evangelists placed in the four quarters. Here he is represented as a youth of about twenty years or less, whereas in other scenes he appears as a bearded man. On either shoulder is found a picture of the Lord's Supper, which however is not an attempt at reconstructing history, but shows the ritual being administered after the fashion customary in the eighth and ninth centuries. On one shoulder Christ is seen handing out the wafers, while on the other shoulder he hands the cup to the communicants. On another place the scene of the children coming to Christ is represented.

The conception of Christ as a supernatural personality appears incidentally in the attribute of a magician's wand by which Christ

works his miracles. He does not carry the wand as a special distinction like a scepter or with any ostentation, but in raising Lazarus, in multiplying the loaves, in changing the water into wine, he performs the deed with a wand as a matter of course, and this wand never appears otherwise than incidental, because the



A DALMATICA OF CHARLEMAGNE.

main attribute by which he is distinguished is, as we have seen, the scroll.

This view of conceiving Christ as a magician constitutes only a transient phase, and so the wand disappears in later centuries and Christian archeologists therefore avoid calling attention to this peculiar phase so characteristic of the low grade of culture down

to the fifth century of the Christian era. Franz Xaver Kraus, for instance, never speaks of a wand but calls it the staff of omnipotence.



CHRIST RAISING LAZARUS.



THE WAND USED IN PERFORMING MIRACLES.

Christian ideas and traditions found their most religious and best interpreter in Fra Giovanni Beato Angelico da Fiesole, who because of his piety and religious devotion was most fit to produce

a portrait of Christ, and his art naturally appeared to his contemporaries as a true revelation of God. This artist was unique in the whole history of art because he lived only for religion, and his religion was an artistic presentation of the thoughts that moved him. He believed in the inspiration of himself. He never painted any other than religious subjects; he never took money for a picture, and never interrupted himself in a work that he had begun. He had no experience in worldly life but remained limited to the religious surroundings of his monkish habits, and thus we may regard as his chief defect an absence of certain realities of life with which he never became acquainted, as for instance the real pains of the suffering Christ or the individual features of his portrait as possessing a definite character. But his devotion is unsurpassed, and has not even been excelled by the divine genius of his greater successors, Michelangelo, Raphael, Leonardo da Vinci or Titian, and the reason is that while the latter were artists, he was first of all and all through a devout believer, a simple and naive Christian. He knew nothing but his faith and had no other interest in life.

The worldly name of "Fra Angelico," as in an abbreviated form he was commonly called, was Guido da Pietro. He was born in 1387 at Vicchio in the district of Mugello. Together with his brother he joined the Dominican order at Fiesole. In his technique he was greatly influenced by the school of Siena, the religious character of which he deepened in a remarkable degree. In 1234 he took up his abode in the monastery of San Marco at Florence which had been donated to the Dominicans by the Medicis, and there he developed an unusual activity. In modern times the monastery has been changed into a museum, which is interesting to the traveler on account of the reminiscences preserved there not only of Fra Angelico but also of Savonarola. Here is the cell, still in its old condition, where the latter passed his last night before he was led to the fagots, and here the former has left most beautiful traces of his spirit in innumerable frescoes and oil paintings. Perhaps his most delicate works are his madonnas, but his Christ pictures too exhibit a remarkable depth of devotion, and we here reproduce two of them which deserve special attention. One shows Christ rising out of the tomb; the other, Christ as a pilgrim received by two friars of the Dominican order, which has made it one of its special duties to receive and entertain strangers in remembrance of Christ's saying, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

We reproduce this picture as frontispiece to the present number of *The Open Court*.

It was characteristic of Fra Angelico that when the pope de-



CHRIST RISING FROM THE TOMB.
By Fra Angelico.

sired to make him archbishop of Florence he refused the honor and recommended a brother of his order, Fra Antonio, for the office. The pope accepted his advice, and history reports that Antonio justified Fra Angelico's recommendation and the pope's



THE MARBLE STATUE OF CHRIST.
By Michelangelo.

confidence in his judgment. Fra Angelico died in Rome in 1455. The Catholic church has honored him with beatification, hence he is frequently called *Beato Angelico*, or even more simply, *Il Beato*.

Quite unique among the representations of Christ is a marble statue by Michelangelo which illustrates the now much neglected doctrine of Christ's descent to hell, so very important in the times of early Christianity. The ancient gods, among them the Babylonian Marduk, had gone down to the underworld to release the dead from their prison. There is reason to assume that in the dramatic performances which were customary in the days of paganism, the scene of the descent to the realm of death constituted the climax of the god's triumph. The gospel story echoes the same ideas. It still tells us that after the death of Jesus the saints left their graves and walked among the living. In this phase of his struggle Christ passed through the ordeal of death and like the gods of pre-Christian times he had to submit to the rules of the infernal regions. As Istar was deprived of all her ornaments and clothes in order to gain admittance to the realm of Allatu, Queen of the Land-of-no-return, so Christ was absolutely unclad, and Michelangelo did not shrink from the task of sculpturing him according to the traditional doctrine. Naturally Michelangelo's statue gave offence to later generations who no longer understood the artist's intention, and so the statue bears now a loin cloth made of thin sheet-iron.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

A WORD ABOUT GREEK WOMEN.

BY HESTER DONALDSON JENKINS.

TO one who has loved Greek art or literature or philosophy (and who has not been thrall'd by these?) there abides a fascination in the very word "Greek" and a charm in the land of Greece which even her genuine beauty alone could not evoke. So when I found myself teaching Greek girls among the other nationalities in Constantinople College, listening to their Greek tongue, looking on their occasionally classic features, and speaking their beautiful classic names, my heart was thrilled. Then, too, my first friends among the students were two Greek girls. One of them was extremely pretty, with a soft beauty that befitted an Ismene or some other lovely, unheroic classic figure. She had curly brown hair, with bronze lights in it, soft regular features, a delicate skin with now and then a lovely pink color, and a pretty habit of twining ivy or violets in her hair. All of our girls loved flowers and wore them in their hair, but the ivy seemed a peculiarly Greek decoration. Shortly before I arrived in Constantinople, the Greek students had given a modern Greek play in which were a number of songs, and I well remember how charmed I was when in the quiet scented evening the girls wandered about the garden, their arms intertwined, singing together these part songs.

The modern Greeks are not pure blooded in their descent from the ancients. Albanian, Slavic and other intermixture of blood has changed them considerably, so that to many visitors to their country they seem utterly unlike the Greeks of Periclean Athens or the Isles of Greece. But perhaps their heritage counts for more than at first glance we see. The language, corrupt, simplified and modernized, yet is the child of the ancient tongue, and all students learn the old Greek, and feel it as few of us westerners can. It is a musical language that they speak now, full of soft dentals and labials. In appearance, too, the classical heritage often manifests itself. I re-

member one girl who as an attendant in a Greek play was so like an early Greek statue in her classical robes that it was positively startling, while three or four of our students were of an Hellenic beauty. As a class the women are strong-featured rather than pretty, with pale or dark complexions wholly without color, with dark, generally curly hair, rather short figures, and small hands and feet. The men look very much like Frenchmen. Although the Christian name Mary in its diminutive Marica is perhaps the commonest Greek name, the classical names are much in vogue. These are pronounced with full vowel and the stress on the penult, a pronunciation which came to sound much more beautiful to me than ours. Thus Antigone is Anti-gó-ne; Andromache, Andro-mách-e; Eurydice, Evry-thé-ke; Iphigenia, Iphe-gá-nia. Sometimes the names associated in our minds with goddesses and poets seem ridiculously misapplied, as when a mother calls her fat, gurgling baby Demos-thé-nes, or one discovers that Aphro-dé-te is an old hag. It was very interesting in the history classes to see the pride which the Greek students felt towards the history of ancient Greece, regarding it as their own. I have seen a Greek girl, in the presence of Armenians and Turks, swell visibly over some fine accomplishment of Athenian or Spartan.

One taste inherited from the ancients is a love of the drama. A group of commonplace Greek girls would be transformed by the performance of "Electra" or "Iphigenia." They have great dramatic ability and render a classical play with a nobility, beauty and fire that is amazing. I have never seen a dramatic performance anywhere that has moved me more or seemed more highly and seriously beautiful than "Antigone," given by the Greek Society of Constantinople College. In the other college plays, French and English, the Greek girls always took a prominent part. A year or two ago "As You Like It" was given out of doors on the beautiful new grounds of the college. Oriental girls are always unconscious in their acting, an English or American girl in the cast being noticeably self-conscious beside them. On this occasion there was a long stretch of sward to cross before the actors reached the stage, and the charm and unconsciousness with which they walked over the lawn was beautiful. The part of Rosalind was taken by a Greek named Marianthe. She was tall and slender, pale-skinned and auburn-haired, a lovely figure, and acted with grace and simplicity. A group of young American men who saw the play went home together in a boat, and one of them afterwards told me, "We men were not noisy, as fellows usually are after an entertainment, but

we all sat quietly in the boat saying little; when we got to the quay we found that we had all fallen in love with Marianne.

The Greek people are divided geographically among Greece, the Greek Islands, and Turkey, those of the last named being largely descendants of the Byzantines who ruled the empire before the Turks conquered it. They are not generally a peasant people like the Bulgarians, but a race of traders, merchants and professional men. They are a people of clever brains, and gravitate naturally towards the cities and schools. Of course there are some farmers and peasants living the primitive life of centuries ago. I remember a peasant woman in a village near Delphi, dressed in bloomers, with a kerchief on her braided hair, working hard in her dark hut and filling up her spare time with spinning on a hand loom, twisting between her hard thumb and finger the wool that dropped from the spindle.

If one wishes to see the Greek peasant to advantage, he should go to Megara on Easter Tuesday, for on that holy day the peasants gather from a great distance, clad in gala dress, and join in folk dances. The dress of the women consists of a long, heavy, hand-woven cotton gown, embroidered many inches deep in black and white or in bright colors. Over it is worn a jacket of broadcloth or flannel, embroidered in gold and colors. A kerchief on the hair, strings of beads about the throat, and red, tasseled shoes complete the costume. When a girl baby is born, the peasant mother commences to embroider her gala gown, which is ready for her when she is full grown. The Greek man wears generally the full white pleated skirt, red, turned-up shoes, embroidered jacket and modified fez, and is most picturesque, especially if he have fierce mustachios with his ballet costume. The folk dance, the Hora, is danced in a circle or long line, and is lively, full of stamping and leaping.

Independent Greece is scarcely a century old. Before 1826 it was a province of Turkey, a bare land harassed by brigands and guerillas, with miserable villages at intervals. Now it is a country of some cultivation and a fair number of comfortable towns and cities. The harbors of Patras and Pireus are bustling ports, and Athens is a beautiful, well-kept city. In building it the planners did not ignore the classical traditions, but followed Doric and Ionic styles in many of the public buildings, so the University Street is a boulevard fronted with some fine, classical buildings, and the Via Cephissa is a charming road lined with porticoed houses in a beautiful classical style. The royal palaces of Athens are very plain and the hotels modern. It is of course a modern town, with public

gardens, shops, wide streets, medieval churches and comfortable residences. It suggests prosperity and progress. We once had a Greek student who had spent her life in a Turkish village. She loved Constantinople, but friends thought she should visit the Greek city. When she returned from a brief visit to Athens, we asked her eagerly about her impressions, the Acropolis, the ruins, the surrounding mountains. But she shook her head. They were beautiful, but she could scarcely notice them in face of her first modern city. It was a revelation to her to see clean streets, sidewalks, lighting at night, and people in the streets as though it were day, handsome houses and shops filled with beautiful things. One hears a good deal about the dissensions in Greek politics, and the financial instability of the country, but despite some drawbacks Greece has accomplished a great deal and has developed surprisingly. The Greeks have shown themselves eager to adopt western civilization and have made most creditable progress.

Greek students differ greatly in quality. We have had a number of girls who were in college because they were sent there by their parents, whose interests were mainly in fashion and society, and who did careless, poor work. These were mainly from rich families. On the other hand, some of our most brilliant students were Greeks, who always stood high, and with scarcely any effort easily outdistanced their classmates. I also recall two or three hard working, ambitious Greeks who obtained excellent marks by sheer industry. In my composition classes were two Greek girls, Euphrosy'-ne or Phroso as we called her, and Chrysanthe, who wrote English with remarkable ability. They both had large vocabularies, notably large in the classical words, and brilliant powers of observation and description, and their lively sense of humor made their compositions very good reading. The Greek girls who were good students excelled in philosophy and literature and in some kinds of science as well as in language work, but rare is the Oriental girl who applies herself to mathematics with any satisfaction. Both Phroso and Chrysanthe could versify amusingly in English and French.

A good many of the Greek graduates of Constantinople become teachers, and an increasingly large number are taking up nursing as a profession. The college is putting domestic science and nursing into the program to satisfy the growing desire of the Oriental women for self-support. Some years ago, before it could offer any such course, but when it inspired its graduates with a desire to work, one of its girls, Cleonike Clonari, went to Boston to study nursing. While in a hospital there she was noted by a Greek traveler who

eventually got her to come back to Athens as head of the Children's Hospital; and she has done a splendid work there, winning recognition from the queen and from the medical profession. Women in Athens have graduated from the Athenian University and have taken an important part in the educational work of the country. I know a number of very highly cultured Greek ladies, among whom was Princess Mavrocordato, wife of the then Greek minister to the Porte. She read and spoke English and French like a native, keeping up with both of those literatures, and was in touch with educational, political and literary movements throughout Europe. Among educated Greeks, French influence is great. Many Greek families speak French almost exclusively, read French novels to excess, have their clothes made in French establishments, dance French dances, name their daughters *Helène* and *Madeleine* and *Marie*, and send them to French Catholic schools. We feel that a wholesome American and English influence is very desirable for this class.

A Greek girl's marriage is a careful business arrangement made by her guardians; and woe unto the girl with no dowry! She may be as lovely as *Helen* and as faithful as *Penelope* and the best of housewives, but without a little dot that can go into her husband's business she can not hope to marry. Sometimes a girl is bargained for and sent to a distant husband, in which case the happiness of her marriage is very problematical. If she does not marry, a Greek girl of the lower class may become cook, or housemaid, or if better educated she may become a dressmaker, milliner, governess, companion, or school teacher, musician, or even a member of some "learned profession." I know one woman physician in Athens who has a fine practice as well as a city appointment. Greeks have most of the dressmaking and millinery establishments in Constantinople, owing to their natural taste. They also furnish a very large number of the servants of the city. These servants are often as independent as ours in America. One girl of a rich Greek family told me that their housemaid was leaving them, not because she had insufficient wages or over much work, but because, so she claimed, she didn't hear enough music in the house! There comes to my mind in contrast to this incident, a beautiful story of faithfulness in service. In a Greek household there was a maid *Daphne*, who was the special maid of the daughter of the house. When the latter married *Daphne* went with her to the new establishment. Children were born to the mother, and *Daphne* loved and tended them all. Then the mistress decided that the maid should marry, so she got her an

outfit of linen and arranged for a suitable husband. Just before the marriage was to take place, the husband of the mistress died, leaving his widow with small means and three children. Daphne immediately threw over her own prospects, and declaring she would never leave her beloved mistress, settled down to live the life of the latter in perfect devotion. When I knew her she was a middle-aged woman, doing the work of the family and seldom meeting the guests, but to the mistress a dearly loved friend and to the children a second mother.

The Greeks have a good many interesting religious and social customs. Let me tell you of a visit I made to a Greek bride at the New Year's season. Elisávet lived in a village on the Marmora, a suburb of Constantinople. Her husband had a comfortable two-story house set in a pretty, flower-filled garden. The house was furnished in characteristic fashion. There were thick, bright rugs on all the floors, a brown porcelain stove in the living room, and a shining copper brazier in the parlor, while the bed-rooms were not heated. Long divans or benches covered with rugs and cushions ran along the sides of the rooms. The parlor contained some gay plush furniture and was adorned with pictures and wax flowers. There were pots of growing flowers in the sunny windows. The last day of the year we spent largely in making the great New Year's cake, which every Greek family makes of flour and milk, honey and nuts and other ingredients. When one huge cake and many smaller ones had been mixed, it was all sent to the public oven to be baked. It is considered a suitable attention to send small cakes or pieces of cake to one's friends and neighbors, so a rapid exchange is carried on late in the day, each person giving and receiving cake made according to the same recipe, and baked in the same oven! In the cake that is reserved for home consumption a coin is placed that will bring luck to the one who finds it in his piece.

Our New Year's feast was a fine one, for my host was an epicure. We had fruits from Smyrna, mullet stuffed with pine nuts and raisins, sweets and pickles from Cæsarea, and a sort of Greek cocktail, and finally the cake. How we commended the cake, the first the bride had ever made, and how eagerly we looked for the silver piaster that was to bring luck, and how pleased we felt when the beaming bridegroom found it in his piece! It was a merry occasion, the more so because of the New Year's gifts, for it is at New Year's rather than Christmas that the Greeks exchange presents. The bride was gladdened by a diamond brooch, the host's

brother received a watch chain, and the maid was suitably remembered by both master and mistress.

While we were still at the table we heard singing outside, and my host said, "Here come the lanterns of St. Nicholas." So we went to the window and looked out on the boys carrying paper lanterns representing houses or boats or churches, while the boys sang a doleful song about St. Nicholas and waited for coppers. The expansive groom gave them several pennies, and they moved on to the next house. We saw a good many lantern-bearers that evening.

In the morning we arose early, for the bride and groom must attend the first mass of the year together. Elisávet wore her diamond brooch and her best furs, and the groom was resplendent in new clothes and a bright tie. After the mass came a most curious ceremony known as "swimming for the cross," a ceremony that takes place all along the shores of the Marmora and Bosphorus wherever there is a Greek orthodox church, and doubtless all over the Greek country. It was about seven o'clock of a January morning when we made our way to the seashore, following the congregation of the church we had just attended. We took good places on the long dock whence we could see both water and shore. On the shore, sitting in some boats, were six or eight brawny Greek youths, naked but for swimming trunks and sweaters thrown over their shoulders. They were shivering in the frosty air, or sparring with one another to keep up their circulation. Presently down the street came a procession of priests, their robes and long black hair fluttering in the keen winter wind, holding aloft a banner and a huge metal cross. These priests embarked in a little boat and pushed into the water. The waiting boys threw off their wraps and stood tensely waiting. At a given moment a gun was fired from the little boat, and a tall priest, standing upright, hurled the cross into the water. Instantly the boys were off, each swimming at his topmost speed towards the priests' boat. Their muscles swelled and rippled, as they spurted through the waves, and plunged into the deep water. Suddenly a shout went up as one of the divers emerged holding high the cross. That day the successful swimmer was the hero of his village; he could eat or drink freely at any restaurant or wine shop. He took up a collection of silver coin wherever he went, and the water from his wet garments was wrung out and saved to be used as holy water by the priests. The Greek ceremonies for Holy Week and Easter in Athens are one of my interesting memories, but an account of them would take us too far from the subject to be related here.

There is a strong strain of sentimentality in Greek girls. They

take ardent fancies to each other and to teachers, and revel in emotionality. When I entered Constantinople College, I found the sub-freshman class in English reading Irving's *Sketch Book*. After we had finished the better known sketches, I turned to "Rural Funerals." To my dismay several girls wept in the class, and one of them said to me with pride, "I have a right to cry, my little brother died." So when they requested to read next, "The Broken Heart" I sternly declined and sought a less lachrymose subject. In cases of illness and death they regard it as a sign of respect and proper feeling to make a great outcry, sometimes throwing themselves on the floor and screaming. A Christian funeral is rather a dreadful thing to see in the Orient. The corpse is carried through the streets in an uncovered box, the dead face staring at the sky, and one may even encounter the gruesome sight of a dead girl sitting upright in her chair on her way to the grave. Forty days after the funeral there is a second service of commemoration with a visit to the grave, and all the family and friends tear open their wounds afresh, weeping and exclaiming, "Oh, but she was a lovely girl, such a girl! How can we live without her! Oh Electra!" until we wonder how they stand it at all. I say, a Christian funeral is a dreadful thing, for a Moslem funeral is much quieter and more restrained than a Greek or Armenian funeral, and the Moslems say that one who believes in immortality should not grieve actively. Of course they are not able to live up to this ideal, but the fact that it is an ideal shames the Christians, whose faith in a future life seems less real. The Moslem, naturally, does not wear mourning, but the Oriental Christians not only shroud themselves in waves of crape, but tie up their picture frames and their plush furniture and their mirrors in black, making their houses places of dread. Little girls losing relatives whom they have never known are put into dead black, and for months and even years after a death a family lives in an atmosphere of crape.

In connection with death a curious custom has sprung up of concealing a death from a relative until a convenient season. Let me give some instances of this. Dora, one of our students, lost her father who had lived in Russia. His death was in the paper, so that the other girls saw it, but they did not tell her. Her mother had written her that her father was ill, but when he died she wrote Dora that he had recovered. Dora was relieved, but when she never heard from him she began to be anxious again. She moved about among girls, many of whom were in black, her pink dress looking odd to us who knew, and her little face growing more and more strained. At

length school was over, and she was told that her parents had come for her. An uncle called at the college for her. She cried, "My father! I fear he is dead!" But he replied soothingly, "No indeed, he is at the boat." So she went to the boat with him, where she saw her mother in deep mourning and learned the truth. This custom worked badly, for whenever a girl did not hear from her family for some time she was sure some one was dead; but we could never make the families see the unwisdom of it. One amusing incident connected with this custom was the speech of a Greek serving woman to her mistress, "My husband is so thoughtful; he is at Erenkeuy, my old home, and he writes me that there have been a great many deaths there this winter, but he will not tell me who they are for fear of worrying me." The most cruel case I ever knew was of an old woman who was allowed to sell her few goods and go to America to live with a son who had been dead some months. We once had a Greek teacher who was living a strange lie. Her sister had left home because of illness and had gone to visit a married sister, at whose house she died. The mother had a weak heart, and the daughters thought it would kill her to know of Sappho's death. So they told her Sappho was getting better, and every week the married sister wrote to her in Sappho's name. Our teacher wore mourning when in college, but every night on her way home she went into a neighbor's house and put on colors to appear before her mother. I asked her how long she expected to keep up the deceit and she replied, her plain face lighting with a loving look, "As long as Mama lives, for she could not bear to know."

Greek women are interesting and lovable, and knowing them was one of the pleasures of living in the Orient.

PHILOSOPHY IN THE FARM-YARD.

BY PHILIP E. B. JOURDAIN.

Observe the hen, the cat, the cow,
The little pig, the greater sow,
And you will promptly see
That each is like some one we know,
As You-know-who or So-and-so
(I don't mean you or me).

"IT is unfortunate," said the March Hare, "that the animals in that farm-yard are so like human beings."

"You mean that it is unfortunate that human beings are like *them*," said I.

"That would appear not only to be implied by what I said, but to be tautological," replied the March Hare briskly; "for to assert that A is in some respect like B is surely the same thing as to assert that B is in that respect like A."

There was a brief silence. We were sitting on a sunny bank from which we could see, far below, a farm-yard. A Cock, several Hens, and Pigs could be seen, leisurely feeding or sleeping. The time was mid-afternoon. The March Hare continued:

"Adam Smith's remark applies just as much to fowls as to people. You remember it? 'Speculative systems have, in all ages of the world, been embraced upon evidence which would not have determined the judgment of a man of common sense in a matter of the smallest pecuniary interest.' A year or so ago it was pragmatism; now it is Bergsonianism."

"But how does that affect the farm-yard?" asked I.

"I don't say that it does," replied the March Hare, "What I mean is that it *did* at one time, and I wonder if, and expect that, on no better grounds than I wonder if, and expect that, the sun will rise to-morrow, it will do so again."

"How did it?" I inquired.

"Don't you know how pragmatism came to and went from the farm-yard?" asked the March Hare; and without waiting for a reply he told me the story of

THE FATE OF THE PRAGMATIC COCK.

"The Cock used to be a Kantian and, impelled by the categorical imperative, used to get up at an early and unpleasant hour every morning and wake up the rest of the farm-yard by his crowing. This habit survived his study of Hegel. But, alas, one day in June there came to stay at the farm-house, for part of the long vacation, two Dons from Oxford, one of whom was a shining light of pragmatism. The Cock overheard some of the conversation between the two visitors, and became a convert to pragmatism. The result of the conversion was that the Cock, who was growing out of Kantianism and had ceased to believe in things-in-themselves, slid into believing, not like Mr. Rostand's Cock, that the sun could not rise without him, but that he created the sun. You see, as he gave up believing in things-in-themselves and was unchecked by science, he became a solipsist, and so, when he became convinced that the proposition "there is a sun" only began to be true when it has an influence on life, he concluded that there was no sun until he himself by his actions caused it to come into being. Thus the poor Cock fell into the same trap which Dr. Samuel Johnson, in his misunderstanding of Berkeley, thought that Berkeley had fallen into.

"From this point onwards the Cock's downfall was rapid. Since, so the Cock argued, there were no other people really, he only created the sun for his own pleasure; and since more pleasure seemed to him to be gained by resting longer in the morning, the Cock omitted to crow. He felt a momentary surprise when he saw the sun shining as brightly as ever when he awoke next morning, and was far from convinced when a neighboring Cock, who was also a pragmatist, informed him that the reason the sun had risen that morning was because *he* had created it. Awkward reflections crowded in upon our hero's mind. If two people created the *same* object, he would have to be a realist to explain that phenomenon, and realism must be avoided at all costs. But, further, realism would seem to militate against ideas of creation by the mind of anything. All this was most perplexing.

"But the Cock persevered and still refused to get up early in the mornings. So in the end the Farmer killed the Cock on the ground that it was the part of a Cock to crow early in the morning.

In this the Farmer acted quite as justly as that Mayor of Basel, who, in the fifteenth century, condemned a Cock to be burnt at the stake because he so far departed from the true business of a Cock as to lay an egg.

"Now, a pragmatist would hardly maintain that death was a good for any Cock; and so even the would-be pragmatists of the farm-yard were forced to believe that the proposition "the sun rises" is true. And perhaps that is why there have been no more pragmatists in that farm-yard."

The March Hare stopped. Down below, the Farmer, on his way to drive the Cows home to be milked, paused at the farm-yard gate, and with unlighted pipe between his teeth, surveyed his live-stock with apparent satisfaction for some time. Then he turned away and resumed his walk, thinking of markets and the price of barley-meal. As he walked absent-mindedly he caught his foot in a rake which was lying on the ground. Down he went, and hurt himself badly, judging from his loud and irrelevant exclamations.

He was a short distance from the farm-yard, so he did not startle the Hens much. One Hen who was near the gate showed a slight and transient alarm, but the others remained indifferent.

"Did you see any of the Fowls smile?" asked the March Hare.

"Certainly not," said I. "I thought their conduct most well-bred, though perhaps rather too indifferent."

"Then," said the March Hare, "you see that Bergsonianism has not yet made much progress in the farm-yard."

"How is that?" I asked.

"Why, M. Bergson tells us that the falling down of a man is a laughable thing. We laugh at those things, and at those things only, which are evidence that things are being enacted in a mechanical way by living people. Stretching out one's hand to grasp a pen which is not there is laughable. So is walking without thought, like an automaton, and consequently tripping over something. Of course, though, the Hens may not have laughed because they had gone beyond Bergson and become more consistent."

"Yes?" I queried, as the March Hare paused.

"M. Bergson holds that things only begin to be funny when they are something like human beings—a freak carrot, for instance; and yet that human beings become funny when they behave like automata."

* * *

"I suppose," said the March Hare, "that Bergsonianism is attractive to many people because it persuades them that they have

the power to do things that, logically speaking, they cannot. Thus, a well-known scientific man¹ said that arithmetical laws can be disproved by certain experiments which are roughly described by some such phrase as 'two things coalesce into one.' Then, too, some people who have good digestions like to think that they are continually creating something, and can exercise free-will. And they often think they can take credit for actions which are really determined. Have you ever heard of the first convert to Bergsonianism in the farm-yard?"

"No," said I. So then the March Hare told me the story of

THE BERGSONIAN HEN.

"It was the season when normally constituted Hens actually prefer to sit for about three weeks at a time on some eggs instead of pursuing the fleeting joys of the farm-yard. A Hen of my acquaintance was thus sitting in a stuffy hen-house with a somewhat expressionless face, taking great credit to herself for sitting in a stuffy atmosphere where duty called her. The truth was she couldn't help obeying the command of Nature, and rather enjoyed the stuffiness.

"The hen-house was rather stuffier than usual. In fact, a fire had been burning the house down and had nearly reached the old Hen.

"If this goes on much longer,' said she, 'I shall really have to get up and open a window! My nostrils always were so quick to detect any stuffy smell or....' (sniff, sniff) '....Was that something burning?' But nobody answered: all the others had been stifled with the smoke and burnt long ago.

"The Farmer gave her a grand burial, and a tombstone set forth her virtues. "She died," it said, "at the post of duty." And a hollow glass hemisphere winked at the sun above her bones and protected some artificial flowers from the great enemy of hen-kind—fresh air. It was all just as she would have wished.

"And the rest of the farm-yard said, with a smile: 'So that

¹ Sir Oliver Lodge says, on page 292 of his paper on "Balfour and Bergson" in the number of the *Hibbert Journal* for January, 1912 (Vol. X, pp. 290-307): "...I would contend that whereas the proposition that one added to one makes two is abstractedly beneath controversy, it need not be true for the addition of concrete things. It is not true for two globules of mercury, for instance, nor for a couple of colliding stars; not true for a pint of water added to a pint of oil of vitriol, nor for nitric oxide added to oxygen, nor for the ingredients of an explosive mixture; not necessarily true, either, for snakes in a cage, or for capital invested in a business concern, flourishing or otherwise; nor is it true, save in a temporary manner, for a couple of trout added to a pond. Life can ridicule arithmetic."

palmist she consulted *was* right after all: she wasn't boiled, but roasted!"

* * *

"Is there any connection between Bergsonianism and sham?" I asked.

"I'm afraid so," said the March Hare. "You see, if people get into the way of thinking that they deserve credit for things which they can't help doing, or that they create the things that they merely discover—like the Hen who discovered the egg—... Do you know the story?"

"No," said I.

"The story of

THE DISCOVERED EGG.

rather reminds one of the re-discovery of pragmatism, in some ways," remarked the March Hare reflectively, and paused, with rather a bitter smile on his clever brown face. "However, here it is:

"Once upon a time there was a dear old Hen, who had a great grief. Although she had eaten the Farmer's barley-meal, Indian corn and flower-seeds for fifteen years (so the gossips said), she had never yet succeeded in laying an egg. This unfulfilled moral obligation was a source of great sadness to her; not of complaint, for of course she was far too delicate (in feeling, not flesh) to touch upon such subjects in public.

"But, besides this, there was the minor consideration that, if her secret were discovered by the Farmer—well, though unfitted for roasting (I have already remarked that she had seen fifteen summers), she might yet make a digestible, though unpalatable, dish after being boiled for several hours.

"Now, one frosty morning our heroine put on her dolman, the bonnet trimmed with jet, and the brooch containing a colored cabinet photograph of her late husband, and went for a constitutional round the yard. Soon she espied, lying in a corner, an unclaimed egg. Quick as thought, she glanced behind her, thereby causing every one who saw her faded charms to look the other way, sprang on the egg with an agility surprising in a bird of her years, and settled down on it with a resigned expression of countenance, just as the Cock, with hesitating, fussy gait, and talking loudly to himself, came by.

"When she judged the egg to be sufficiently warm, she leaped

up, cackling loudly, so as to announce to all that she had laid an egg.

"But, alas, instead of the laudatory crow, she heard the crow of derision; instead of the henpeck of envy, she received the henpeck of malice and all uncharitableness; *for the egg was pottery.*"

* * *

The next morning, so greatly had my interest in the inhabitants of the farm-yard grown, I got up to see the Fowls have breakfast. Again I met the March Hare, and I sat down by him on the hillock, expecting some more reflections of a philosophical nature.

Soon, into the silent and deserted yard—the Fowls were still shut up—came the Farmer bearing a bucket of steaming barley-meal. Having filled a long iron trough with the meal, he unlatched the Fowls' bedroom door. There poured out a stream of noisy, hungry, struggling birds. They quickly gobbled their breakfast and, with a lazy and yet business-like air, turned away to find something else to eat, uttering happy noises of repletion.

Their philosophical standpoint seemed to me to be simply hedonistic, but the March Hare gave it a more subtle interpretation.

"The majority of those Hens," said the March Hare, "are Spring Chickens, and were hatched at various times from January to May. It is now July, so that the January Chickens are only just about ready to be killed. None of them, however, has yet been killed. The laying Hens have, of course, seen or heard deaths last year; but the memories of Hens are notoriously bad, and the memories of the aged Hens are nearly as impaired by time as the memories of the 'oldest inhabitants' of villages. Thus all the Hens firmly believe in the uniformity of nature; that is to say, they believe that the Farmer will continue to feed them punctually and indefinitely. Now...."

The March Hare broke off. The Farmer had again entered the yard, separated one of the January Chickens from her numerous aunts and sisters, and, with a few deft movements, wrung her neck. There was not much noise; but a few Hens glanced up at the operation, and even allowed the more callous and greedy ones to snatch, unrebuked, choice morsels from under their feet. But the new young Cock was more affected. He was just crowing "Cock-a-doodle—....," and stopped just before the "-doo"! He, too, had hitherto believed in the uniformity of nature, and this occurrence was a great blow to him.... He would have to readjust his philosophical standpoint. There was one one bright star in the firma-

ment of his disappointment: When he had reconstructed his philosophy, although he was precluded from writing a book about it, he could at least give a course of lectures to the Hens.

What happened I heard later from the March Hare. Fortunately the Cock, though he was neither an ascetic nor a monogamist, was of a deeply religious temperament. That Cock would have delighted M. Bergson: he was full of *élan vitale* and he was constructive without being at all critical. The Hens were neither constructive nor critical, so the lectures were a great success.

The gist of the lectures was this: The Farmer was Providence; and this was proved, firstly, by the powerful argument from design afforded by the wonderful principle of the uniformity of nature; and, secondly, by ocular proof that the Farmer could, on occasion, break this principle.

So, from that time on, the Farmer was treated with a new respect by the hens when he came to feed them; or rather he would have been so treated if the Hens were not so hungry.

And after being thus worshiped by implication—so to speak—as Providence, the Farmer would go indoors, where he was usually greeted by the affliction of some complaining remarks from his wife's acid tongue. His wife was an invalid, and described herself as "afflicted by Providence."

* * *

"Talking of Optimism and Pessimism," said the March Hare; "I must tell you the story of

"THE OPTIMISTIC BULL-DOG.

"Once I knew a Bull-dog. He was brindled, very ugly, and good-tempered; he had a heart over-flowing with affection for every one, and took a cheerful view of life. He would see some children playing in the road, and would merrily waddle among them, wearing a large smile, and you could imagine him saying, rather breathlessly, and mopping his forehead with a rather loud handkerchief: 'Now children, is there room for your old uncle? Not so old, though, but that he can....'

"But the children fled with shrieks of terror.

"There are few sadder thoughts than the thought of certain kinds of optimism. But the Bull-dog did not need pity, for he never seemed to feel these rebuffs. Perhaps he was rather stupid, and perhaps that was why he was an optimist."

"I wouldn't object to people being optimists," continued the

March Hare after a pause, "if they didn't nearly always consider it to be a merit on their parts. Pessimists sometimes, but not quite so often, consider pessimism a merit. . . . Some people are so generous about overlooking the character of their actions and giving them good 'characters.' They act towards their actions, like unconscientious mistresses towards dishonest servants of whom they are anxious to get rid."

The March Hare seemed lost in reverie. Milking-time was drawing near, and a member of the advance-guard of Cows returning to the farm-yard stopped and looked over the gate.

The Cow had a face like those women whom one calls "clean and respectable." She hardly merited the whole of this description, but she was certainly respectable—from lack of opportunity, once said a spiteful and rakish Cock.

The Parrot in the sitting-room window began to quote largely from *Hymns Ancient and Modern*; and the Cow gave a wan smile and remarked, in a deprecating tone, to the farm-yard:

"Law, how he do talk; I've never had much time for readin' myself, what with one thing and another, and doin' for my 'usband and children. . . ."

But the old Sow interrupted her, poking her nose through the lower gate and saying, in a shrill monotone, and with a strong Dorset accent:

"Children! Be ye tarken to I 'bout children? I've had thirty children a year for the last dree years and I be Darset barn and Darset bred, and so was vaither and mother!

"Yes, and nary a one of em what's living can say a word agin I. I've brought em up *prapper*, I have," she added aggressively, and then turned to one of her troublesome off-spring:

"Now then, Jarge, what be you doing, pulling of me skirts. I'll teach ye manners!" and she seized him neatly by the back, and bit him, so that he died.

* * *

"That illustrates what I said about people's generosity," said the March Hare sardonically, "even better than the story of

THE CONSCIENTIOUS HEN

that I was going to tell you."

"Do tell it," said I.

"It also illustrates the fact that that sort of generosity, though it obviously increases self-esteem, does not always tend to happiness."

The March Hare paused for an instant and then began:

"'I've not had a minute's peace since these blessed motors were invented,' said the Hen untruthfully, as she fluffed out her feathers in her comfortable sand-bath on the sunny side of the hedge; 'why, cr-r-r-k! if here isn't another of 'em!'

"And, cackling loudly, she snatched up her reticule and rushed from her place of safety to the nearest point of danger, and perished."

* * *

"Has all this anything to do with pragmatism or Bergsonianism, do you think?" I asked.

"Well," said the March Hare, "when people lay greater importance on practical conduct than on the conduct of the intellect, on what they call 'intuition,' than reason, and have rather loose ideas on the meaning of truth, it seems to me that apparent advisability must come to be more highly esteemed than logical or even ethical permissibility."

"You spoke of 'intuition' just now," said I. "Doesn't that sound rather Kantian?"

"Yes, but Bergsonianism is radically opposed to the old intellectualism of Kant."

Just then the Turkey-Cock came slowly by. He was making that sort of noise that people usually describe as "gobbling"; what he really was saying was "Categorical, categorical." A Duckling ran between his legs after some morsel that looked good to eat, without showing the slightest reverence for the Turkey-Cock.

"Nobody respects the old Kantian Turkey-Cock now," continued the March Hare. "Apparently Bergsonianism has already got a hold on the Ducks."

A comparatively young Duck came waddling by, and overheard the last words. "Ah, that *dear* M. Bergson!" said she. "Isn't it nice to think that intuition—'woman's triple intuition' as *dear* Rudyard Kipling calls it—carries us *so much* farther than the intellect!"

The March Hare gave a cynical smile, looked at the Duck's retreating form, and said: "She has gone to wait for the Cock, for whom she has conceived a passion based on her new philosophy. She does not pretend indifference as Hens do." This reminded the March Hare of something, and soon he went on:

"One spring, many ladies used to wear nearly entire Cocks on their hats. Somebody I knew wore a hat like this, and she used to write for hours out of doors just behind a privet hedge little

more than four feet high. The hat had a most ludicrous appearance when viewed from the other side of the hedge. A Cock of unknown breed and strange attitude seemed to move slowly backwards and forwards along a path about six inches long on the top of the hedge.

"I was puzzled at first by observing that, every fine morning, the Hens from a farm-yard across the road gathered in a sort of *queue* at the garden-gate of my friend's house, waiting for the gate to open. At least the older Hens waited. The younger Hens gave their well-known scuffling jump to the top of the wall, and a scuffling jump down on the other side,—but without making the customary useless noises.

"One day I determined to solve the mystery. I went in at the gate, carefully closing it behind me. I have no doubt that I was the means of causing great disappointment to many old Hens. But I have no doubt that they concealed their disappointment very well, as only Hens can.

"Dozens of the younger Hens were strolling about near the privet hedge, busily engaged in looking for food. My friend was hard at work writing on the other side of the hedge. . . .

"Then I did a tactless thing. I sat down and roared with laughter. I was not close enough seriously to alarm the Hens, and they merely looked at me with some scorn and moved away indifferently, proclaiming in every motion that there were just as good pickings in places nowhere near the privet hedge. In this statement they were certainly correct."

* * *

We sat side by side, smoking and silent, for a long time. The sun set, and the Hens soon began of their own accord to go into their house to roost for the night. When they were all in, the dark and hardly distinguishable figure of the Farmer came out of the farm-house and shut the little door of the hen-house. Then a bright moon rose up above the trees. And then at last the March Hare spoke with a passionate earnestness:

"It makes me angry and sorry at the same time to see nearly everybody believing that he or she is creating something or hoping to create something. They talk of 'creative work,' 'constructive ideas,' and 'destructive' or 'negative' criticism, and get carried away by superficial analogies to building operations, all for this reason. They think that any one who points out that truth is **not** made by them, and that all they can do is uncreatively to discover things and label them, insults their powers. Criticism they dis-

parage, and, if they are polite and more or less well-educated, they call it 'merely analytic in the Kantian sense'; if they are less polite and less educated, they call it 'scholastic.' And yet criticism has exactly the same object as any other investigation: the discovery of truth. And some people persist in maintaining that criticism has about the same status as a personal remark...."

"Cock-a-doodle-doo!" came from the hen-house. The moon was very bright; so bright that many people would untruthfully call the landscape "as bright as day." The Cock seemed really to have trusted too much to his astronomy and mistaken the light of the moon for the light of the sun.

The March Hare seemed to be recalled to earth by the Cock's interruption. He sat down, and, after a short silence said bitterly:

"The pragmatists and Bergsonians hail what they think is a sun that they think they have made. It isn't a sun, and they haven't made it. Perhaps they will find both things out some day."

* * *

But I was engrossed with a more human problem. The crowing continued for some time, but soon the Cock stopped suddenly. I am sure that he felt that he had been making a fool of himself, and nothing is more heart-breaking than that, especially when it is as true as it usually is. I felt quite genuinely sorry for the Cock.

When, some hours later, the sun really did rise, there was no greeting crow. I was really seriously concerned about the Cock. Perhaps if he were removed to a new yard where nobody knew anything about him...., or perhaps if.... I nearly fell asleep with the exertion of making plans for the Cock's future.

But, as a matter of fact, the Cock was asleep until six in the morning.

Perhaps, after all, philosophy does not really have such a profound influence on our lives—even on the life of a Cock.

THE LAW'S DELAY.¹

BY C. CROZAT CONVERSE.

THE law's delay is accentuated by the present obligatory use of dead legal terms and forms. Common sense exclaims: Let the dead legal terms bury their dead! Are they burying them? An indenture was originally a document having tooth-like notches in it. Present documents have none in them though called indentures. A New Jersey deed, and one of numerous other states, may read: "This indenture witnesseth," though not being an indenture. An acknowledgment of a New Jersey deed, not necessarily made before a lawyer, reads: "State of New Jersey, County of Bergen, ss. On the....day of....A. D., 19... before me.... who I am satisfiedis the grantor.... mentioned in the within indenture." Then, assuming the ignorance of the grantor of to-day, this acknowledgment continues: "to whom I first made known the contents thereof, and thereupon.... acknowledged that.... signed, sealed and delivered the same as.... voluntary act and deed." Then, assuming that the wife of to-day is not the grantor's wife that she really is, this acknowledgment continues: "and the said.... being by me privately examined, separate and apart from her husband, further acknowledged that she signed, sealed and delivered the same as her voluntary act and deed, freely, without any fear, threats or compulsion of her said husband." This form is used in numerous other states. The grantor of to-day knows that he is a grantor, and his wife, after having "signed, sealed and delivered" a deed, could not be influenced by any commissioner of deeds to say that her act was not voluntary. The state of Pennsylvania does not require her separate acknowledgment; and the state of Vermont does not require her to join in the conveyance or acknowledgment of her hus-

¹ Dr. C. Crozat Converse, of Highwood, Bergen County, New Jersey, is a graduate of the Albany Law School, has received the honorary degree of LL. D., and was admitted to the bar of the United States Supreme Court by Chief Justice Chase.—Ed.

band's realty, unless it be the homestead or a part of it. Contrast this condition with the wife's treatment in places where she cannot convey her own property without acknowledging her deed "separate and apart from her husband."

Sealing a deed is not now making an impression upon wax. A mere scroll suffices, or the letters L S in a circle; and as to delivery of a deed, it occurs after its acknowledgment. The state of Washington has abolished the use of private seals. The state of California has extended the term "grant" to include warranting against encumbrances. The term "bigamy" is used in cases of polygamy, though they concern more than two marriages.

The term "larceny" means "grand larceny" now, little thieving, formerly termed "petit larceny," now being styled "misdemeanor." The term "larceny" also differs in meaning in statute and common law. For example: stealing a corpse is larceny under statute; stealing a corpse is not larceny at common law.

Legal term-changes being many, would it not be well for our state-courts to combine in making legal terms suit their intended meanings by substituting live terms for dead terms, practicalizing the scriptural injunction to leave the spiritually dead, in a verbal way, erasing, in this regard, the law's delay?

THE UNHISTORICITY OF PAUL.

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

AT the close of an article in *The Open Court* of August, 1912 (p. 507), the writer said, "What will be next? Perhaps the evaporation of Paul himself, etc." While I was writing these words this evaporation was already going on without my knowledge in the retort of a German writer, Samuel Lublinski.

Dr. W. Nestle in a review¹ of that author's work² says: "S. Lublinski has rightly seen that the theory of Drews can only be saved if Paul is struck out of history. Therefore Paul = Peter = Jesus = Barnabas, and finally, as it is to be expected, becomes a sun-god. Proof: His imprisonment in Philippi, the symbol for the land of the dead, and his journey to Rome which was from east to west. When will the historian of religion appear, who will declare Columbus a sun-god! It is high time, for he also voyaged from east to west and temporarily also was in prison. And as Paul becomes a sun-god, so Lydia, the purple-seller, becomes Mary-Isis, 'that mythical female being, whom we have already met so often.' Peter is a double of Christ, and his mother-in-law a double of Mary as are also his mother and wife. Not exactly to the taste of everybody!"

By the way, the denial of the historicity of Paul and Peter is nothing new. Bruno Bauer denied it seventy years ago. Only here, figuratively speaking, the sun, or at least the most important part of it, went from west to east. For "to Bauer Christianity is essentially stoicism in a Jewish metamorphosis. Only the skeleton of Christianity came from the east, from Judaism, its spirit from the west."³

¹ *Protestantenblatt*, No. 50, 1913, Berlin.

² *Der urchristliche Erdkreis und sein Mythos*, Vol. I. *Das werdende Dogma vom Leben Jesu*, Vol. II. E. Diederichs, Jena.

³ Herzog and Plitt, *Theol. Realencyklopädie*.

In this denial of the historicity of Paul lies the hidden confession that in spite of his purely dogmatic and polemical writings, because these writings were the earliest of the New Testament and were written only about twenty-five years after the death of Jesus,⁴ and in consequence of the little accidental scraps of historical notices occurring in these writings, Paul is a weighty witness for the historicity of Jesus and of a religious society which had already formed itself about his name before Paul persecuted it. Such scraps are the frequent mention of the crucifixion of Jesus; his killing "by the Jews" as they had done to "their prophets" (1 Thess. ii. 14-15); the last supper with the disciples; the earliest account of different appearances of Jesus after his death; the mention of "the pillars" of the church at Jerusalem, Peter, John and James "the brother of the Lord"; that "of the brothers of the Lord" playing a rôle as missionaries (1 Cor. ix. 5); the influence of Peter even outside of Palestine in Corinth; the collections made in the Gentile churches for the church in Jerusalem which would indicate that this city was the center from which Christianity started; the repeated visits of Paul to Jerusalem; his fifteen days' stay with Peter and James (Gal. i. 18-19) after his conversion; his former persecution of the Palestinian church; his flight from Damascus under King Aretas, a very important scrap for fixing the early existence of a pre-Pauline church in Palestine and on its borders.

In the denial of Paul's historicity lies also the hidden confession that Jesus may have played a more important part than we think in causing the beginning of a new religious society, but of this I will not speak at present. I will only mention one thing. The strong eschatological thought that the end is soon to come, which occurs in the Pauline letters, must also stand in connection with the ideas Jesus uttered on this subject as recorded in the gospels, and which the early pre-Pauline Christian community must have shared.

* * *

The following which I translate from R. Reitzenstein, a philologist but not a theologian, may be of interest to some in connection with my brief discussion: "Does any one hold philologists to be so irreligious and childlike as to impute to them the idea that the first church, or even only Paul, when introducing or interpreting the sacraments, proposed to transfer a piece of Egyptian

⁴ The Pauline epistles with the exception of the pastorals are here meant. Even advanced critics now accept Ephesians and 2 Thessalonians as Pauline.

or any other cult over into Judaism simply by a short cut in order to make it more attractive thereby? Or that the disciples or Paul, when they became persuaded of the resurrection and divinity of their master, thought: 'It is the old nature-god Osiris or Attis; let us now combine this religion with our ancestral faith'? A religious personality can not borrow in that way at all; it always creates in an individual way, and a religious conception which conquers the world must in the last sense be new. But we must not deduce from this, that such a religious personality has remained wholly uninfluenced by the surrounding world in language, conception and custom, and that every similarity must be based on accident. Like all intellectual history, religious history too must proceed from personality, and there is always a double explanation to account for it, one coming from the personality itself and one from the surrounding world. But it is more certainly true in religious history than elsewhere, that nothing can be effective which does not find preparation beforehand, and that nothing exerts a vivifying influence which has not become essentially new."

To these words of Reitzenstein I might add the following of interest as being perhaps a corroboration of his view. Hans Böhlig^a contends that the Pauline designation of Jesus as "Lord" (Greek: *Kyrios*) is of Syrian-Tarsan origin, and that neither the Jewish writings of those days use it for the Messiah, nor Matthew or Mark as a metaphysical attribute of Christ, but only as a form of polite address, not in the sense of religious veneration; that the writings of Luke (he himself and his style being also of Greek-Syrian culture) first use this word to denote the metaphysical nature of Jesus; that the name *kyrios* was an old designation for the active deity and is to be found thus on coins and monuments of Tarsus, while writers of a fine sense like Dion of Prusa sharply distinguish between *kyrios* and *despotes* though both mean "Lord." But *kyrios* is used only for designating the sphere of the power of a divinity, while *despotes* is used of the power of a human master in distinction from the slave. Thus Paul places in contrast to "the many gods and many lords," "the one God, the father, and the one Lord, Jesus Christ" (1. Cor. viii. 5-6).

^a In *Die Geisteskultur von Tarsos im augusteischen Zeitalter* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1913).

LOVE.

BY THE EDITOR.

LOVE is the witch that lures us into life
And holds us here, thralls of her magic spell.
Happy is he who, drunk with her sweet wine,
Raves in a paradise of self-deception,
A paradise build up by his own thought ;
But wretched he who, being disillusioned,
No longer trusts the guidance of her wand.

The primal stuff of ether is too neutral,
Too nondescript for Love to play her game.
She slumbers in its vast, unmeasured ocean
Till matter forms within its secret depths ;
Then she awakes and straight she is at work.

When in concrete formation worlds take shape,
When egotism cramps itself into
The entities of separate existence,
Setting themselves in ownhood definite
Against the rest, against all other being,
Then Love stirs them to seek a higher goal.
It is as though primordial unity
Reacted 'gainst the isolation of
Concrete particulars ; it reasserts
Itself in longings wild and undefined,
Prompted by Love, creation's beauteous queen.
She holds all things material in her leash—
Not one of them can break away ; they all
Remain but parts of the encircling whole.

Love makes the atoms, those self-centered specks
Of being, yearn with all their gravity

For other atoms. In their search they whirl
With myriads of their kind in graceful spirals,
And when their passion flashes up in heat
Their radiance trembles through the space as light.
Love is an artist, and she takes delight
In moulding what is bodily. Her creatures,
Countless in number, varied in design,
Swarm out of her deft hands in bright array.
She breathes her breath into the dull commotion
And lo! our world like water bubbles rises
In garish, dazzling beauty! But how hollow
Is their revolving shape! And on their films
Material motes crowding round emptiness,
Self-seeking puny egos, find a place.

Such is Love's work and here she finds her field.
Nor can we doubt that the same law determines
Varieties untold. The molecules
Are mutually attracted and combine
According to their forms in search for others.
And while they satisfy their needs they build
Newer creations full of richer chances.
Affinity—that is the law of Love,
And Love's the power that keeps the world in motion.
She moldeth life, and inexhaustible
Are her designs, her patterns, her devices.

Wherever life prevails there too lurks Love.
Raptures of happiness like hashish visions
Glow in the sentiments of every soul.

Watch here the butterfly! There comes another
Who has just caught a vision of his mate.
See how that fluttering phantom draws him on:
The iridescent colors on her wings,
Their gay designs, their graceful flapping motions
Possess the charms that will appeal to him.
Indeed, the quivering image finds response
In slumbering sentiments. Intoxicated
He follows her, while she, his mate, withdraws.
Now she alights; there on the flower she lingers,
As though expecting him—a moment only.

For now, anon, she's on the wing and so
In playfully coquettish chase they move.
When he approaches, she will coyly flee
As though she stood in awe of things unknown.

And do we read aright the secret meaning
Which her erratic hoverings indicate?
His wooing wakens in her virgin mind
Sweet dreamlike reminiscences, an heirloom
Of ages past, and yet she hesitates.
She seems to waver whether she may trust
The fairy vision, whether it is he
Whom she expects. Will he fulfil the longing
That stirs her little soul? Ought she to stay?
Ought she allow him to draw nigh to her?

And thou, Oh man, art of no other fabric—
Only more complicated, partly greater
And partly grosser. Yet there is but one
Of all thy preferences quite unique:
To thee that rarest faculty is given
To comprehend the world, to know thyself,
Eke, if thou choose, to search for truth and find it.
Not being shackled by the fleeting present,
Beholding past and future all in one,
The vision of eternity is thine.

Thou seest the rule that dominates all forms
And reachest out into the realm of norms.
What to all other creatures is concealed,
The cosmic lawdom, is to thee revealed.
As more and more the truth will make thee free,
Thou wilt be master of thy destiny.
And yet with all thy pride, wisdom and art,
'T is Love that fills and dominates thy heart.
Be comforted, perhaps 't is for thy best
Thou art as much Love's toy as all the rest.

MISCELLANEOUS.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

NIETZSCHE UND KEIN ENDE. By *Karl Knortz*. Torgau: Torgauer Druck- und Verlagshaus.

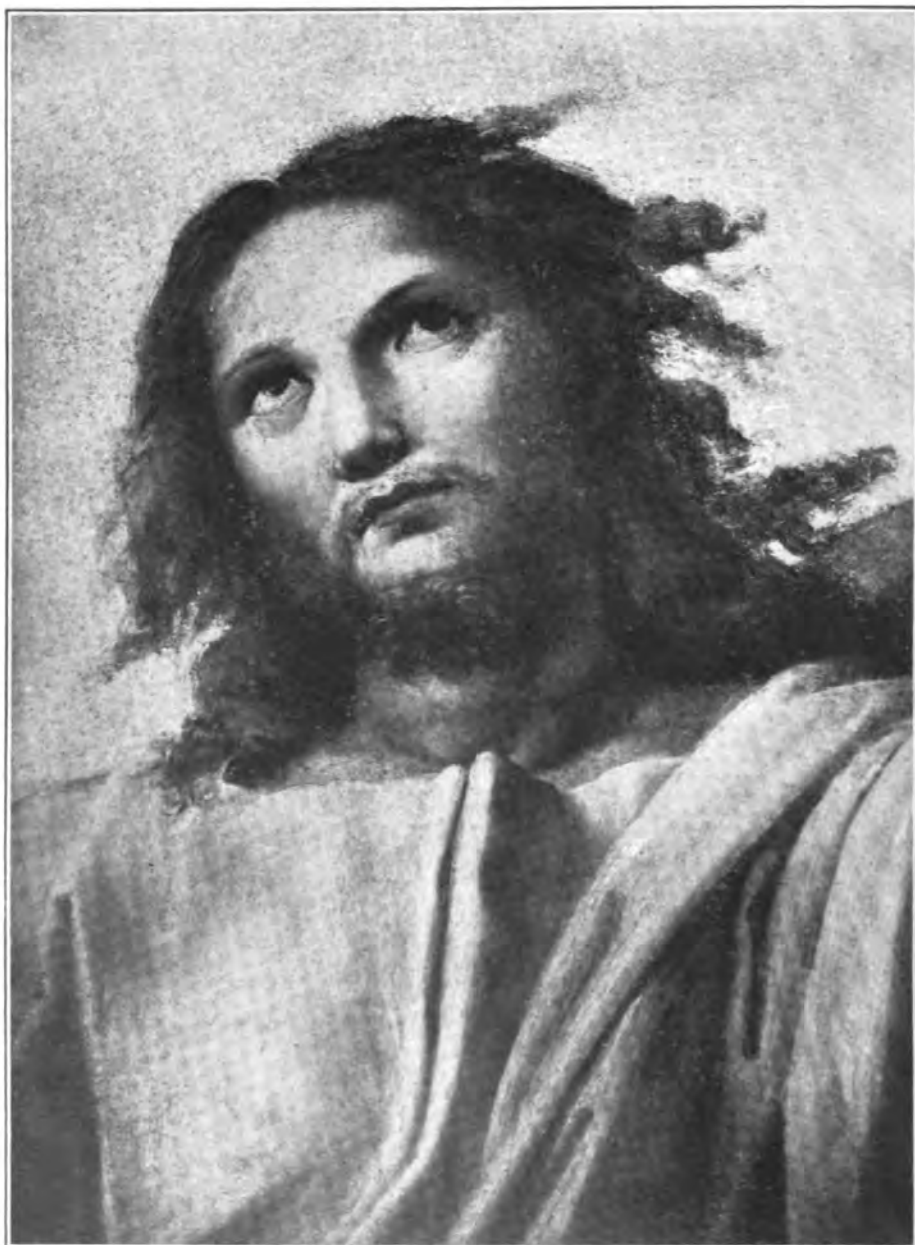
This whimsical appreciation of Nietzsche by the universally curious German-American scholar, Professor Karl Knortz, is a readable, if random, little volume. Readers of any others of Professor Knortz's imposingly long list of studies will not be surprised to find in this ostensible monograph long digressions dealing caustically with religious conditions in America and elsewhere, with the quarrel between Christianity and science, the superiority of American women to our men, the injurious effect of a war on the victorious nation and its correspondingly beneficial effect on the vanquished, and a hundred other matters which have the slightest possible connection with Nietzsche; but the reader who is willing to follow a somewhat winding path will find these excursions surprisingly interesting and thought-provoking; and there remains enough about the choleric Superman himself to furnish a very clear and complete outline of his philosophy. Professor Knortz is a gifted popularizer; he has the happy faculty of re-telling somewhat difficult matters in simple and intelligible language, and his books deserve to be better known than they are at present.

R. T. H.

SRIMAD-BHAGAVAD-GITA; or The Blessed Lord's Song. Translated from the Original Sanskrit Text by *Swāmi Paramānanda*. Boston: The Vedanta Centre, 1913. Pp. 144. Price 75 cents net.

This new translation of the Bhagavadgita is regarded by its producers as one which is peculiarly qualified to clear up whatever obscurities may lurk in this ancient Vedanta scripture. It seems almost to bear the claim of independent inspiration, for the editor thus describes in the Preface the conditions under which it was prepared: "The present translation was undertaken as a labor of love for a small group of earnest students gathered in the quiet garden of a Tuscan hill-side near Florence, Italy. Begun in September, it was completed on the last Thursday of October—a *tour de force* well-nigh impossible for the mere scholar, who not infrequently devotes long years to the same task, but quite possible for the true devotee, whose whole life is but God's Word lived out."

P



THE CHRIST OF THE TRANSFIGURATION.

Detail from Raphael's great fresco reproduced on page 216.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

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THE SCIENTISTS.¹

BY THE LATE HENRI POINCARÉ.

THESE men, though differing widely in many ways, nevertheless have many traits in common.

All of course are workers. However well endowed one may be, nothing great is accomplished without work, and those who have received the sacred fire from heaven are no more exempt from this law than others; their genius itself only gives them a great deal of trouble.

But there are different ways of working. There are those whose entire life is only one long patience and who, though never stopping, advance only a step each day; on the other hand, there are those who abandon themselves to their ardor and madden themselves in furious assaults against obstacles, instead of waiting for time and perseverance, in the end, to wear them out. The first sort accomplish their work as a duty—I do not say a painful duty, but in brief as a duty. They think they have received I know not what orders, and in these they do not wish to fail. For the others, work is above everything a necessity, a pleasure; they love their work as the artist loves his. It is their different temperaments which explain these divergences, and the differences of character contribute thus to make the differences of mind.

Moreover, all are impassioned. Their passion, which is the love of truth, the love of science, is generally mute but it is none the less ardent. Consequently, all are in a sense men of faith. Every passion presupposes a faith; every motive for action is a faith; faith alone gives perseverance, gives courage.

¹ Translated by George Bruce Halsted.

And yet a man is not a scientist unless he be endowed with the critical spirit, which seems to exclude every sort of faith and often causes scientists to be considered sceptics. What does this mean? When faith has a definite object it does not like to face criticism; it fears it and is irritated by it even when it professes to have nothing to fear. But the case is not the same with a faith which has no object other than a vague and indeterminate ideal. Such a faith dwells at ease with the critical spirit; it is like a goad which drives us incessantly forward; but it does not forbid us, at each crossing of the ways, freely to examine what route is the proper one to take. The men of the eighteenth century criticised everything, yet set sail full of confidence for an unknown Eldorado.

The faith of the scientist is therefore not that of the Christian; but what is more, religious faith is not always the same. There are two kinds of religious needs, the need of certitude and that of mystic love; it is rare that both meet in the same soul. It is the first that makes the orthodox, it is the other that makes the heretic. The faith of the scientist does not resemble that of the orthodox in their need for certitude. Do not believe that the love of truth is the same as the love of certitude, far from it; in our relative world all certitude is a deception. No, the faith of the scientist resembles rather the unquiet faith of the heretic which always seeks and is never satisfied. It is more calm and in a way more sane; but like that of the heretic, the faith of the scientist gives us a glimpse of an ideal of which we can only have a vague notion and gives us confidence that, without ever enabling us to attain this ideal, our efforts to approach it will not be fruitless.

The scientists of whom I have written are almost all physicists, astronomers, or mathematicians. Cultivating neighboring sciences, it would seem that their bent of mind should be nearly the same. Not at all. Side by side with workers who have confidence only in a patient analysis, we find the intuitives who rely upon a sort of divination and who are not always obliged to repent of it. Certain mathematicians love only broad vistas; in presence of a result they dream at once of generalizing it, seeking to unite it to allied results to make of all combined the base of a loftier pyramid whence they shall be able to see still further. There are others with distaste for these too extended views, since, however beautiful a vast landscape, the far horizons are always a little vague. They prefer to restrain themselves, the better to see the details and to

bring them to perfection. They work like the sculptor; they are more artists than poets.

Shall I now add that all true scientists are modest? Do not smile; there certainly are degrees. But the proudest member of the Institute will always be more modest than many second rate politicians or newly elected deputies, for whom, moreover, modesty would be a terrible embarrassment which would promptly arrest their career. When we measure ourselves by a lofty ideal we cannot but discover that we are small.

It would be grievous if this modesty were to engender distrust of self which would be an obstacle to every extended enterprise. Happily the scientists who are most distrustful of their own powers have confidence in their methods. The majority even estimate justly what they may expect of their own abilities, and if they never dream of making them an adornment to feed vanity, they love them as a useful instrument.

Thence comes that good nature noticeable in many scientists. They are appreciative since they do not seek to parade their superiority, while their vague consciousness of it produces in them an eternal good humor.

They are optimists because their passion gives them continual delight, while sparing them sadness; they never despair of finding the truth, and are easily consoled since they are never deprived of the pleasure of seeking it.

We note another trait; most of them remain young at heart. Perhaps they have not been as young as others, but they have been so for a longer period. Chevreul was still young when already past a hundred. And their very naïveté, which is evident to all eyes, is a sign of youth. This doubtless is because sorrow alone makes one grow old, and we have just seen that their passion brings only joys without griefs.

Disinterestedness is also a general virtue among scientists; to them the lust for money is almost always unknown. There have been tales I know, but these are only legends; the person most often involved was a chemist. Think with what facility his specialty would have enabled him to make a fortune in the industries, if he so wished. Those scientists who pass for selfish appear so only by contrast; in another company they would have a wholly different reputation.

But there are ways of being disinterested other than with regard to money, and here it is proper to make distinctions, to discriminate degrees. There are men who seek influence and others

who disdain it. The first have an excuse, which is that they do not desire it solely for themselves, but for their ideas; also that the scientific world cannot get along without administrators who occupy themselves with its temporal interests. But my own preferences go out to the others, whom no outside cares can distract from their toilsome dream.

Scientists should also be indifferent to glory. When one has had the good fortune to make a discovery, what is the satisfaction of giving his name to it compared to the joy of having for an instant seen the truth face to face? May we not say that the world is just as grateful to the anonymous inventor of the wheel or of fire as if it could speak the syllables of his name? I need not add that not all the world thinks thus, or at least it does not act as if it did.

And yet I have known scientists who cared little for glory. They rejoiced in their conquests, not as a personal triumph, but as a sort of collective success of the army in which they fought. In this army many brave soldiers have doubtless died and left no name, and that too after having to good purpose contributed to the common victory.

What enables us above everything to judge the scientists who are already successful is the way they receive the younger generation. Do they see in them future rivals, who will perhaps eclipse them in the memory of men? Do they show them only a provisory good-will, which will take alarm or speedily be irritated in the presence of too rapid or too brilliant a success? Or on the contrary do they regard them as future companions in arms, to whom they shall pass on instructions when retiring from the fight; as collaborators who shall continue the grand work undertaken but destined never to be finished?

Shall they submit to these young people, sometimes timidly contradicting them? Ah, the mania always to be right! There are observers who know how to deduce a law from facts, they clearly see that every one makes mistakes, that the greatest men have been convicted of many errors and are not the less honored because of it, and yet they are unwilling to conclude that neither are they themselves infallible!

THE VALUE OF ARCHEOLOGICAL STUDY FOR THE BIBLICAL STUDENT.

BY G. H. RICHARDSON.

THIS topic was suggested to the writer by three particular incidents coming under his own notice during a period of three weeks. Going into a Bible-class presided over by a minister he heard him quote from Canon Farrar to the effect that the Ten Commandments was "not only the earliest historic code which has come down to us, but also the most profound and the most comprehensive." Not only this but the minister went on to apply this to the whole of the Mosaic legislation.

Visiting another Bible-class we listened to a solemn teacher as he told of Samson. With marvelous imaginative power the teacher, a graduate, pictured the gigantic effort of Samson when he tore down the pillars against which he had been leaning. A picture was hanging on the wall before the class representing these pillars as about thirty feet high and having a diameter of between four and five feet.

The third case was a conversation with a student of the fourth year in residence at a theological seminary who questioned the writer's exegesis and who, to prove his point, talked of the "Hebraisms," the "Semitic idioms," the "special renderings" of the "New Testament Greek." Repeatedly we heard of "Biblical" Greek.

Can it be possible that all the archeological light of the last fifteen to twenty years has not yet been shed abroad in our theological seminaries and preachers' studies? Can it be that not even a ray has found its way to these places? Can it be that our responsible teachers do not know, or do not care to know, what is going on in the great world where the Bible scenes took place? We do not like to think so, and yet such unwelcome truth is forced upon

us, especially when we recall that a few minutes before giving a lecture on the papyri last spring (1913), a graduate of two leading American universities gravely stated that "the Papyri must be a very interesting people." (We will overlook it by charitably hoping he meant the Habiri mentioned in the Tel el-Amarna tablets, but even then it is lamentable.)

Looking around us we note, with some astonishment, that very few theological seminaries spend much time on the study of archeology. Where it is taught only too often is the matter dealt with in order to prove that every historical reference in the Old Testament is correct, or that the higher critic is wrong. Turning over the catalogue of an eastern college, and reading under the head "Archeology," we find these words: "Passages once triumphantly paraded by the skeptic and the critic have been vindicated and set in their true light, while the pages of the Divine Book have been illustrated and explained in a manner formerly impossible." Leaving aside the latter part of the statement we note that the former part of the statement is an indication of the general attitude of our seminaries toward archeology. In passing we ask: "Why should skeptic and critic be so joined? Is there any relationship between the two, or is this due to a misunderstanding of the work of the critic?"

There are notable exceptions, e. g., Dr. R. W. Rogers of Drew Theological Seminary, and Dr. F. C. Eiselen of Garrett Biblical Institute, who are willing to deal with the subject in all its bearings.

But we come back to the three incidents mentioned above.

When Canon Farrar wrote the book from which the minister-teacher quoted the above extract, the Mosaic legislation was "the earliest historic code" which had come down to us. But was the minister in charge of a modern Bible-class not aware that in December 1901 and January 1902 there was discovered on the acropolis of Susa by M. de Morgan, excavating for the French government, a block of black diorite, nearly eight feet high, on which are to be read sixteen columns of text containing the famous code of Hammurabi (c. 2250 B. C.) written one thousand years before Moses? We do not need to ask how this great block found its way to Susa from Babylon, for this is not at all material to the discussion. What is of importance is, that this code, or some edition of it, has unmistakably influenced the whole Mosaic legislation. Space forbids any detailed discussion or even exhibition of the parallels which are numerous. The literature on this subject is easily accessible. Enough to state that "the Hammurabi code must

have been the immediate or remote progenitor of the Hebrew legal system."¹

Illustrators of the Biblical stories are directly responsible for many of our crude ideas concerning the Bible. Take the case mentioned above. Where did the artist derive his information concerning Philistine buildings? Is not the desire to exaggerate the seeming miraculous the cause of exaggerating the narrative in picture? It is simply inconceivable that any human being could break into pieces, by mere push or pull, such gigantic pillars as are represented, only too often, in our illustrated Bibles. Commentators and apologists seem to realize this for they speak of the pillar as formed of sections built one upon the other. The evasion is too plain. On the other hand there is no need to bring in mythology and the growth of legend. The slightest acquaintance with the archeological discoveries in Palestine since 1903 would have settled the difficulties and saved many from scepticism. Professor MacAlister while excavating at Gezer found a temple whose column bases still remained in position, and on these wooden pillars were erected such as are mentioned in 1 Kings vii. 2. The temple where Samson performed his feats to amuse his Philistine lords would have a large portico on which the people would sit to watch him. Underneath, the lords and their wives and friends would sit. When Samson was tired he would be led to the portico. Now the portico was supported by pillars resting on column bases such as MacAlister found. It would be possible for a very strong man to move these pillars out of the perpendicular seeing that they merely stood on the top of the stone base, and when they were thus once moved, the weight of the building would push them off their bases. This is all the story asks for. It does not ask for an enormous stone building and gigantic stone pillars. These are the creations of the artists. Does it take away the early glamour from the story? Perhaps so, but in doing so it gives us the truer representation.²

Coming to the third case we were not much surprised, for almost every theological seminary has still its chair of "New Testament Greek" where the student of the Greek Testament is taught that the Greek he studies in his class-room is a distinct variety. We have found very few professors who have even the slightest acquaintance with the remarkable discoveries of papyri since 1897.

¹ R. F. Harper, *The Code of Hammurabi*; Kittel, *The Scientific Study of the Old Testament*; Chilperic Edwards, *The Oldest Law in the World*; L. W. King, *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*; Delitzsch, *Babel and Bible*; Driver, *Exodus* (Cambridge Bible Series).

² MacAlister, *Bible Sight-Lights from the Mound of Gezer*.

Occasionally one hears of the "Logia" as if this were the only discovery. In fact papyrology is a science still unknown to the majority. Perhaps this will sound like an exaggeration to many, but we speak from our own knowledge of conditions as we have found them in our experience with faculties before whom we have spoken.

Yet if any fact is proven it is that there never was such a special kind of Greek as to claim the specific title "New Testament" Greek. After years of careful research among the papyri "the assumption of a special 'New Testament,' or 'Biblical,' Greek is hopelessly refuted by the observations made in this field." The language to which we are accustomed in the New Testament is, on the whole, just the kind of Greek that simple, unlearned folk of the Roman imperial period were in the habit of using. In the time of the New Testament writers the various dialects of Greek had become unified and men no longer spoke their own Attic, Doric, or Ionic, but a single Greek language,—the KOINH. As to the "Hebraisms" of the New Testament on which so many "special renderings" and dogmas have been built we find that one after another has been exactly paralleled in the papyri and ostraca. Deissmann, who is the master in this field of research, estimates that the total number "of 'Biblical' words in the New Testament is (at the utmost) 1 per cent of the whole vocabulary." Space again forbids discussion or exposition in this most fascinating theme, and we refer the reader to the sources of information.³

These are but three specific cases happening, practically, at the same time. We fear, though, that this is the prevailing condition of the average Bible-class. Wherever the writer has gone and dealt with the evidences from the monuments it has been evident that ministers and laymen alike were hearing "a new doctrine." Numerous incidents of an amusing character rise before us as we write, but we will refrain from quoting them.

The value of archeology is not yet fully realized. To many the very name suggests what is dry, dead, and uninteresting. It is the mere collecting of "curios" for museum cases. No doubt much depends on one's make-up. We know more than one person to whom archeology is the most fascinating of studies. It gives us back the life, literature, customs, manners, religions, of our ancestors. We see their hopes, we know their fears, we learn what manner of men they were. It is an all-important study for the

³ Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East; Bible Studies; New Light on the New Testament; The Philology of the Greek Bible*; Moulton, *Grammar of the New Testament Greek*; Dr. James Hope, *The Science of Language and the Study of the New Testament*.

Bible-student, or the student of history in general. The Bible is an eastern book, written by Orientals of the long ago. How shall we read it? How shall we approach it? Through western eyes, and under the dominance of western ideas and standards? To do so will be to fail to grasp the meaning of the writers. We cannot understand the literature or life of the Oriental without becoming Orientals. How shall we understand the Oriental, then, unless we study his monuments? Much misunderstanding of the Bible is due to this neglect. The extreme conservative on the one hand, and the extreme literary critic on the other, have failed because they treated the Biblical writers too much like western writers.

The East has a peculiarity all its own. We cannot take for granted that an Oriental means exactly what we would mean if we used the same expressions. Only by living over the life, and thinking the thoughts of the Oriental can we really understand him.

An amazing amount of light has been shed upon the Bible by the discoveries of the past fifty years. The ancient world is almost as familiar as the world of our own day. We see not only the great and mighty but—what is just as important—the common man and his life. Chapter after chapter, and book after book of the Bible has gained new meaning under the new light. Archeology has enabled us to place Israel in its right position among the nations of the past. We can watch the growth of the life and literature of Israel as never before. Fancies have given way to facts, and history has taken the place of myth.

But if we decide to accept the light of archeology we must accept all of it. We cannot honestly accept it when it verifies a Biblical statement and reject it when it disproves. Many writers on Biblical archeology could be named who most enthusiastically write on the value of archeology after picking and choosing certain details. Yet the same writers only too readily turn against it when it disagrees with their views, and they bid us wait until some future excavations "shall give us the necessary light, for the monuments are liable to be mistaken." It does not follow that because archeology has supported some traditions it will support all, and to regard the first as a "solution," and the latter as "a conqueror's exaggeration" is not honest. Oftentimes too great a superstructure has been built upon too slender a foundation. Let us accept what has been brought to light and use it to the best of our ability for the explanation of the hard places of Bible study. The Bible-class teacher of to-day has a great and glorious task. Never were his opportunities greater. Never was more light given to the student.

To go teaching the views of a former generation without examination is a sign of ignorance. To teach them knowing them to be false is wicked. Yet we have to admit that even this is a common method in Bible-classes where the orthodox gather and are likely to be disturbed if a new view is presented. There is no justification for ignorance. There is still less for the deliberate sacrifice of truth.

Here again space forbids detailed discussion or exposition. However, the literature in this branch of knowledge is growing and is easily procurable. We recommend every Bible-student and teacher to take a thorough course, according to his ability, in Biblical Archeology.

We append a bibliography from which the student can choose for himself:

R. W. Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*. Here will be found not only the most up-to-date history to which the student will often have need to refer in his advanced Bible study, but also the most detailed account of both the discovery and decipherment of the monuments.

Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands During the XIXth Century; Recent Research in Bible Lands*.

T. G. Pinches, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records of Assyria and Babylonia*.

H. A. Harper, *The Bible and Modern Discoveries*. Still very useful, but needs to be read in the light of more recent excavations.

Clay, *Light on the Old Testament from Babel and Amurru*.

Driver, *Modern Research as Illustrating the Bible*.

Jeremias, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient Orient*.

A volume of great value for the advanced student is *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament* by R. W. Rogers.

Some useful manuals can be found in the "By-paths of Bible Knowledge" series.

Professor Sayce has written extensively but with such bias that his books are scarcely the works for the student of to-day. Archeology is to him a weapon against the higher criticism.

We do not pretend that this is even a moderate bibliography, but if the student will master some of the above works he will be led into larger fields.

THE PORTRAYAL OF CHRIST.

BY THE EDITOR.

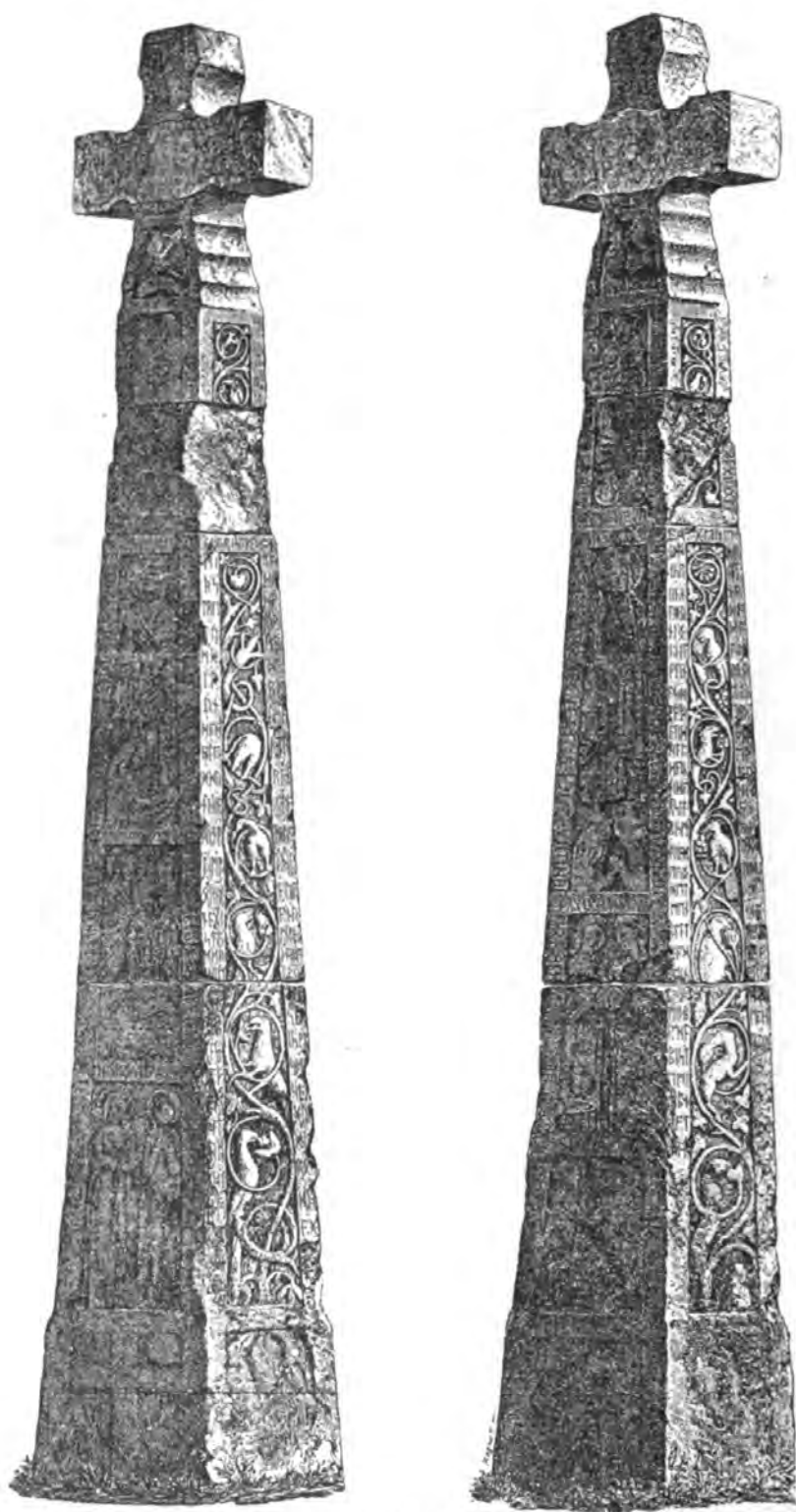
[CONCLUSION.]

AMONG nations with less developed artistic sense, the portraits of Christ are crude, and show a decided lack of technique, but they are curious and deserve our attention for the sake of the attempt



CHRIST AND THE WOMAN OF SAMARIA.
Terra-cotta from Tunis.

made to express a certain sentiment of awe, and for this reason we have some of them here reproduced.



THE RUTHWELL CROSS.

Some Christ portraits preserved in Tunis are plain indications of an undeveloped civilization, and have mere historical interest. They date from the sixth century and are made in terracotta. From those which are still extant in the basilica of Hagebel-Aiun we reproduce a scene representing Christ with the Samaritan woman at the well.

We will naturally take a greater interest in the relics of art as it developed in Great Britain among the Saxons and the Irish.



THE STONE OF KILLORAN.
After Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*.



THE CRUCIFIXION IN DUBLIN.
After Romilly Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism in Great Britain*.

Here we see a peculiar tendency to indicate sentiment by curved lines, which on a later generation make the impression of a grotesque awkwardness, but the psychologist who tries to be just to the ancient artist and the people for whom he worked will discover in it a fantastic attempt to bring out a religious awe in a manner which is quite unique. It is noticeable that the Irish and the Saxons developed under the same influence in parallel lines and in apparent communication, and so this style has been called Irish-Saxon. The

best and most famous instances of it are the Ruthwell cross in England and the high cross of Muredach, Monasterboice, and others in Ireland. We reproduce some of them, and notice that on the stone of Killoran, the whole figure of Christ is represented in curves, and the arms in spirals, while in the St. Gall Evangelary curves cover the body like a garment, from which the head, arms and feet protrude. The Book of Kells contains an illustration of the mocking of Christ, in which Christ is depicted larger than his tormentors in order to indicate his divinity, and his supernatural character is further marked by the expression of his face and the



THE CRUCIFIXION FROM ST. GALL
EVANGELARY.
After Romilly Allen.



SCENE OF THE MOCKING.
From the Book of Kells.

peculiar stare of his large eyes. One might also say that we are here confronted with an anticipation of futurist art.

* * *

Pope Innocent VIII received from Sultan Mohammed II a cameo cut in emerald which represents a picture of Christ. The Sultan had sent it to the Pope as a ransom for his brother who had been captured by Christians, and was granted his liberty in return for the cameo which at that time (in the fifteenth century) was regarded as genuine, but it can scarcely be much older than the age of Innocent VIII, and art connoisseurs believe that it was made

by an Italian artist who happened to sojourn at the court of Mohammed II.

Another imposition of a more recent date is a copper coin which quite naively bears in Hebrew the date of the year one, as shown by the letter Aleph (א). On the obverse of the coin we see the customary head of Christ, with the inscription:

א-ישו



HEAD OF CHRIST ON CAMEO.

and on the reverse:

משיה מלך בא בשלום וארטאדם עשה חי*

which means, "Messiah, the king, came in peace and as the light of man he was made to live."

* This ought to be an ה.

The Hebrew is not quite correct. The last two words mean literally "he makes alive."

The Reformation was not favorable to art. In fact it contained a strong current resembling the iconoclastic spirit of the early Christians and broke out in violent destructiveness against the orna-



MEDAL OF HEAD OF CHRIST.
With Hebrew inscription.

mentation of the churches. This found its strongest expression in the movement of the *Bilderstürmer*, the destroyers of images, against whom Luther rose because he possessed too much common sense to permit such extravagances as they indulged in. This hostility to art showed itself in England in a movement which bred the Puritanism of the Puritans, who after their suppression by the re-



THE MAN OF SORROWS.
By Dürer.

formed Anglican church went to America where they became known in history as the Pilgrim Fathers.

How strange it is that the Roman church burst out into a glorious development of Christian art while the Reformation became concentrated in an almost ascetic tendency which worked like a bane on the development of religious art. Luther was an exception

because he was an unsophisticated child of nature and inherited the traditional Teutonic love of life. At the same time he had a natural taste for music. He was a poet and a composer, and encour-



CHRIST IN THE DISPUTA.
Detail from Raphael's great fresco.

aged singing and the playing of stringed instruments in his family circle. On the other hand the Calvinist branch of the Reformation, including the affiliated Presbyterian churches of England and Scotland, show a dislike of artistic beauty even in music. As an instance

of this we recall the little story of the first organ that was built in America which the manufacturer offered as a gift to a church in Cambridge, Massachusetts, but the Presbytery indignantly refused it



CHRIST IN THE LAST SUPPER.

Detail from Raphael's fresco in the dining room of Foligno at Florence,

with the remark, "Far be it from us to worship God by machinery," whereupon the organ was handed over to an Episcopal church in Portland, Maine, where it is still preserved as a historic relic.

Upon the whole the tendency of art in the Reformation finds

its climax in expressing a fervent devotion and a gratitude towards Christ for his suffering, and so we may regard Dürer's "Man of Sorrows" as representative of the spirit of the Reformation.



THE TRANSFIGURED CHRIST.

By Raphael.

It would take a volume to describe the Christ type as it developed in the time of the Renaissance, and the highest perfection may be said to have been reached by Raphael, as for instance in

his Disputa. His Christ in the Last Supper is a fine face but a little too effeminate for the more vigorous conception of the present



TITIAN'S CHRIST.

age. It forms a strong contrast to the beardless type of Christ by Michelangelo as it appears in the Last Judgment, the famous fresco

of the Sistine chapel, for here Christ appears more like a hero of Greek antiquity.

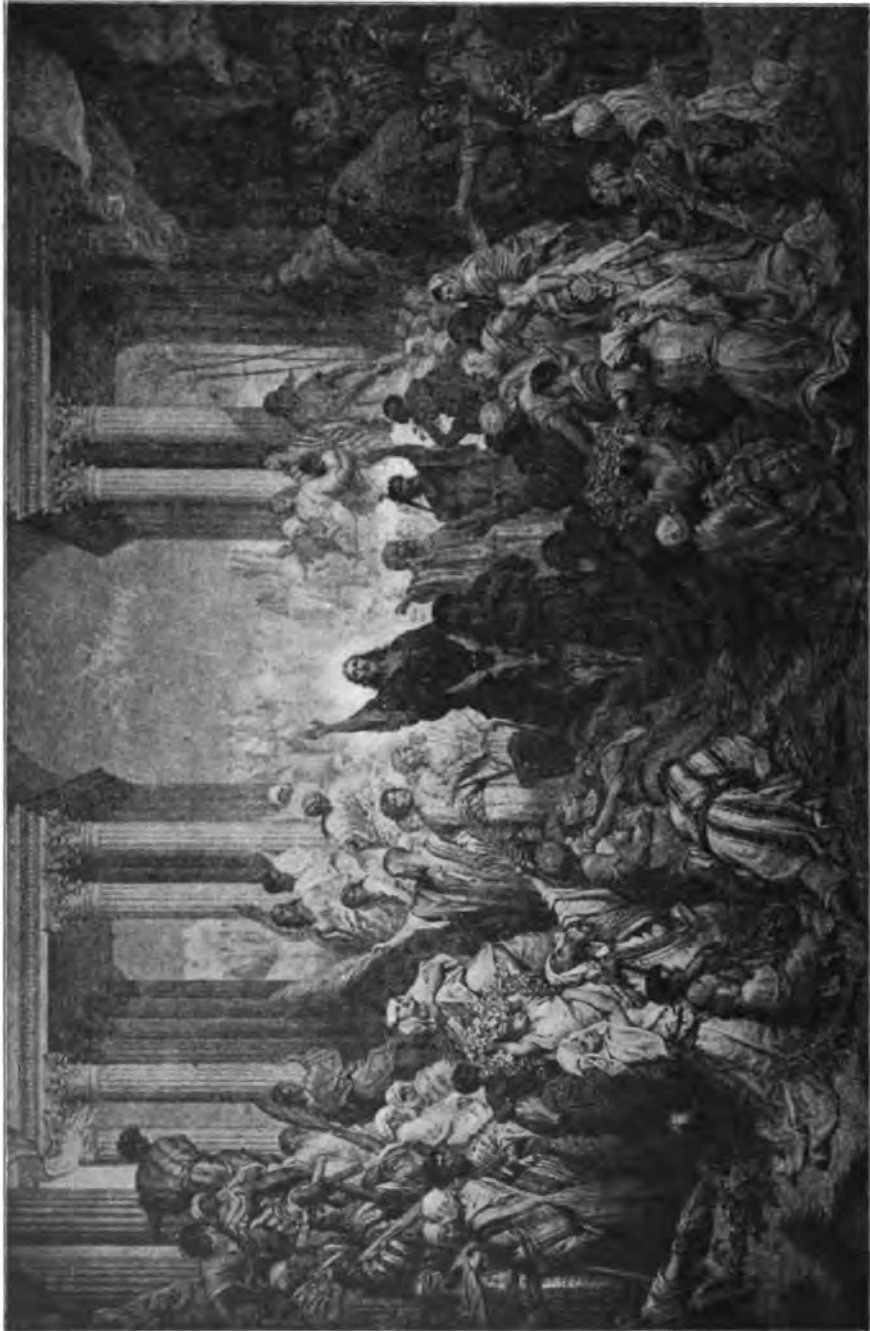
The bearded Christ has been the favorite type since the time



ECCE HOMO.
By Guido Reni.

of the Renaissance, the classical period of Christian art in the fifteenth century. Raphael's Christ of the transfiguration is one of the most famous and best instances and even in recent times there is

scarcely any Christian artist of note who has deviated from the type or has ever reverted to the youthful beardless Christ figure



CHRIST'S ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM.
By Gustave Doré.

of earlier days. If any one did, his conception would be sure to meet with general disapproval.

This great masterpiece has been described in detail as follows by Cav. Off. H. J. Massi, the first curator of the papal museums and galleries.

"The picture is divided into two parts dealing with the transfiguration on Mount Tabor and the healing of the demoniac.



CHRIST'S ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM.

By Schnorr von Carolsfeld.

"In the upper part is the chief subject, in which Raphael has depicted the figure of the Saviour aloft above the clouds. His countenance is brighter than the sun; his garments whiter than snow, are fanned softly, as it were, by a celestial breeze. On the right and left, and slightly below him are Moses and Elias.



THE TRANSFIGURATION.
By Raphael.

"Three apostles, Peter, John and James, lie prostrate on the ground upon the summit of the mount in various attitudes. On



THE DESCENT INTO HELL.
By Sasha Schneider.

the left are seen, beneath some trees, the figures of Saints Julian and Laurence, in the act of adoration.

"In the lower portion of the picture Raphael has depicted the moment when the young man, possessed by the devil, is presented to the apostles by his father and sister, surrounded by a throng of people.

"The figure of the young woman, kneeling near the demoniac,



CHRIST IN THE CHURCH TRIUMPHANT.

Detail from a fresco attributed to Memmi but more probably by Andrea da Firenze.

is said by some to be one of the portraits of Fornarina, drawn from life by Raphael, though nowhere else depicted with equal beauty. To this figure, and also to that of the father and of the demoniac himself which Raphael left unfinished, the last touches were given by Giulio Romano."

It would be unfair not to mention Titian whose Christ, however beautiful, is too intellectual and almost sentimental to be a



CHRIST BEFORE PILATE.
By Muncacsy.

fair representation of the ideal man, and we may upon the whole say that all these great artists have been more successful in their Madonnas than in their Christs. Guido Reni has perhaps more

than others been able to picture the agony of the Crucified and thus he approaches more than other Italians the Protestant type of the suffering martyr.

As characteristic instances of Christ pictures of the nineteenth century we select a few by artists of different nationalities. Gustave Doré's picture of Christ's entry into Jerusalem is theatrical and pompous in its spectacular scenic effect. The same subject is treated with German simplicity by Schnorr von Carolsfeld who follows in the footsteps of Holbein and Dürer. The Russian Sasha Schneider shows the Slavic spirit, sentimentality and love of symbolism. We select here his portrayal of Christ's descent into hell which shows contrasts between indignation and tyranny similar to those we find in Russian politics and social conditions. There sits the relentless and unscrupulous Satan in his infernal domain like Nietzsche's overman, while his friend and prime minister Death stands behind the throne with unflinching determination. On the other side the liberated captives stretch out their hands towards their Redeemer who has so unexpectedly turned the course of events and stands there at the same time unarmed and omnipotent, a victor over the powers of evil.

In modern times there has been a tendency towards the historical conception of Jesus as a Jew, the most prominent attempt at which is found in Muncacsy's Christ before Pilate. But on the whole the Christian world has not taken very kindly to this view and still clings to the traditional representation of the classic age of Christian art in which Christ is represented as the ideal of mankind in general (as for instance represented in Thorwaldsen's well-known statue) bearing according to all intentions the features of no special race or nationality, but in reality showing the typical features of the Caucasian race.

COMPARATIVE CHRISTIANITY.

BY PRESERVED SMITH.

THE science of comparative religion having of late attained so much notoriety, it is time to inquire whether the comparative method can be applied to one religion in different periods of its life. Is there any common measure applicable to the same religion in succeeding ages to ascertain its variations in quality and amount? The difficulties of doing this are obvious, and have been lucidly stated by the late Professor Mayo-Smith in his works on statistics. Some matters are at once so large and so vague that they burst the bonds of accurate measurement. It is the general observation of explorers that savages in warm countries wear few clothes and worship fetishes, but to express these facts in numbers is beyond the resources at our command. So also in measuring the "culture religions" the double difficulty of selecting a yardstick and of thoroughly applying it renders most attempts nugatory. The endeavor to ascertain the quantity of extant piety by a house to house census would of course be so impractical as to be ridiculous. The selection of any external criterion, such as the seating capacity of the churches, is fallacious. An American town in the throes of a revival which has caught ninety per cent of the inhabitants may well have a smaller *per capita* church capacity than a French village, whose vast and venerable cathedral is frequented only by a few women, the drift-wood left high and dry by the ebbing tide of faith. The test of church membership, too, is unsatisfactory, more on account of individual variation than because of differences between the several sects in counting their constituency. Allowance can be made for the fact that Catholics reckon as members all who have been baptized, whereas Protestants count only those who have passed a second rite like confirmation. But who can tell what membership in a church really means? There have always been a few devout men, like Milton, who do not formally identify them-

selves with any denomination; there are probably many pew-holders who have in their hearts little faith. Only omniscience can do more than guess at their numbers.

But notwithstanding all this I believe that by reducing the number of individuals examined, while at the same time keeping them strictly representative, some common measure can be applied to different societies, or to the same society at divers times. Now there happens to be one class exactly adapted to our purpose, at once small, constant, thoroughly representative, and whose opinions on most subjects are, almost without exception, easily ascertainable—the great men.

No more accurate barometer could be desired, for great men are always representative either of the people as a whole, or of the intellectual class which in the long run dominates and leads the masses. Even in this they are like a barometer, that they register changes in the atmosphere before these are sensible to ordinary observation. When the mercury goes down it is safe to predict rain; the increase in the number of religious great men in the fifteenth century foreshadows the Reformation in the sixteenth. One kind of great man may with perfect accuracy be described as the "demagogue," even if he be as splendid a one as Napoleon. The second kind may be typified by Darwin, who appealed only to a small body of experts, and yet whose thoughts were destined in due time to become the mental stock-in-trade of the masses. In 1860 his theory of the origin of species would have been voted down by a million to one, but because there were a hundred men capable of understanding him, whom, that is, in a sense, he represented, the final triumph of his theory—in gross, not in detail—was assured. Indeed the history of what we call progress is essentially a history of the intellectual class, just as a biography is almost entirely the record of the action of a man's brain. The thinking class is the head also in the sense of being the vanguard, which the vast body, usually with much writhing and reluctance, is bound eventually to follow. In some cases, of course, great men appeal to and represent both the cultured and the popular classes. Luther and Lincoln are examples of this type.

Probably every one will agree that there are no persons in the world whose opinions on all subjects are easier to ascertain than are those of the great dead. If their public utterances are equivocal their private letters and conversations are published and subjected to the minute scrutiny of hundreds of able minds. They are not, as a rule, hypocrites; their very greatness often consists in devotion

to one idea which they are determined to impress on the world at any cost. Sometimes their ruling passion forces them to dissemble their beliefs on what they regard as minor matters, even if these matters be religion and morality,—but how few do they deceive in the end! Chesterfield's remark that a wise atheist would conceal his opinions lights up that wardrobe which he called his mind quite as brightly as anything else he was capable of saying. In averring that "all wise men have the same religion but no wise man tells what it is," Talleyrand told what his religion was, as plainly as did Voltaire. The other epigram of the distinguished diplomat that "language was made to conceal thought," exposed his own thought with almost glaring indecency. It is always the same story: Peter may deny Christ, but in the very act his speech bewrayeth him. Napoleon's elaborate pretence of hearing mass while he was dictating his correspondence may have imposed on a few peasants; it has intrigued none of his biographers.

But are there no exceptions to this rule? Cannot one find arguments to prove that Shakespeare was a royalist and a democrat; a Protestant, a Catholic and a skeptic; showing that there is difficulty in ascertaining his true personal views? Yes; but in the immense literature of the subject we can also find it proved that he was a lawyer, an alienist, a criminal, a degenerate, and Francis Bacon. Notwithstanding the paradoxes advanced on all sides I think there is a consensus of reliable opinion to the effect that Shakespeare was Shakespeare, that he was a rational and law-abiding citizen, that he was a playwright, and that in matters of both politics and religion he was supremely indifferent. Had he been otherwise, he well could, and surely would, have expressed himself, either in the sense of Montaigne or in that of Milton. But indifference stamps a man just as categorically as does the most passionate partisanship.

Admitting the possibility of getting an approximately accurate estimate of the religiosity of most eminent persons, it is plain that the comparative method can be applied, and that interesting results as to the proportion of religion in different ages will be forthcoming. The problem is now to draw up a list of men and formulate some standard of religion to apply to them. Evidently the matter of greatest importance in making a list is that it shall be without bias. It is not so necessary that the two hundred names here selected should be absolutely the greatest for the last eight centuries, as it is that they should be chosen without *parti pris*. I believe that I have attained that result by making the basis of my

list the biographical material in the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Those Englishmen of the nineteenth century, and those only, whose biography occupies three or more pages in the *Encyclopædia*, are included. Feeling that the editors were naturally favorable to Englishmen, and seeing that my list was far larger for recent than for preceding ages, I have shaded this standard by including some recent foreigners, and men of all nationalities for the earlier centuries, to whom a smaller space is accorded, but always progressively and regularly, by a fixed method, not by personal preference. On the whole the list agrees well with what I should independently have drawn up, though not always. Had I relied solely on my own judgment, for instance, I should have included Nietzsche and excluded Ruskin. So I believe the roster here presented will be nearly identical with any possible one made by historians, differing here and there in detail, but not substantially altered. The point that I insist upon, however, is not that this selection is the best possible from all points of view, but simply that, being made without bias, it may be assumed to be perfectly representative. For present purposes I have thought it advisable to take into consideration only the nations of western European culture, which knows only two religions, the Jewish and the Christian. The great Asiatic conquerors, and even oriental philosophers and savants, like Averroes and Avicenna, had they been included, would only have confused the issue.

In formulating categories and applying them to individuals, I have been obliged to rely on my own judgment. Before criticizing my methods, I hope the reader will take into account my definition of the terms used. By "religion" I do not mean the broadest sense of the term, to include all religions, or as philosophically defined, "man's emotional reaction to the not understood," or the like. I use the word in a narrower, but perfectly legitimate sense, perhaps best covered by the old-fashioned term "revealed religion," although some modern earnest Christians and Jews explain away the revelation or supernatural portion of their faiths almost to the vanishing point. The designations "established" or "popular religion," would, on the other hand, have been too restricted, for many of the most devout men have attacked the church, as did Huss and Luther. Conversely my use of the word "skepticism" is not the philosophical one designating complete Pyrrhonism, but is simply the opposite of religiosity. If, in his own consciousness, a man stands outside of all the recognized forms of organized religion of his age, he is, in my sense of the word, a skeptic. As Voltaire made it his object

to destroy Christianity, his deism cannot entitle him to be regarded as devout. Spinoza may have been drunk with God, but as he was a total abstainer from the practice of his own early faith, and acquired no Christianity, he is, in the present use of the term, a skeptic. In a statistical inquiry rigid definitions are not only legitimate but necessary.

According to these general principles I have adopted a four-fold classification of men as Religious, Pious, Indifferent and Skeptical. I attach no importance whatever to the terms, which are simply intended to designate different degrees of religiosity. In the first class I include those persons who have devoted the best part of their lives to the support and propagation of religion. In the second class are placed those who, while living for a more secular vocation, have given evidence of their full belief in the Christian creed, and their incidental support to it. The Indifferent are those whose interest in religion is at a minimum, the cares of the world having sprung up and choked the seed of piety. Shakespeare, for instance, as Emerson has emphasized, showed practically no interest in the beyond. In others, doubtless, a non-committal attitude is assumed from prudential motives, but had the interest been really strong it would have burst the barriers of reserve. In the last category, the Skeptical, I have placed all who have deliberately and confessedly taken a stand outside of Christianity (or, in a few cases, outside of Judaism). Their attitude varies from the cool, and even sympathetic criticism of Gibbon and Renan, to the implacable hostility of Voltaire and Shelley.

Each man is taken at his word, not according to the effect of his work in the estimation of others. Nietzsche and the Catholics argue that Luther did more than any other man to hurt Christianity. Bernard Shaw has asserted that all the real religion of to-day has been made possible by materialists and atheists. There seems to be something more than paradox in both these positions, but they are irrelevant to the purpose of the present study. Here, only the attitude which a man himself desires to take, is estimated. If he devotes his whole life to the reform and propagation of religion he is religious, even if thereby he rends Christianity in twain. If he shouts *Ecrasez l'infame!* on all possible occasions, he is irreligious, even though the total effect of his work on Christian thought is salutary.

Men are not always consistent, and are hardly ever subject to easy classification, because the degrees and shades of opinion are infinite. Was Jeanne d'Arc primarily a prophetess or a patriot?

Was it Milton's chief end, or only an important subordinate one, to justify the ways of God to man? What shall we say about Swift? He was a high ecclesiastic, and occasionally expressed himself in devout language; but on the other hand was religion ever more effectively satirized than in *The Tale of a Tub*, or in that passage in *Gulliver's Travels* where the Lilliputian sects fight over the question of which end of an egg to open? Goethe is a still more glaring example of contradictoriness. Certain passages in his works, and still more in his *Conversations with Eckermann*, are edifying tributes both to Christianity and to Protestantism. But when religion interfered with business or pleasure, did Goethe ever hesitate to choose the latter? What writings are more saturated with Hellenism, free thought and pantheism than *Faust* and *Werther*? So in many other cases I have been obliged to place a man in one of the four classes, although he seemed rather to be on the borderline between two, or even, alternately, in more than two of the divisions. In submitting my results, I can claim only to have acted with the utmost impartiality and objectivity at my command. Asking the usual allowance for human error, I hereby present the statistics on which I base my results, after which a few generalizations will bring out their meaning. After each name I have put the dates of birth and death, and a letter indicating the class to which the person is assigned.

Abelard, 1075-1142. r.	Wycliffe, 1324-84. r.
Arnold of Brescia, †1155. r.	Chaucer, 1328-1400. i.
St. Bernard, 1090-1153. r.	D'Ailly, 1350-1420. r.
Becket, †1170. r.	
Alanus de Insulis, 1114-1203. r.	Gerson, 1363-1429. r.
	Huss, 1373-1415. r.
Innocent III, 1160-1216. r.	Froissart, 1377-1410. i.
St. Dominic, 1170-1221. r.	Donatello, c. 1386-1466. p.
St. Francis, 1182-1226. r.	Fra Angelico, 1387-1455. r.
Albertus Magnus, 1193-1285. r.	A Kempis, †1471. r.
	Gutenberg, 1400-68. i.
Roger Bacon, 1214-94. p.	Jeanne d'Arc, 1412-81. r.
Aquinas, 1227-74. r.	Torquemada, 1420-98. r.
Marco Polo, 1254-1324. i.	Botticelli, 1444-1510. p.
Dante, 1265-1321. p.	Columbus, 1446-1506. p.
Duns Scotus, 1274-1308. r.	
Occam, †1347. r.	Da Vinci, 1452-1519. i.
Petrarch, 1304-74. p.	Erasmus, 1466-1536. p.
Boccaccio, 1313-75. i.	Macchiavelli, 1469-1530. s.

- Dürer, 1471-1528. p.
 Copernicus, 1473-1543. i.
 Ariosto, 1474-1533. i.
 Michelangelo, 1475-1564. p.
 Wolsey, 1475-1530. p.
 More, 1477-1535. p.
 Titian, 1477-1576. i.
 Loyola, 1491-1556. r.
 Raphael, 1483-1520. p.
 Luther, 1483-1546. r.
 Zwingli, 1484-1531. r.
 Del Sarto, 1487-1531. i.
 Holbein, 1493-1554. i.
 Correggio, 1494-1534. i.
 Rabelais, 1495-1553. s.
 Melanchthon, 1497-1560. r.
 Cellini, 1500-71. i.
 Knox, 1505-72. r.
 Xavier, 1506-56. r.
 Calvin, 1509-64. r.
 Tintoretto, 1512-94. i.
 Coligny, 1517-72. p.
 Camoëns, 1524-79. i.
 Veronese, 1528-88. p.
 Montaigne, 1533-92. s.
 Scaliger, 1540-1609. p.
 Tasso, 1544-95. p.
 Oldenbarneveldt, 1547-1619. p.
 Bruno, 1548-1600. s.
 Henri IV, 1553-1610. i.
 Spenser, 1553-99. i.
 Francis Bacon, 1561-1626. s.
 Shakespeare, 1564-1616. i.
 Galileo, 1564-1642. i.
 Marlowe, 1564-93. s.
 Kepler, 1571-1630. i.
 Jonson, 1574-1637. i.
 Rubens, 1577-1640. p.
 Harvey, 1578-1637. i.
 Fletcher, 1579-1625. i.
 Grotius, 1583-1645. s.
 Beaumont, 1584-1616. i.
 Jansen, 1585-1638. r.
 Richelieu, 1585-1642. p.
 Hobbes, 1588-1679. s.
 Descartes, 1596-1650. s.
 Cromwell, 1599-1658. p.
 Van Dyke, 1599-1641. i.
 Velazquez, 1599-1660. i.
 Calderon, 1600-81. p.
 Mazarin, 1602-61. i.
 Corneille, 1606-84. p.
 Rembrandt, 1606-69. i.
 Milton, 1608-74. p.
 Murillo, 1617-82. p.
 Colbert, 1619-82. i.
 La Fontaine, 1621-95. s.
 Molière, 1622-73. i.
 Pascal, 1623-62. p.
 Sévigné, 1626-96. p.
 Bossuet, 1627-1704. r.
 Bunyan, 1628-88. r.
 Dryden, 1630-1701. p.
 Locke, 1632-1704. s.
 Spinoza, 1632-77. s.
 Racine, 1639-99. p.
 Penn, 1644-1718. p.
 Leibnitz, 1646-1716. p.
 Newton, 1647-1727. p.
 Marlborough, 1650-1722. i.
 Fénelon, 1651-1716. r.
 Swift, 1667-1745. i.
 Addison, 1672-1719. p.
 Peter the Great, 1672-1725. p.
 Walpole, 1676-1745. i.
 Bach, 1685-1750. p.
 Pope, 1688-1744. s.
 Swedenborg, 1688-1772. r.
 Montesquieu, 1689-1755. s.
 Voltaire, 1694-1778. s.
 Wesley, 1703-91. r.
 Edwards, 1703-58. r.

- Franklin, 1706-90. s.
 Fielding, 1707-54. i.
 Chatham, 1708-78. i.
 Johnson, 1709-84. p.
 Hume, 1711-76. s.
 Rousseau, 1712-78. s.
 Frederick the Great, 1712-86. s.
 Diderot, 1713-84. s.
 Gray, 1716-71. i.
 Alembert, 1717-83. s.
 Adam Smith, 1723-90. s.
 Kant, 1724-1804. s.
 Goldsmith, 1728-74. i.
 Catharine II, 1729-96. s.
 Lessing, 1729-81. s.
 Burke, 1730-97. i.
 Washington, 1732-99. p.
 Gibbon, 1737-94. s.
 Jefferson, 1743-1826. s.
 Goethe, 1749-1832. s.
 Mirabeau, 1749-91. s.
 Fox, 1749-1806. s.
 Talleyrand, 1754-1838. s.
 Mozart, 1756-91. p.
 Hamilton, 1757-1804. s.
 Robespierre, 1758-94. s.
 Nelson, 1758-1805. i.
 Pitt, 1759-1806. i.
 Burns, 1759-96. i.
 Schiller, 1759-1805. i.
 Fichte, 1762-1814. s.
 Malthus, 1766-1844. p.
 Chateaubriand, 1768-1848. p.
 Napoleon, 1769-1821. s.
 Wellington, 1769-1852. i.
 Beethoven, 1770-1827. i.
 Wordsworth, 1770-1850. p.
 Hegel, 1770-1831. s.
 Scott, 1771-1832. p.
 Metternich, 1773-1859. i.
 Schelling, 1775-1854. s.
 Turner, 1775-1851. i.
 Webster, 1782-1852. i.
 Bolivar, 1783-1830. i.
 Byron, 1788-1824. s.
 Peel, 1788-1850. i.
 Schopenhauer, 1788-1860. s.
 Shelley, 1792-1822. s.
 Meyerbeer, 1794-1864. p.
 Carlyle, 1795-1881. s.
 Ranke, 1795-1866. s.
 Keats, 1795-1821. i.
 Heine, 1797-1856. s.
 Schubert, 1797-1828. i.
 Michelet, 1798-1874. s.
 Comte, 1798-1857. s.
 Balzac, 1799-1850. s.
 Macauley, 1800-59. i.
 Moltke, 1800-91. i.
 Hugo, 1802-85. s.
 Dumas, 1802-70. s.
 Emerson, 1803-82. s.
 Sand, 1804-76. p.
 Disraeli, 1805-81. i.
 Mill, 1806-73. s.
 E. B. Browning, 1806-61. p.
 Longfellow, 1807-82. p.
 Darwin, 1809-82. s.
 Mendelssohn, 1809-47. p.
 Lincoln, 1809-65. p.
 Tennyson, 1809-92. p.
 Gladstone, 1809-98. p.
 Cavour, 1810-61. s.
 Dickens, 1812-70. i.
 R. Browning, 1812-89. p.
 Wagner, 1813-83. s.
 Bismarck, 1815-98. s.
 Ruskin, 1819-1900. s.
 Spencer, 1820-1903. s.
 George Eliot, 1820-80. s.
 Grant, 1822-85. i.
 Arnold, 1822-88. s.
 Renan, 1823-92. s.

Huxley, 1825-95. s.

Rossetti, 1828-82. p.

Ibsen, 1828-1906. s.

Taine, 1829-93. s.

Tolstoy, 1828-1910. p.

Grouping these men by centuries (counting in each period those born in its first half and in the last half of the previous century) we get the following results:

CENTURY.	RELIGIOUS.	PIOUS.	INDIFFERENT.	SKEPTICAL.
12th	5	0	0	0
13th	5	1	0	0
14th	4	2	3	0
15th	6	3	2	0
16th	7	11	10	4
17th	3	14	16	8
18th	4	5	7	18
19th	0	16	18	32

Reducing this table to percentage:

CENTURY.	RELIGIOUS.	PIOUS.	INDIFFERENT.	SKEPTICAL.
12th	100	0	0	0
13th	83	17	0	0
14th	44	22	33	0
15th	54	27	18	0
16th	22	34	31	13
17th	7	34	39	20
18th	12	15	21	53
19th	0	24	27	48

The result is too striking to need comment. The religious class has been reduced by enormous amounts in the 13th, 14th, 16th, 17th and 19th centuries, and from one hundred percent of the whole to zero. Whereas all the men who attained the highest distinction in the 12th century made it their lifework to serve Christianity, none of those in the 19th century have done so. The class of those who, though in secular callings, evinced sincere piety shows much less striking variations, it may figuratively be said to gain from one side what it loses on the other. The class of those who showed slight interest in religion first appears in the 14th century, declines in the 15th, and rises to its maximum in the 17th. The two hundred years following the Protestant revolt were a period of transi-

tion from the fervent piety of the Middle Ages to the secularity of modern times. It was then, consequently, that the two middle classes reached their maximum, at the expense of the extremes. Great men on the whole hostile to religion are absent from the four centuries preceding the Reformation; are a small group in the 16th century, gain markedly in the 17th, and reach their maximum, the enormous figure of more than half the total number, in the age of Voltaire and the "enlightenment." In the last century this class loses a trifle, though a slightly smaller per cent than that of the indifferents gains. The 18th century was that in which the warfare of science and theology was hottest, and consequently both the extreme classes gained at the expense of the moderates. In the 19th century men began to feel, as Osler phrased it, that the battle of Armageddon had been fought and lost; their attacks on an institution which had ceased to be dangerous, and which some regarded as moribund, lost part of the fierceness of the battle waged by their grandfathers.

Notwithstanding some fluctuation, the most impressive generalization which can be drawn from the whole table is its constancy. With the exception of the fifteenth century, every period shows a loss for the conservatives and a gain for the radicals. The general trend of ebbing faith, at least among the intellectuals, is still more strongly emphasized by a combination and consolidation of the figures given above, taking two centuries at a time and fusing the four classes into two. This procedure is certainly legitimate. Religion would not long survive if nobody cared for it more than apparently did Shakespeare and Walpole. They may have been unwilling to attack it, but neither would they labor for it or risk much in its cause. The grouping under two classes, known by the names of the extremes, is then as follows:

CENTURY.	RELIGIOUS NO.	SKEPTICAL NO.	RELIGIOUS %	SKEPTICAL %
12th and 13th	11	0	100	0
14th and 15th	15	5	75	25
16th and 17th	35	38	48	52
18th and 19th	25	75	25	75

The regularity of this table is remarkable. Beginning with 100% the devotees of religion lose almost exactly 25% every two centuries, beginning with 0, the skeptics increase by about 25% each two hundred years.

Speculation as to the future is the most fascinating of idle pas-

times. It is difficult to believe that the forces which have been steadily at work for at least eight centuries should suddenly stop, or greatly alter their direction and velocity. If they do continue to operate at approximately the same speed, it is plain that practically all of the distinguished men born between 1850 and 2050 will be indifferent to and skeptical of, popular Christianity. And if this is so the masses will slowly but surely follow their leaders. Thought is a fermenting yeast, which, even in the small quantities the world has yet been able to produce, has always in the long run leavened the inert mass of common dough. Great is the spirit of the people, and powerfully does it color the thought of even the greatest minds, but it in turn is eventually tinged with the color of its deepest thinkers. Perhaps it would be truer to say that the mind of the masses and that of the intellectuals react on each other, so that their content, while always a little different, constantly tends to approximate. It is therefore impossible to see in democracy, the triumph of the average man, a force permanently conservative of religion. It may not even be a retarding force, for the last two centuries have been both the most democratic and the least devout, and the socialists, those radical democrats, are also inclined to be hostile to the churches, in which they see champions of outworn privilege.

But, barring those unpredictable factors which usually play a large part in the course of events, there are two ways in which we can conceive how the decline of religion may be stopped. The example of France lends color to the theory that little faith and a low birthrate go together, though, to be sure, the example of teeming Germany contradicts it, for the Teuton is almost as rationalistic as the Frank. If, however, this rule were found to be generally true, it is plain that the religious nations would supplant the infidel ones. This is but another way of stating that by selection nature will conserve those attributes of a race which are most useful to its preservation, without regard to the abstract question of whether those attributes conform to alien standards, such as those of science. Many men have called love a delusion, but if so, it is one so necessary to the preservation of the race that it must always be a powerful operative force. So it *may* be with religion—among the masses. Again it is imaginable that Christianity may conquer in Asia as much as it loses in Europe and America. But speculations as to the future are as inconclusive as they are alluring. At present almost all that can be done is to make a careful survey of the past.

THE BOOK OF ESTHER.

BY AARON P. DRUCKER.

THE story of Esther as related in the Bible is familiar to us all. In it we read of a Jewish girl who opportunely became queen of Persia and through her position was enabled to save her people from the machinations of the viceroy Haman, who was plotting to bring about their destruction. This story has about it certain peculiarities which may well puzzle the student.

In the first place, it is far beneath the standard of the other books of the Bible in its ethical conception. (a) Mordecai's advice to Esther to conceal the fact of her being a Jewess is, to say the least, cowardly and not at all in keeping with the conduct of other biblical personages in similar circumstances, such as Jonah and Daniel. (b) The last chapters of the book reek with innocent blood which was shed for no good reason. Esther, as a Jewish woman from whom we would justly expect kindness and pity, insists upon the Jews avenging themselves upon the Gentiles, and in consequence seventy-five thousand people are killed. And when the king asks her again what is her desire, she answers in an unwomanly and inhuman manner that she would have Shushan given over to slaughter for another day. This demand, aside from being immoral, un-Jewish and unwomanly, was dangerous and impolitic; for Esther should have thought of the future when there would be no Jewish queen to protect her people, when the Gentiles, having the upper hand once more, would surely avenge her atrocities. (c) Again, the demand that the ten sons of Haman be executed because of their father's guilt is against the Jewish law as expressed in Deuteronomy, where it is plainly set forth that fathers shall not be put to death for the sins of their children, nor the children for the sins of their fathers.¹

¹ Deut. xxiv. 17.

From an historical point of view the book again presents numerous incongruities and difficulties. (*a*) Thus it is usually supposed to have been written during the Persian supremacy over Judea, yet no reference whatever is made to any contemporary Jewish event; neither are any Jewish worthies of the time—Ezra, Nehemiah, Zerubbabel, or the late prophets—mentioned. (*b*) No allusion is made to the people of Judea, to the temple, sacrifices, or any other Jewish institution. (*c*) No truly religious idea is expressed in the book even where there would have been occasion for doing so, as the offering of a prayer or allusion to God's direct intervention. (*d*) In the whole book the name of God is not even mentioned, a phenomenon very unusual in Jewish writing. (*e*) The Book of Esther does not prescribe any religious services or ceremonies for Purim; it simply enjoins that they should "make them (Purim) days of feasting and joy, and of sending portions one to another, and gifts to the poor." (*f*) Jewish contemporary history does not know of the personages of the book: (i) None of the apocryphal writings refer to this miraculous escape of the Jews from destruction. (ii) Ben Sirach, in his enumeration of the Jewish worthies² seemed to be ignorant of a Jewish queen of Persia and of a Jewish viceroy. (iii) The feast of Purim is not mentioned by any of the ancient writers, being referred to for the first time in Jewish history by Josephus.³ (iv) Second Maccabees has the day of Mordecai fall on the 14th of Adar, which would show that there was no agreement as to the name of the festival in Judea.⁴

The book presents glaring incongruities. (*a*) In ii. 5 we are told that Mordecai was one of the captives taken along with Jehoniah (Jehoiakim), King of Judah, by Nebuchadnezzar. This incident took place in 596 B. C. But the Esther incident is supposed to have occurred in the twelfth year of the reign of Xerxes; i. e., about one hundred and twenty-two years after the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. It is rather hard to believe that Mordecai, at the age of at least one hundred and twenty-five or thirty years, should be called upon to assume the responsibilities of viceroy of Persia. (*b*) Every one about the Persian court knew that Mordecai was the uncle of Esther, for he communicated often with her. He was also called Mordecai the Jew, and was therefore known as belonging to that race. Yet no one seems to have known that

² Ecclesiasticus xliv-xlix.

³ Ant. XI, 186.

⁴ 2 Mac. xv. 36.

Esther, his niece, was a Jewess. (*c*) We are told further (iii. 6) that Haman determined to kill all the Jews of Persia, because Mordecai, the Jew, would not bow down before him. Yet in another portion of the narrative (vi. 13) Haman's family and friends seem to be ignorant of Mordecai's race. (*d*) Ahasuerus first authorizes Haman to destroy the Jews by giving him the royal signet ring (iii. 10). Later, however, he is much surprised by the information Esther gives him regarding Haman's decree for the destruction of the Jews (vi. 5). (*e*) No Jew in the days of the Persian empire would have dared to disobey the laws of the king and refuse, as did Mordecai in the story, to bow down before the viceroy of the realm. (*f*) The description of the Jews put in the mouth of Haman would hardly fit the Jews at the time of the Persian empire, inasmuch as they were then living only in three places, Egypt, Babylon and Palestine.

There are also several statements made in the Book of Esther which are contradictory to Persian law and custom,—so much so as to place the writer or writers of the book under suspicion of ignorance of Persia and its institutions. (*a*) For instance, the suggestion given by one of the courtiers of Ahasuerus and the edict in accordance with this suggestion,—that the maidens of all nations be gathered at Shushan in order that from their midst might be selected a successor to Queen Vashti—was against all Persian laws and customs. (*b*) The choice of Esther as queen was in opposition to the law of Avesta and the testimony of Herodotus.⁵ (*c*) Persian history knows of no Persian queen named Vashti or Esther. (*d*) Again, the appointment of two foreigners—Haman the Agagite, and Mordecai the Benjamite—as viceroys of Persia is not compatible with Persian custom; nor does Persian history mention these names. (*e*) Likewise the issuing of decrees in the languages of all the provinces, as recorded in the book (i. 22; iii. 12), was not the customary method of issuing decrees in the Persian realm. The Persian and Babylonian languages were the only ones used in all. (*f*) It would seem from the book that no one could approach the king unsummoned under pain of death; but from what we know of the Persian monarchs, we can infer that they were not so inaccessible. (*g*) Again, that the queen should not be able to see the king, or even send him a message, is a strange custom in any oriental monarchy. (*h*) Persia never was divided into one hundred

⁵ The Greek historian says (III, 84) that the Persian queen was selected only from among the seven noblest families of Persia. No other woman could ever become queen.

and twenty-seven states or governments. Herodotus tells us that it was divided into twenty; and the inscriptions, that it was divided into twenty-seven. (i) The king could not issue the laws ascribed to him in Esther without consulting his councillors. He is made first to give an order for a massacre of the Jews of his realm, and then to change the order so that it applied to the Gentiles. This procedure was not in accordance with the laws of the Persians as we know them. (j) The city of Shushan, the capital of the empire seems to side with the Jews, and feel very deeply for them in their trouble,—a state of things which is rather singular in view of the fact that Shushan was inhabited mainly by Persians.

Other peculiarities of the book are: (a) The accumulation of coincidents and contrasts which is characteristic of fiction rather than of actual history. In particular is this seen in the entrance of Haman to ask the king's permission to hang Mordecai at the very hour when the latter's good record of service to the monarch is being read. (b) The names of the characters. The names Mordecai and Esther are not Jewish, but rather Babylonian. In fact there is not a Jewish character in the entire book. We may go even a step further and say that with the exception of King Ahasuerus, who is supposedly King Xerxes (485-465 B. C.), the names are all names of gods and goddesses and not of human beings at all. Vashti is an old goddess of the Iranians, the forefathers of the Persians and Hindus.⁸ Esther, again, is Babylonian, identical with Ishtar, the goddess of fertility. Hadassah (=myrtle-bride), was used as a title for the same goddess Ishtar during her ceremony. Mordecai is the Babylonian god Marduk. Haman is identical with Homan, god of Elam and the inveterate enemy of Marduk, god of Babylon. Zeresh is Gerusha or Kirisha, an Elamite goddess.

From all that was said before, it is clear not only that the story is not based upon facts in Jewish history, but also that the writer was not a Jew. Otherwise there can be no reason assigned for the departure of the Book of Esther from the other biblical compositions and ideas. In all probability the Hebrews translated it from some other language, inserting the names of Jews in order to Judaize it. The question would therefore be: Who wrote this story originally, and what was the nationality of the author? The names of the various characters—Mordecai, Esther, Haman, and Vashti—are names of divinities known to us from Babylonian

⁸The name Vashti is still a favorite one with the old Gypsies who are supposed to be of the old Iranian stock. See Leland, *The Gypsies*.

history; hence they would seem more appropriate in a Babylonian than in a Jewish story. As a Babylonian story, the book would recount the great victory of Marduk and Ishtar, the gods of Babylon, over their inveterate enemies, Homan and Vashti, the gods of Elam. We know from history that these two nations, Babylon and Elam, were constantly at war with each other.⁷ For this reason the majority of scholars are inclined to believe that the Esther story was really a Babylonian composition, telling of the fight of Marduk, the god of Babylon, with Homan, the god of Elam. If we should remove what are obviously interpolations made by the Hebrew translators—such as all references to the Jewish people—we would be even more convinced that the story belongs to Babylon and is a panegyric upon Marduk and his triumph over Homan.

Professor Zimmern accordingly finds a prototype of the Esther story in the Babylonian creation epic. Homan and Vashti, the deities of the hostile Elamites, are the equivalent of Kingu and Tiamat, the powers of darkness; while Marduk and Ishtar are gods of light and order who finally overcome the former two. The seven eunuchs in Esther and the seven viziers are the *annunaki* and *igigi*, the spirits of the upper and the lower worlds, according to Winckler.⁸ Ahasuerus represents the *summus deus*, the abiding element, in which the contradictions of nature find their reconciliation.

Professor Jensen finds the prototype of the story in the Gilgamesh epic. We are told that Gilgamesh, the sun-god of Erech and counterpart of the later Marduk, the sun-god of Babylon, is the hero of an expedition against Humbaba (a compound form of the name Human or Humbar), King of Elam. Now this Humbaba is the custodian of a lofty cedar that belongs to the goddess Irnina (Ishtar). Humbaba is killed by Gilgamesh, who has on his side a goddess called Kallata (Hadassah or "bride"). With the unification of Babylon under the rule of the city of Babylon, this legend became the national epic, and the exploits of Gilgamesh were transformed to his counterpart, Marduk, the tutelary deity of the city of Babylon. Here, then, we have the nucleus for the story of the Book of Esther. Marduk, with the aid of Hadassah or Esther, overcomes his hereditary enemy Homan, the god of Elam.

To this explanation the objection is offered that the Gilgamesh story lacks the later coloring which the Book of Esther possesses

⁷ *History of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, by Professor Goodspeed.

⁸ H. Winckler, "Die Istar von Nineve in Egypten," *Mitteilungen d. vorder-asiatischen Gesellschaft*, 286-289.

to such a high degree. Gunkel therefore modifies this theory so that the Book of Esther becomes an account of the struggle between Babylon and Persia, which in turn is a reflection of the century-long battle for supremacy between Babylon and Elam, ending with the victory of the former.⁹ Hence the prominence given to Esther or Ishtar in the original story, to show that Erech, the city of Ishtar, not Babylon, the city of Marduk, was the leader in the war of emancipation from Elam. The subsequent turning over of her authority to Marduk and the latter's exaltation correspond to the subsequent supremacy of Babylon, Marduk's city, over the whole country.

These explanations, however, do not clear up the matter entirely. For instance, they do not account for Shushan, rather than Babylon, becoming the center of activity. Neither do they explain why Ahasuerus holds the supreme position, deciding the fates of the other gods. In fact, they do not give any reason why Persia is here the supreme power.

In order, therefore, to discover the date of this book, we must turn to the work itself and see what details it provides in regard to the date of its composition. From what was previously said, it is clear that no Jew could have composed this book, which is a panegyric on the Babylonian god Marduk. Neither could its author have been an Elamite or a Persian, neither of whom would be interested in the triumph of the Semitic gods. It must therefore have been a Babylonian who wrote this story. This theory would at once account for the names of the heroes of the book. Again, we can say with certainty that it must have been written after the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, in 536 B. C.; for otherwise a Persian king would not have been exalted as the *summus deus*, to decide the fate of the Babylonian and Elamite gods. And the same reason will also prove that the Book of Esther could not have been written after the fall of the Persian empire; for the author is too submissive to Persia, and Alexander the Great or one of his successors would have been represented as the great power of the empire. Hence we can assert positively that this story must have been composed somewhere between the years 536 and 330 B. C.,—the latter being the date of the fall of the Persian empire.

The Book of Esther gives us, however, more particular data concerning the date of its composition. We are told, for instance, that the capital of the empire was at Shushan, and that the empire was divided into one hundred and twenty-seven satrapies. From

⁹ Gunkel, H., *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*, 1895.

Persian history we know that Darius Hystaspes (522-485 B. C.) was the one who made Shushan the capital of Persia, and divided the empire into satrapies (27). Hence Esther must have been written after these reforms were instituted by Darius.¹⁰ The story must therefore have been written between the years 485 and 330 B. C., before the rise and greatness of Alexander of Macedon.

Before proceeding further with our investigation, it will be necessary to ascertain whether the story was built upon an historical basis or not. Besides the intrinsic interest that this question possesses, it may also help us to determine more particularly the date of composition. If this plot is based on fact, and it tells of a threatened deposition of Marduk, the god of Babylon, by his inveterate enemy Homan, we will have to seek for the historical basis in the Persian treatment of Babylon.

A study of Persian and Babylonian history will disclose the fact that Marduk's supremacy over the Semitic world was actually threatened by the Persian empire several times during Persian control over Babylon. The first time, his power was threatened by Cyrus, who was himself an Elamite from the city of Ashan. When Babylon fell, many expected that the days of glory for Marduk were at an end also;¹¹ and that now his cult would be supplanted by that of his enemy the Elamite god Homan. It turned out, however, that Cyrus was more of a statesman than a fanatic, and he not only did not depose Marduk from his position of tutelary deity of Babylon, but he even kissed the hand of the Babylonian god and gave him credit for the late victory he had achieved.¹² Had we no other data in the Book of Esther than this, we might be tempted to conclude that the story was based upon this attitude of Cyrus toward Marduk; but in addition to the fact that in Esther the king is already recognized as superior to Marduk, who is simply a viceroy, there are other details of the story which do not agree with actual conditions of the time of Cyrus. Thus Shushan is given as the capital of Persia, whereas, as was stated previously, Shushan did not become the capital until the reign of Darius. And the story can not in any way be made to coincide with the life of Darius; because while he had great trouble with Babylon, which twice rebelled against him,¹³ we never find that he was gracious to her and submitted to her god. Probably for the very reason of the

¹⁰ Sir George Rawlinson, *A Manual of Ancient History*, p. 90.

¹¹ Isaiah xlv. 1.

¹² E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, p. 129.

¹³ Sir George Rawlinson. *A Manual of Ancient History*, pp. 89-90.

rebellion of Babylon he made the capital of his empire Shushan which had been the capital of Elam and the rival of Babylon. But the recent investigations of Prof. Eduard Meyer¹⁴ brought to light facts which make it probable that Xerxes I (485-465 B. C.) was the Ahasuerus of Esther and that the plot has an historical basis. We are told by Prof. Meyer that in the first year of his reign Xerxes had a great Babylonian rebellion on his hands. The Babylonians killed the satrap Zopyrus, who was appointed by Darius, and proclaimed their independence of Persia, because the new king had acted impiously and in a spirit of mockery towards their god Marduk. In the bloody punitive war that followed, Babylon was mercilessly chastised, many of her old privileges were taken away, the statue of Marduk was taken captive to Shushan, and probably his temple was destroyed. Babylon's power was now at an end and her spirit entirely broken. Not very long after the suppression of the Babylonian rebellion, Xerxes became involved in a war with Greece. According to Herodotus (VII. 5), Xerxes was not inclined to go to war with the Hellenes; he wished first to reorganize his dominion on a sound basis. It was due only to the persuasion of the Greek Mardonius that he at last consented to declare war. But before going to Europe, he felt the need to reconcile the Semitic peoples of Asia. Although these peoples did not serve the Babylonian god Marduk, but worshiped instead the goddess Ishtar, yet they all considered themselves related to the injured Babylonians. The city itself, it is true, was too weak to give Xerxes any trouble, yet the other Semites were all ready to take her part; for they still remembered the days of her greatness, and even now she was still the religious center of the East. In order not to leave a powerful enemy behind him, Xerxes determined to conciliate the fallen city by restoring her privileges to her, rebuilding her temple, and bringing back the statue of Marduk. He thus obtained the goodwill of the Semitic peoples of Asia and assured himself against an attack from the rear.¹⁵ There was great rejoicing in Babylon over the unexpected good news of the king's conciliatory measures. The city acknowledged gratefully his kindness and celebrated the occasion with festal pomp and solemn worship.

The Babylonian priests, in their exultation, doubtless interpreted this event to mean a personal victory for Marduk over his old foe, Homan, whom they symbolically represented as the king's evil genius. As was their custom the priests therefore embodied

¹⁴ *Geschichte des Altertums*, pp. 130-131.

¹⁵ Robinson Southar, *A Short History of Ancient Peoples*, p. 168.

this victory in a dramatic performance, building their plot about an old nucleus in which Homan, Zeresh, and Vashti on the one hand, contended against Marduk and Ishtar on the other, being eventually defeated by the latter two. A few dramatic devices still remain in evidence in the story, even after its translation into Hebrew and its conversion into a prose account. Among these devices are: (a) the dramatic intensity of the plot; (b) the spectacular presentation; (c) certain technical devices, such as the idea that no one could come before the king unless summoned by him, creating as it does a fine dramatic situation and immediately placing the audience in a state of breathless suspense to know what will happen. (d) Another dramatic device is in the startling coincidence, rarely encountered in reality or even in fiction, of Haman's entering to demand the life of Mordecai at the very instant when the latter's good record is being read to the king. (e) A final dramatic situation is to be found in the scene near the end where Esther tells the king of her anxiety over her people and of Haman's machinations, and the king in anger leaves the room. Haman in the meantime is made to beg his life of the queen, falling, as he does so, upon the couch whereon she is reclining. The king, returning at this moment, finds him in this compromising situation, and this so incenses him that he orders the viceroy executed forthwith, and Mordecai invested with the offices and dignities of the fallen favorite.

Thus it would seem that the plot of the original Esther was based upon an historical event which took place in the days of Xerxes. This conclusion is borne out by the recent discoveries in the excavations, from which it appears that Ahashuarosh and Xerxes are really one and the same.¹⁶

We know, moreover, that the Babylonians had dramatic presentations in their seven-staired temples, the descent of Ishtar being an example of these performances. And just as to-day the ministers in the churches take hold of an old theme and by a few changes and new interpretations make it applicable to present conditions, even so the Babylonian priests and playwrights took for a nucleus old material like the war between Marduk and Homan, and applying it to their then conditions, presented it on their festivals. (Just as Goethe used the names of Mephistopheles and Faust—both old names—for his new drama.¹⁷)

¹⁶ See Paton in the *International Critical Commentary*, "Esther," p. 53; also Paul Haupt, *Purim*, Note 1, p. 23.

¹⁷ See Haupt, *Purim*.

The questions that would now suggest themselves are: (a) When was the translation into the Hebrew made? (b) What changes did the Jewish translator make from the original? (c) What was his purpose in making the translation? (d) When was the Esther story adopted into the canon?

In order to be able to answer these questions, we must attempt to discover and establish the origin of the feast of Purim among the Jews. The origin of the Purim festival is puzzling to historians and Hebrew scholars. The name was not known in Jewish history up to the time of Josephus; yet its peculiar observances go back to a very remote period. Thus Purim has two days of celebration,—the one called simply *Purim*, the other called *Shushan Purim*. Only one of the days was celebrated by the people,—unfortified cities observing the first day, falling on the fourteenth of Adar, while people inhabiting fortified cities kept the second day, the fifteenth of Adar. But, says the Talmud, only such fortified cities count for celebrating the fifteenth of Adar as had a tower around them since the days of Joshua the son of Nun.¹⁸ What relation Purim, which according to the biblical account, is celebrated in commemoration of an event which took place in the time of Xerxes (485-465 B. C.), had to Joshua, the son of Nun, who lived about 1100 B. C., is hard to conjecture. It does, however, point to the fact that Purim might be a festival going far back, even to the days of Joshua. There is, moreover, a statement in the Talmud to the effect that with the arrival of the Millenium, all the old Jewish holidays will be abolished, excepting Purim which will remain forever.¹⁹ This saying would seem to indicate that the day of Purim had struck deep roots in Israel. Another indication that Purim is an old holiday is the form of the bread which Jewish women bake for that day. Every Jewish festival has its special traditional form of bread, and that of Purim is in the shape of a triangle, filled with poppyseeds and known as Haman's Pocket. This is probably a remnant of the days of the old pagan worship, and the form of the bread was meant to represent the human form. Indeed another indication of the great antiquity of the day is the fact that the real meaning of the name is forgotten—for the biblical etymology is very doubtful.

The only explanation of this paradoxical feature of the festival—that on the one hand it is nowhere mentioned until very late, and on the other that its ceremonies point toward an extremely

¹⁸ Mishna, I. 1.

¹⁹ Talmud Jerusalmi, *Meg.* 15a.

remote date—is that it was an old Semitic holiday, commemorated on the fourteenth and fifteenth of Adar, and that, like many other Canaanitish customs, it was adopted by the Children of Israel on their entrance into Palestine. As the festival was known to be a pagan holiday, the prophets fought against its observance as they did against all other heathenish practices. Indeed it may be that Jeremiah had in mind one of the Purim ceremonies when he denounced the people for making dough images of the heavenly constellations.²⁰

But in spite of the prophetic opposition, the festival persisted in Israel even after the return of the Jews from the Exile. As the people during their captivity in Babylon had had no direct contact with the Canaanites and Canaanitish customs, they kept up certain old observances and ceremonies without knowing their exact reason or origin. In fact, some Semitic pagan customs are maintained to this day among the Jews, although they are not mentioned in the Bible and are ignored by the scribes and rabbis. Such ceremonies are, for instance, the monthly sanctification of the moon, and the custom of *Kapporath* on the day preceding *Yom Kippur*. These and other rites have been kept up to the present time, even though they are not found in the scriptures and are not even mentioned in the Talmud, being preserved by verbal tradition. The same was true in the case of Purim. In the days of the second temple, many of its quaint usages and rites were observed out of love for old rites; but the reason and origin of the festival were entirely forgotten. This idea is substantiated by the fact that the festival of Purim is found among all old Semitic peoples the world over,—*Pur* being a good Semitic word encountered in most of the Semitic languages. And possibly the Babylonian festival, where this story of Marduk and Homan was presented, was also called *Purim*. In all probability a Jew who happened to witness one of these Babylonian presentations of the play of Marduk, being delighted to find here a reference to an old festival observed by his own people without their knowing anything of its origin, and noticing that even the same word *Purim* was used in that play, freely translated it into Hebrew and made it fit for a Jewish audience. Without the least hesitation, then, this man Judaized Ishtar into Esther, and made of the god Marduk Mordecai, the Jew, of the tribe of Benjamin. Homan, the god of Elam, he simply transformed into Haman, an imaginary inveterate enemy of the Jews. In the original play, the Babylonian gods, the satellites of

²⁰ Jeremiah vii. 18; also xlv. 15.

Marduk, were to be destroyed by the Elamite adversary Homan. The Jewish translator unconcernedly substituted Judeans for the Babylonian deities. In this way he changed a celestial revolution into an imaginary massacre of innocent human beings, and an old myth of a war between gods in heaven into a miraculous Jewish salvation.

When this translation was made and whether its adoption by the Jews was immediate, is of course now impossible to determine. The first reference to a celebration on the fourteenth and fifteenth day of Adar is made in the Second Maccabees; but there the festival is called the *Day of Mordecai*. Whether this was the original name for Purim or whether it was another festival is an unsettled question among scholars. At any rate, Josephus was the first to refer to the story of Esther and the festival instituted in memory of the delivery of the Jews recorded in that story. But as we have seen, the ceremonies of the day and its memories point to a hoary antiquity, to the days of Joshua. This explanation would countenance the hypothesis of numerous scholars that the Purim festival was adopted by the Jews either from the Canaanites, or even earlier, from their neighbors, the original Semites, in celebration of the return of spring. On those festivals a human being was immolated and hanged on a tree. This sacrificial victim, who was chosen by lot from among the captives, represented the god of the enemy. Among the Elamites, the captive's name was made Marduk; among the Babylonians and the other Semites, the victim represented Homan, the god of the Elamites. Later, however, when the Jews abolished human sacrifices, they substituted an image of dough for the human being, but still to represent the original Homan. But the Purim festival being entirely pagan, fell into disrepute with the prophets, and was only observed by the lower classes of people. After the Exile the origin of the festival was entirely forgotten, yet its ceremonies lingered among the masses and especially the women, who are ever the last to give up any ceremony in which they are participants. It was therefore a relief to many when later the Book of Esther appeared which alleged that the Purim festival was a good Jewish holiday, observed in memory of a miraculous rescue of the Jewish people from the hands of their enemies. Henceforth this story of Esther was accepted into the canon, and the old feast of Purim was reinstated in the calendar as a legitimate Jewish holiday.

THE ROMANCE OF A TIBETAN QUEEN.

BY THE EDITOR.

TIBET is still a country of mystery to western people, but we are more and more gaining an insight into the character of the Tibetan nationality. One of the main and salient features of the life of the Tibetans is their intense religious sentiment which expresses itself in their political institutions and above all in their literature. Dr. Berthold Laufer of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, has recently translated a novel relating an episode in the life of a Tibetan queen which was written at an early date, perhaps before the year 1000 of the Christian era.¹ The earliest mention of this story dates back to 1231 A. D., in which year a copy of the book was discovered in a grotto in the shape of a single long roll of yellow paper, and it was reprinted at that period. Another reprint made in the 14th century under the government of Pag-Mo-Gru as a revised edition, and forming the basis of other manuscripts different from the first one found in the grotto, was published in 1652 at the request of the regent Sans-Rgyas Rgya-Mts'o, who had the printing blocks carved and the story printed in a Tibetan monastery in the year 1674. A third print was made almost simultaneously in another monastery, and a fourth one under the patronage of the fifth Dalai Lama, who, though the book belonged to the literati of the Red School, sanctioned it for use in the monastery of the orthodox Yellow Church. Among the recent republications of this Tibetan novel, one has appeared in Peking (1839) under the auspices of the head tribunal of the Yellow sect in Peking.

The text of our book is in prose, and any one who wants to acquaint himself with Tibetan sentiments would do well to familiarize himself with the style of the stories which the Tibetan public enjoy.

The Tibetan mind is at once passionate and religious. The story begins with the building of a temple and its inauguration.

¹ Berthold Laufer, *Der Roman einer tibetischen Königin*, Leipsic, Harrassowitz, 1911.

The symbolism representing the three aspects of Buddhahood as the three stories of a building is set forth. The ground floor represents Nirmanakaya or India; the second floor, Sambhogakaya or China; and the third or highest floor, the Dharmakaya or Tibet. Nirmanakaya is Buddhahood in the shape of transformations representing the evolution of life on earth towards its aim of Buddhahood, including the Buddha himself. It corresponds approximately to the Christian idea of Christhood finding its summation in the Saviour himself. The second, Sambhogakaya, the body of bliss, corresponds to the Christian conception of God the Father; and Dharmakaya, the body of the good law, represents the Christian Holy Ghost as the spirit of religion, the principle and ideal type of religion.

The hymns are inserted which were sung at the inauguration by the great teacher Padmasambhava (sometimes called the "great man of Udyana," or the "great master" or "teacher") and his disciples. Although they interrupt the progress of the narrative, the reader feels that they are essential portions of the novel because they throw light on the effectiveness of religious spells, blessings as well as curses. The teacher Padmasambhava sings four songs, of which the last reads thus in an English translation (pp. 125-126):

"When the trinity Buddha, Dharma and Sangha,
According to custom are gathered together,
It strikes like thunder into the head of the five hostile poisons.

"The trinity knife, arrow and spear
Strikes like thunder into the hearts of young men in their prime.

"The trinity magic-spell, contemplation and spiritual arms
As used by venerable magicians
Strikes like thunder into the head of the treacherous hostile demons."

From a hymn of joy sung by the lords we quote the following stanzas (p. 127):

"Living beings tread the path of salvation to the fields on high,
The Tibetan people have entered upon the ten virtues.
The wise one of Za-Hor, the Bodhisatva, has appeared.
How glad am I that we no longer are drawn down towards evil.

"We renounce the ten sins, the pillar of the doctrine;
The signs of the teacher which we have made our own are dear to our hearts;
Leaving off the doings of the transient world we turn to the ten religious exercises.
How delighted am I to know Buddha's course of life!"

It will be noticed here that the ten sins, the ten religious exercises and other enumerations are presupposed to be well known to the reader. They must be considered as an essential characteristic of the Tibetan novel.

The king of the country mentioned in this novel is the Dharma-*raja* K'ri-sron *Iden-btsan*, who invites the great man of Udyana, Padmasambhava, to enter the temple and lecture on the good religion. One of his disciples, Vairocana, second only to his master, is the hero of the story. The queen falls in love with him. She is impressed with his beauty and with the truth of his teachings, and so, on various pretexts, she sends away the king and her children as well as all her attendants, invites the pious monk into the house and declares to him her infatuation. She speaks to him (pages 145-6), the passage reading in English translation thus: "Master I have invited thee to sGan-snon rtse-dgu because love of thee hath seized me. While always thinking of the Master I have been inflamed with love for thee, Master, because beauty dwells in thy countenance and in thy words the truth. But unconcerned by all this thou sayest nothing; unconcerned by all this, thou wert not born of woman." Thereupon Vairocana leaves the palace saying that if he were seen there the good religion would suffer. The queen is full of wrath and vengeance. She tears her clothes and scratches her face, and when her servants appear she accuses Vairocana to them of having insulted her with offers of illicit love.

Vairocana leaves the country and on the way meets a smith by whom he is well received. Since the smith's wife characterizes the stranger as being gentle in speech and majestic in appearance, having on his head the tonsure that proves him to be a priest and carrying books in his hand, they provide him with food and speed him on his way. In the meantime the smith's wife misses an ornament, and accuses the monk of having stolen it. The smith follows and shoots at him, but the arrow sticks in the book which Vairocana carries and leaves him unhurt. The bow, however, changes into gold and the arrow into turquoise because it has touched a pious man, and the monk informs the smith that he has not stolen the ornament but that their child carried it away and it would be found in the sweepings of the house.

In the meantime the king, who, bent on killing Vairocana, is following him in hot pursuit, reaches the smith's house and hears of the miracles that have been performed. Therefore instead of doing any harm to the suspected monk, he bows low as soon as he overtakes the priest, and asks him to return. The answer of Vairo-

cana reads as follows: "Faithful king and dear ruler, woman's works are like the strong poison *hala*; the beings who consume it are doomed to death. Woman's works are like *raksasi* at work; those who are seized by this whirlpool are doomed to a speedy death. Woman's works are like the pit of hell; those who are caught in this whirlpool seize upon dirt. Woman's works are like the prison of the circle of life; he who is contaminated thereby has no chance to partake of salvation. Woman's works are like the mischief of Mara; who comes in contact therewith will experience immeasurable misery. In my soul there is no germ of passion; since there is naught of it in my soul how could it originate in my body?"

Thus he preaches on the mischief of woman's works and refuses to return. The king is very sad at having lost this valuable priest, and in his anger begins to curse the queen, Ba dMar-rgyan. The result is that one of the evil spirits, the great Naga Nanda, enters her body as a spider and causes her to be seized with leprosy. The queen calls upon a soothsayer, a woman skilled in magic and prophecy, but all her efforts to cure the disease are in vain; and finally the soothsayer says nothing can help her unless she will confess the sin by which she has brought this disease upon herself. Yet "the queen confessed her guilt in her heart but not with her mouth" (page 163).

The king, however, called to his assistance the great man of Udyana, Padmasambhava, who in turn called his disciple Vairocana. Now at last the queen confessed her sin. She said to the great man in the presence of all: "Oh, light of the doctrine, treasure of Udyana, I am a passionate being. Although in the change of transmigration the monk Vairocana is no longer subject to rebirth, I felt towards him a powerful love because when I looked at his body I saw beauty, when I listened to his words I heard truth. Desire went out to him from my soul again and again. Seeking an opportunity one morning, I sent away the king, my lord, on a walk through the city. I sent away my children, the brother and sister, to play, and I sent away my attendants to divert their attention. Then I met the Master alone and received him. I invited him to the upper floor of the palace and offered him savory viands. One can always count on such treatment. But how was the Master born, that he should be unaffected by this?"² Then I embraced him, but he was terrified and trembled. He spoke these words, 'If the attendants see me the

² The translator explains the passage as meaning that he is not born as a common man. He adds that in popular language it would be rendered, "This did not move the Master, for he has not a human heart."

doctrine will suffer, I will return through the outside door to which I have the key.' With an upright heart he left me and went away. I remained and waited. I looked after him but he was gone and did not care for me. He had already reached the Bu-ts'al and all was over. For him I bore heavy grief in my heart and played the comedy of a lie, uttered curses, and yet I could not turn the Master. When the sun had reached the west and had set, I sent away the king again, and again invited the Master, but he came not; then I vented my wrath. Oh, light of the doctrine, all these sins have I committed, and is this disease of leprosy really my punishment? In my heart I cherish doubts, light of the doctrine, teacher of Udyana, my son has searched the whole country for the Master whom we have lost, but has not found him. Wherefore has he gone and how can I be cured of my disease?"

It is characteristic of the style of the novel that this confession is received with joy by all the parties who hear it. Our author states that Padmasambhava of Udyana rejoiced heartily and so did the king and his son and daughter. The men present, however, said, "The Master, the holy one, is of course unimpeachable, he may smile." And we read in this expression of the common sentiment the religious joy which the public in general feels at the proof that the monk's behavior remains justified.

The king's main anxiety now is to cure the queen, and he is bent on having the monk Vairocana in order to restore his wife's health. All of them weep, and their tears are pathetically described as being as large as peas, an expression which is repeated whenever tears are said to express unusually great grief. The black spider is conjured by the monk Vairocana, and when this evil creature leaves the queen's body, it is as if a sunbeam pervaded all her limbs. The great man of Udyana, however, cast spittle at the queen, saying, "Oh sinner, suffering under the guilt of thy actions, may the many limbs of Naga depart from thee!" Then three times he cast spittle with his tongue at the Naga, saying, "Thou who understandest how to seize upon her but not to let go, pernicious Naga! Freed from their palsy the limbs shall again unite with the body. Henceforward shall her soul have peace."

It is interesting to note here that spittle forms a powerful means of magic.³ It will be remembered also that Jesus cured the blind with spittle which he mixed with the soil of the earth.

The queen is afterwards treated by conjurations by repeating

³ Cf. also A. H. Godbey's article on "Ceremonial Spitting" in *The Monist*, January, 1914.

many Buddhist names. She is showered with perfumes, and sacrifices are offered for her sake. When the cure is perfected she shows her gratitude to the great one of Udyana by offering him her daughter in marriage on the ground that the race of such great conjurers should not die out. Here we find that the principle of celibacy is entirely forgotten and overlooked, and for sheer compassion towards mankind the great one of Udyana, Padmasambhava, accepts the hand of the princess K'rom-pa rgyan. Before the marriage is concluded the king and the great man of Udyana decide to have an investigation made as to whether or not the princess is worthy of this honor, and a soothsayer of Nepal whose name was Shakyadeva investigates the question. Here a passage is inserted enumerating the many beauties of the princess in minute detail, which lead up to the conclusion that she is worthy. The passage is curious in so far as we see here the Tibetan notion of a woman's beauty.

The marriage took place, but there was new trouble in store. The bride dreamed that a ray of black light six feet long entered her body, and when she awoke she felt an unwonted heaviness and a trembling passed through her body. Her mind was troubled, her heart was cramped, and she felt very uncomfortable. Her anxiety caused her to keep quiet about the event, and when she bore a son he turned out to be a creature of unparalleled viciousness, the truth being that she had conceived a son by an offspring of Mara. The son was addicted to all kinds of sin and gave his parents great trouble until finally it became apparent that he was the son of the black spirit gNer-Pa Se-Ap'an. Finally he died but his spirit became converted and was saved. All lamented at his death, saying, "Truly he was the son of Mara who took possession of the body of the princess." The great one of Udyana says: "Why do you all complain? Weep not, K'rom-pa rgyan. He was not our son. Some say he was the son of the mercy of the gods, others the son of the demon's enmity, others a son of the unhappiness of hell, still others a son ensnared by Raksasa—at any rate a son given to us in spite of our deeds of benevolence. Among hundreds and thousands of cases there are only a few of this kind. Whatever may have been the cause of this son it is certain that this calamity has come upon us through committing some evil deed in one of our former births. Since this calamity was an unbearable burden it has been born to us as a son and has taken possession of our hearts. Though we could not love him he has been given us as a means of retribution."

The unfortunate mother asked where her son had been born before and where he would be reborn in the future, and her husband

answered in a tirade against all sinful beings and especially against women. Among others things he said: "Like the unceasing stream of Samsara are women; like the incarnate black-headed Raksasi in the midst of whose body has grown a piece of the copper of hell; it has been refined in fire and all misfortune arises from it. The fiery places of mT'o-ris T'ar-pa are made of that copper and the purification of virtue and vice is accomplished by it. The doings of women are like this copper of hell; if they are united with thee thou wilt be cooked in the copper of hell. The punishment to be cooked in the copper of hell can not be forced upon me. The doings of women are like the dungeon of Mara. If they unite with thee thou art in the dungeon of Mara. The punishment of sitting in the dungeon of Mara can not be forced upon me. The doings of women are like the fetters of Yama. If they cling to thee, thou art bound by Yama's fetters. The coercion of Yama's fetters can not affect me, Padmasambhava. The doings of women are like a morass of poison. If they cling to thee thou wilt be boiled in the morass of poison. The compulsion to walk over the fatal morass of poison can not affect me. Women in gorgeous colors are robbers who decoy men from their duties. Let men ignorant of the injunctions of scripture turn astray towards evil. I, Padmasambhava, have no inclination to do so. In order to mitigate the sufferings of those who wish to follow me, you stayed with me, K'rom-pa-rgyan, in the incomparable temple filled with glowing reverence. Untouched by the stain of sin you dreamed that a rainbow ladder was let down from heaven and the end the ladder was put upon your shoulders, that upon the rungs walked Vajrasatva, he who is endowed with good omens and from whose body a thousand bright rays proceed. When you awoke you felt bodily comfort and mental joy. Hoping for the highest Siddhi, you kept it secret from men. A son of good omen will be born to the royal princess. This son will be of an inventive genius, a Nirmanakaya. He will fulfil every desire, and what one wishes will be in accord with his heart. When only a year shall have passed he will attain the measure of wisdom; in his second year he will possess the heart of mercy; in his third year he will have the courage to ask his father religious questions. The son will ponder over his father's answers. He will avoid sin and become renowned for his virtues. He will be honored with a great name.* The holy scripture he will know. He will mediate on the world's sinful inclination, and he who would not recognize its significance nor give heed to what he hears will not be saved from the stream

*The translator believes that the name given him was mutilated.

of ignorance and doubt. Glorious is a religious change of heart, but more glorious is the Mahayana. Glorious it is to teach truth, but more glorious is devotion. Therefore he will be my son, a child of bliss. The understanding of the little boy will be directed upwards and his espousal of religion's cause will grow greater and greater, for by impious words salvation is not attained. Is not this your own thought, princess? Such a son would be a jewel, a gift for one without children. If in deeds, words and disposition, he has untiringly accumulated treasures, one need not retain a recollection, one need not retain a recollection of him when his body and soul will be separated, for we should esteem his inner treasures higher than his bodily condition. Even after death and even if people do not think of him, his many talents are so great that they will continue to live to an advanced age. A man to whom such a son is given has acquired great salvation."

The story of the evil son of the great man of Udyana reminds us of the Christian story of Robert the Devil, who though the son of the devil becomes finally converted and the angels rejoice that the very son of the evil one has been gained over from the cause of his hellish father to the cause of God.

The conclusion of the book consists of expressions of sundry doctrines of Buddhism, the efficacy of the magic power of religion, the further expansion of Buddhism and kindred subjects.

The volume before us contains the Tibetan original in a clear clean type, the German translation, an appendix containing several colophons of different manuscripts, an interpretation by the translator, a good index and illustrations reproduced from the Tibetan designs, the latter by Albert Grünwedel. The printing of the book which deserves great credit has been done by Drugulin of Leipsic.

The peculiarities of Tibetan taste are obvious in the tendency to extol the good religion over everything. The characters portrayed are passionate, as the Tibetans are by nature, and the sympathy of both writer and reader is apparently on the side of the sinner, while their admiration is reserved for the saint who is above all temptation. There is further a great interest shown in the dialectics of Buddhism, expositions of the law according to their system of enumeration, other details of theological subtleties, and above all in the comfort taken in the magical power of religious songs and religious ceremonies.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A LIBERIAN EXHIBITION IN CHICAGO.



The little Negro republic Liberia in Africa is a creation of the United States, and we ought to be interested in its fate not only because we are responsible for its existence, but also because it has become the theater of international intrigues, for the European nations show a greater interest in its territory than is good for its independence and we should bear in mind that it is the only territory in Africa where the government is exclusively in the hands of the black race. Liberia needs our sympathy, and sympathy can be maintained only when it is sufficiently based on knowledge. We ought to know the problems of Liberia, and ought to know the dangers with which the country is threatened. Is it possible that Liberia can solve its own problems, that the negro population can hold their own against Great Britain, France and Germany, who are showing a great interest in the country? Scarcely! And who should come to the rescue if not the United States who stand sponsor for its existence, liberty and independence?

For the sake of creating a greater interest in Liberia an exhibition was opened March 20th in the building of the Chicago Historical Society. The exhibition consists of all sort of objects of historical significance, besides pamphlets, newspapers, Liberian prints, maps, pictures, portraits, autographs, documents, seals, stamps, coins, medals, decorations etc.

The exhibition has aroused greater interest than was anticipated and a number of individuals have contributed to its success. The objects displayed fill five table cases and six upright screens. Mr. George W. Ellis, who was for some years secretary of our legation at Monrovia, has loaned an interesting series of objects made by the natives of the Liberian hinterland. Other curios of native manufacture are shown by Mrs. Elizabeth Ross, Mr. Campbell Marvin and others. For the most part, however, the exhibition illustrates the history and condition of the civilized Liberians, descendants of American freed-

men. Their famous gold work is shown by a small collection supplied by Mr. Ellis. Dr. Ernest Lyon, Consul-general of Liberia in the United States and one time our resident Minister to the Republic, has sent on some pictures and documents. Portraits and autographs of the President and other famous men and pictures of notable incidents in Liberian history are displayed. The collection of books in many languages relating to Liberia is almost complete. Probably so notable a collection of books and pamphlets *printed in Liberia* has never been brought together elsewhere. The five mission societies working in Liberia—Protestant Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal, Lutheran, African Methodist Episcopal, and Womans' Christian, are all taking part in the exhibition, and their work is adequately presented—an entire table case being devoted to it. The bulk of the objects shown, however, is the personal collection of Liberiana brought together by Frederick Starr, when he was in Liberia in 1912 and since his return to this country.

On the opening night an attractive program was given. Addresses were presented by George W. Ellis ("The Mission of Liberia"), Ernest H. Lyon ("The Liberian Republic"), and Frederick Starr ("African Redemption"). The Liberian National Hymn was sung by a quartette. The exhibition will be closed by an illustrated lecture by Frederick Starr upon "Liberia, the Hope of the Dark Continent."

It behooves us to be informed in regard to the only piece of Africa remaining in the possession of the Negro. The exhibition is one phase of the propaganda of education regarding Liberia carried on by Frederick Starr since his return from there in December 1912. In this material exhibition, in public addresses and lectures, and in his writings, he is trying to tell a simple but important story.

There are two books which convey all the information that is needed to form an opinion on Liberia. One is a stately work of two volumes by Sir Harry Johnston containing a fine collection of pictures and a valuable compilation of facts and from the standpoint of British politics with a view to a successful exploitation of the country. Another book, smaller in size but more important for us, is *Liberia: Description—Problems—History*, published by Frederick Starr, professor of anthropology at the University of Chicago.

The organizers of the exhibition are anxious to have people take an interest in it and especially invite students from high schools, either singly or in classes, because they have the conviction that sooner or later the fate of the republic may depend upon the sympathy which it will receive in the United States.

CURRENTS OF THOUGHT IN THE ORIENT.

BY B. K. ROY.

Kingship in Ancient India.

Like many other erroneous ideas it is generally understood in the western countries that kings in ancient India were given perfect latitude to become irresponsible despots. The people, of course, did not count in the modern sense of the term; but the ordinances of the sacred books of the Hindus were of such a nature that they did not allow the rulers to stray very far from what the Hindus call *Dharma* or *Niti*—the moral code.

Mr. G. A. Chandravarkar translates some very interesting Sanskrit *slokas* from the *Sukraniti* in the *Vedic Magazine*. To quote a few :

"The protection of the subjects is the sacred duty of the king as also is the punishment of wicked persons, but both these are not possible of execution without the correct understanding of the science of ethics."

"Misery falls to the lot of a king who fails to walk in the path of righteousness and leads a life in a spirit of so-called independence. To serve such a king is as dangerous as to lick the sharp edge of a sword."

"Internal dissensions among the ministers, strife among the subjects and want of harmony among the military officers are all due to want of ingenuity on the part of a king."

"That being alone is worthy of holding a scepter who is capable of governing, by reason of possessing intelligence, power, bravery and purity of character."

"The ruler should be a protector like a father, a lover like a mother, a teacher like a *Guru*, helper like a brother, fertilizer like a mighty river and inflicter of punishment like Yama, or else he has no right to be a king."

"The quality of mercy becomes the crowned monarch without which all his other qualities are of no avail."

The Rule of Law in Ancient India.

Sir Henry Cotton, an Ex-M. P., and a retired Indian civil servant, claims that in British India "failure of justice not falling short of judicial scandal" is a common thing in Hindu-English trials in which Englishmen are tried by English juries. We also read of such miscarriages of justice in the Indian papers, and we read it only too often.

Mr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal, in an article in the *Calcutta Weekly Notes*, shows how in ancient India law ruled supreme even over the sovereigns. He says :

"Fortunately we are in possession of a recorded case which is ever so much more valuable to us than all *a priori* reasonings on the subject. This single case is not the individual picture of the administration of law in a particular instance, but affords a typical spectacle. The case is recorded in one of the most authentic documents of India, which on the evidence of the inscriptions of Asoka goes back at least to the third century B. C. in its present shape, and which is generally based on traditions as early as the death of the Buddha.

"In the Vinaya Pitaka, Chullavagga, VI, 4. 9, the case of the Anatha-Pindika and the Prince Royal Jeta, which was decided by the Court of Shravasti, the then capital of Ondh, is related to show the great devotion of the Anatha-Pindika to the Sakya Teacher and not to record any extraordinary judicial decision. Sudatta, who was generally called the Anatha-Pindika (orphans' coparcener), on account of his kindness to orphans, was an ordinary citizen—a *grihapati*; Jeta was one of the princes of the blood. The latter had a garden 'not too far from the town and not too near, convenient for going and for coming...well fitted for a retired life.' The liberal Anatha-Pindika thought of buying this garden for the use of the Buddha whom he had invited from Rajagriha. He went to the Prince Jeta and said to him: 'Your Highness, let me have your garden to make an *Arama* on it.' 'It is not, O gentleman, for sale, unless it is laid over with *crores*' [10,000,000 rupees]. 'I take, Your Highness, the garden at this price.'

"'No, gentleman, the garden has not been taken.'

"Then they asked the lords of justice whether the garden was bought or not. And the lords decided thus: 'Your Highness fixed the price and the garden has been taken.'

"On obtaining the decrees the Anatha-Pindika had a part of the garden covered with gold coins and the rest was relinquished by the Prince without further payment."

THE CHRIST OF FRA ANGELICO.

On page 161 of the March *Open Court* a reproduction of the Christ-figure detail from Raphael's *Disputa* was inserted by mistake in the editorial article on "The Portrayal of Christ" in place (and with the inscription) of Fra



CHRIST RISING FROM THE TOMB.
By Fra Angelico.

Angelico's picture of "Christ Rising from the Tomb." Accordingly we here present to our readers the omitted cut. The detail from Raphael is repeated in the present number in its proper context.

A NEW COOPERATIVE COLONY.

BY HIRAM VROOMAN.

[In an interesting article describing this Utopian project in a recent number of *La Follette's Magazine*, the Rev. Hiram Vrooman of Chicago is spoken of as one of the leading spirits promoting the enterprise. Mr. Vrooman is one of several brothers who have been conspicuous as social reformers for

many years, one of whom is the Hon. Carl S. Vrooman, at present a well-known candidate for the Democratic nomination for United States Senator in Illinois.—ED.]

An interesting economic and business experiment in the form of a co-operative colony is being made in the state of Colorado by a group of prominent social reformers. Co-operation applied to business in any large and comprehensive way seems Utopian and idealistic beyond practicability to the large majority of people. There are, however, many students of economic problems who believe that some form of industrial co-operation on a national scale is destined to supersede the present order. They claim that economic democracy abides latently in cooperation and that only by means of cooperation on a large scale can justice in the distribution of wealth be established. It will be interesting, therefore, to watch the developments of this latest experiment on any considerable scale of a cooperative Utopia.

A new city, to be in some respects the poet's "city beautiful" and to be called "Industrial City," is to begin to be built this coming spring on 7000 acres of irrigated land in Jackson Co., known as North Park, Col. All of the different industries and business to be created are to be conducted under one management on a cooperative plan by which the "coworker citizens" are to receive approximately the full product of their toil.

This enterprise has already acquired four extensive and valuable properties which are to serve as a working basis for its ambitious and idealistic aims. It owns the water and irrigation rights referred to for 7000 acres of fertile agricultural land, where the new city is to be built. In addition to this it is already conducting successfully a 3000 acre cooperative farm in Sedgwick Co., not far from the new city to be built. As tributary to its larger operations, it is also developing one of the most beautiful summer resorts in the Pike's Peak region on 800 acres of land which it owns in the famous Ute Pass, within walking distance of Manitou, lying beautifully, somewhat as an eagle's nest for human beings, in the divide at the foot of Pike's Peak. Here it has a summer hotel with numerous rustic cottages and provision for summer educational work for advancing cooperation. Its fourth property of large importance is a pickling factory at La Fayette near Denver, to which is to be added a canning factory for the canning of vegetables.

Many points of interest which cannot be presented in this brief space are brought out in the literature of the company which is disseminated free of cost upon application.

The enterprise has its central office in Enterprise Bldg., Denver, with the Hon. Leo Vincent in charge. Judge John Barnd, a prominent citizen of Lafayette, Col., is president of the promoting corporation.

A learned Parsi, Mr. Mehrjibhai Noshervanji Kuka, M. A., of Bombay (Naysari Building, Hornby Road), has undertaken to adjust the Parsi calendar with its festivals to modern conditions, and make it conform with the calendar at present in general use. He has done this with thoroughness and with full appreciation of the historic tradition of his people. The result is a pamphlet entitled *The Antiquity of the Iranian Calendar and of the Era of Zoroaster*. It will first of all serve the need of the Parsi community, but in addition it will prove of interest to all scholars versed in Iranian lore. *



GOETHE ON THE GICKELHAHN.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
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A QOHELETH OF THE FAR EAST.

BY HERBERT H. GOWEN.

"To while away the idle hours, seated the live-long day before the inkslab,
By jotting down without order or purpose whatever trifling thoughts pass
through my mind,
Verily this is a crazy thing to do."

So begins a little book recently translated by Mr. G. B. Sansom known as the *Tsuredzure Gusa* of Yoshida no Kaneyoshi, the meditations of a Japanese recluse of the fourteenth century, or, as we might entitle it, the "*Journal intime*" of a Japanese Amiel.

Queer as Kaneyoshi (or Kenko, to give him the Chinese form of his name) may have been, not least of all in his absolute disregard of literary fame (in which possibly we may even assign him Shakespeare as a companion), as to his being crazy there is so much philosophical method in his madness that the "trifling thoughts" he so modestly characterizes seem to the present writer of sufficient interest to call for the attention of others beside "the small transfigured band" of students of Japanese literature.

For my own part I am glad to have found another out of the forgotten past upon whose grave the dust continues to heave, as in the case of Paracelsus and others, in token of a heart still beating beneath. Some Buddhist monks, we read, became mummies ere they died and as mummies remained in their monasteries. Kenko, seen through the medium of his thoughts, must be regarded as one whose soul was ever fresh and young.

I have been moved to call Yoshida no Kaneyoshi a Qoheleth of the Far East from a certain mood which he shares with the Jewish writer of the Old Testament book Ecclesiastes. Possibly

the parallel is not a very exact one. There is in the Buddhist recluse an entire absence of the intense, mordant, almost fierce earnestness which is so characteristic of the Semitic mind. There is also a great deal more in Kenko than the sense of the "weary weight of this unintelligible world" or even of the melancholy induced by the passing of the pleasure-freighted years. There is a gentle, ironic humor, a shrewd common sense, a naive delight in the simple sounds and sights and smells of nature, and much besides. Yet in many and many a passage of the *Tsuredzure Gusa* one is unfailingly reminded of the sage who, putting on the mask of the wise King Solomon, went on his solitary quest for the *summum bonum* and found all paths but one ending in the *cul de sac* of vanity.

Here are some sentences from the opening paragraphs:

"Lo! to those that are born into this world many indeed are the desirable things.

"Exceedingly worshipful is the majesty of the Mikado.

The youngest leaves of the Bamboo Garden are not of the seed of men,
and such as they, are out of reach of all human desires.

Lofty the estate of the Prime Minister beyond all dispute,

And those of such station as to have a retinue from the Court are of great
splendor,

While their children and their grandchildren, though their fortunes be
decayed,

Still preserve some of the grandeur of their forbears.

"But in all ranks of life beneath these, though a man may rise and prosper
and show a boastful front,

Nevertheless, fine as he may think himself, it is forsooth but a sorry thing
he has achieved."

Then he goes on, in words with which many a modern minister will sympathize, to describe the priest who if he is quiet and gentle is looked upon as a bit of stick, or if he is forward and aggressive is reminded that "thirst for fame means disregard for Shaka's law."

In the light of such words and many others to which allusion will be made later, it is not difficult to recognize that the Jew and the Japanese were alike men of the world who had been taught by sad experience to feel the vanity of this world's fleeting show and to cry out from the depths of their disillusion for some light which would guide their feet into the paths of peace. To both alike a "way" was revealed. To the Buddhist came as a genuine message of consolation the knowledge of the eightfold way of Gautama,

and his glad city of peace, the *domus ultima*, was Nirvana. To the Jewish preacher the solution was found in a cheerful and dutiful service of Jehovah. In each case something was achieved to redeem life from the raven croak "*vanitas vanitatum*." At any rate neither yielded to the temptation to quench desire in materialism.

In comparing Qoheleth with a literary product of the Far Orient it is worth referring to the question, interesting if only as a speculation, as to the possible indebtedness of this Old Testament book to Buddhist sources. Dr. Dillon has made the assertion that Buddhism is the only religion "in which such practical fruits as we see exhibited in Qoheleth are manifested." The ancient world from the Yellow Sea to the Atlantic was much more closely knit, much more homogeneous, than at any time from the 15th to the middle of the 19th centuries. The great Chinese generals of the Han period from two centuries B. C. to two centuries A. D., had brought the banners of the Middle Kingdom to the Caspian Sea, face to face with the banners of Rome. In the first century A. D. the Indo-Scythian king, Kanishka, made himself the middleman in that vast trade which engaged the silk and iron merchants of China and India and the business world of Greece and Rome. The coinage of this second Buddhist Constantine, with its Greek inscriptions, is represented in finds made in the extreme west of Europe. Along the great roads, made for the marching of soldiers and the caravans of merchants, the zeal of pilgrims and missionaries carried Buddhism easily from land to land. Several centuries before, King Açoka tells us in one of his inscriptions that he had sent Buddhist missionaries to the courts of the Seleucids at Antioch and to the court of the Ptolemies at Alexandria.

It thus becomes very easy to conceive that by B. C. 205 the author of Ecclesiastes, who probably lived in Alexandria, had come face to face with Buddhist teaching. Sakhyan or Scythian soldiers, as full of ardor for Gautama as the Christian soldiers in the Roman army for Christ, after the death of Alexander fought constantly in the armies of the Seleucids, and colonies of veterans were settled in many parts of the Roman Empire. One such colony settled at Bethshan on the borders of Samaria and Galilee, which was henceforth named Scythopolis, the city of the Sakhyans. Galilee, because of the intrusion of population from further east, was known as "Galilee of the Gentiles" and all through western Asia converts to the religion of Buddha were made by missionaries like Dharmarakshita, "the Greek."

All this will show the mechanical possibility of contact between

the thought of the Jew and that of the Japanese. We can well allow a constant literary osmosis between East and West from very early times. Yet on the whole, the similarity of mood which distinguishes the two books to which we have made reference must be regarded as more especially due to something more far reaching than the possibility of mechanical contact. The spirit of man, East and West, is subject to the same "august anticipations, hopes and fears." Even the eager, material Occident will sometimes incline itself yearningly towards the pessimistic nihilism of the Buddha, just as the world-weary Oriental may in certain moods manifest a distinct sense of ownership in material concerns. It was surely no Buddhist recluse who wrote the *Ballade des dames du temps jadis* and uttered the poignant cry:

"Prince, n'enquerez de sepmaine
Où elles sont, ne de cest an,
Que ce refrain ne vous remaine;
Mais où sont les neiges d'antan!"

Nor, although the fashion has doubtless been catered to by publishers who could thereby produce a book meet to lay upon the American drawing-room table, is the popularity of Fitzgerald's *Rubai'yat* of Omar Khayyam due solely to our joy in the wonderful verse of the translator.

But here again must I guard myself, lest the thought become current that there is much in common between the pessimistic hedonism of the symposium of quatrain writers, whom it has pleased Fitzgerald to designate under the name of the astronomer-poet of Naishapur, and our sage of the hermitage at Yoshida.

Perhaps before we go further, a few words may be useful to make clear to the reader the time, the place and the man.

The age—the fourteenth century of our era—has been well described by Professor Anesaki. It was distinctly a new era, as full of change in the eyes of old-fashioned people as the era of Meiji which has just passed into history. The time of the great Fujiwara supremacy was over, the Hojos had had their turn after the romantic days of Yoshitsune and Yoritomo, the great Mongol Armada of Jenghiz Khan had been triumphantly repelled, the long continued dominance of the Ashikaga family was just beginning. It was an age of increasing wealth and luxury and of restless religious life. The ascendancy of Shingon Buddhism was challenged by the rise of new prophets such as Hōnen, Shinran and Nichiren. In spite of the revivals associated with these and other names it was a time of gloom, moral degeneration and social disintegration. As

the Palestine under Persian dominion, to which Qoheleth refers, was experiencing the miseries bred of luxury and tyranny, so Professor Anesaki speaks of the depressing circumstances of the Ashitaga epoch. He says: "The melancholy spirit of his time was a product of the conflict between, and at the same time a combination of, sentimentalism, indifferentism, the moods resulting from the degeneration of the Heian culture and caused by the conjoint force of the Zen and Taoism, respectively.... Human life had lost its life and hope, yet a full resignation was not possible.... The air produced by these moods was something akin to the mentality in the last phase of Greek thought. Epicureanism was combined with Stoicism and men drank wine together with tears."

In many ways, of course, the writer of Ecclesiastes was facing new problems and was certainly no *laudator temporis acti*. Kenko, on the other hand, was always harking back lovingly to the past. In this respect he stands in singular contrast to the great mass of his fellow countrymen to-day. It is quite pathetic to notice the tenderness with which he dwells upon some ancient custom. There is to him no poetry like the old. As for the verses of to-day he says:

"Though there is an occasional line which seems apt and graceful,
There are none which conjure up an affecting picture,
Beyond the mere words, as in the old poems.

"Look how different are the verses composed by the ancients.
What they wrote was simple and artless, pure in form and full of feeling."

The new fashions are almost everywhere regrettable. The new headdress is too high.

"I have heard it said that people who own old hat boxes use them nowadays with a new rim added.

"In all things one looks back with regret to the past.
Modern fashions appear to be growing from bad to worse.
It is the ancient shapes that are the most pleasing in the beautiful utensils
made by workers in wood.

As for the style of letters, even a scrap of waste paper from olden times
is admirable.

The every-day speech, too, is growing regrettably bad.
Whereas they used to say *Kuruma motageyo* and *Hi kakageyo*
The modern people say *moteageyo* and *kakiageyo*."

In this spirit he speaks of the old (and therefore correct) method of attaching cords to boxes or of tying up scrolls, or of laying scrolls upon the table. He is even concerned as to the correct manner of tying prisoners to the flogging frame. "It is said that

nowadays there is nobody who understands the shape of this instrument, or the proper method of attachment." Kenko is always pleased when he can give the authority for some ancient instance of the simple life with the words "In those days it was like that."

From the above details it may be readily gathered that, even if we had no description of the Japanese recluse from the outside, his notes would be by no means lacking in material for a biography. Happily we can characterize him and sketch his career with the help of other sources than the *Tsuredzure Gusa*.

He was born in A. D. 1283, two years after the great victory which shattered the hopes of Jenghiz Khan and saved Nippon from invasion. His family was connected with the profession of divination, and his father Kaneaki, was guardian of the imperial shrine at Yoshida. As a young man Kenko was attached to the court and, with eyes which were evidently wide open, gained sufficient knowledge of the frailties and follies of men and women to sharpen his wits in the years that followed. He compiled poetry for the emperor and simultaneously occupied the position of "vice-master of the horse." For the statement of the chronicler that he was an expert archer we are quite prepared, since he draws lessons not a few in his notes from this and other sports. One thinks at once of the striking passage in which he emphasizes the duty of keeping first things first:

"A person learning archery takes in his hand both arrows.

The Teacher says: 'Beginners ought not to hold two arrows.

'They rely upon their second arrow and are careless about their first.

'You ought at each time to think, without any idea of missing and hitting,

'This is the shot which counts.'"

Archery was by no means the only sport with which he was familiar and from which he draws his illustrations. From football he enforces the warning that "mistakes always happen when any easy stage is reached." "It is," he says, "when a difficult kick has been made and the next appears easy, that one is sure to miss." To the same end he speaks of how to teach the tree-climber. Not a word will he say to the climber when he is in the topmost branches because the man's own fear suggests caution. But when he is getting down and is not so very far from the ground, he calls out "Come down carefully," because it is just then that mistakes happen through lack of care. Again it was at the horse races of the Kamo festival he learned a lesson as to the insecurity of human life, which he taught in the following striking words:

"Just at this time we saw a priest who had climbed up a tree over against us and was seated in a fork to get a view.

As he clung to his perch, time after time he dozed off, and only awoke when on the point of falling.

The spectators jeered and reviled him, saying,

'What a fool the fellow is calmly to fall asleep up there in such a risky place.'

When I heard this I was struck with a thought, and exclaimed,

'And what of us, who spend the days in sightseeing, forgetting that death may come at any moment? We are greater fools than he.'

Whereupon those in front turned round remarking 'That is indeed so. It is exceedingly foolish,'

And making way for us, they invited us to pass forward, saying, 'Come this way, Sirs.'"

Time fails to speak of like moralizings drawn from the game of checkers, or shell-matching or backgammon. Perhaps it was out of the retrospect of many hours wasted in such occupations that in later life he made the reflection:

"This saying of a certain sage struck me as very fine and remained in my ears:

'I think it a greater wickedness than even the four crimes and the five offences

For a man to delight in spending day and night at games of checkers and backgammon.'"

May there not be also in the reflection the consciousness of a skill no longer at the flood, as when Herbert Spencer remarked to the person who had beaten him at billiards, "Young man, you must have wasted many of your hours in acquiring such dexterity!"

The circumstances which led Kenko to take the tonsure in 1324 are obscure. Very likely it was grief over some blow inflicted by death, as well as dissatisfaction with the pleasures to which court life had introduced him. All past vanities he seriously endeavored to put behind him in his tiny hermitage amid the hills of the province of Kiso. Alas, even here the world intruded. A fashionable hunting party one day broke in upon his seclusion and in despair of finding peace, he went back to his native Yoshida. Here he occupied himself with writing poetry and in study. Possibly, since *cucullus non monachum facit*, Kenko had already discovered that the world which he had renounced was still too much with him and that the great enemies of life did not pass by his hermitage. "Into the still recesses of the mountains," he has written, "shall not the enemy Change come warring?"

The mention in the chronicles of two or three love affairs assigned to this period need not necessarily conflict with the im-

pression given in the Notes of his being a woman hater. May it not have been out of an experience as bitter-sweet as that which drew the Sonnets out of Shakespeare's heart (if we may allow that with this key the poet unlocked his heart), that Kenko wrote the words which may as easily be the self-reproach of a conscience-stricken sinner as the conviction of a misogynist?

"One would think that the character of this woman, before whom people are so ashamed, was a very fine thing indeed.
 Yet a woman's disposition is always crooked.
 The trait of selfishness is strong. Greed is powerful.
 They do not know the reason of things and their hearts are quickly inclined to error.
 Their speech is clever. Deep in deceit and lies, one would think them superior to men in cunning
 Yet they do not see that they are found out in the end.
 Dishonest and yet unskilful—this is woman.
 One must be infatuated indeed to wish to please her and to gain her approval."

Surely again it was out of the knowledge of woman's power over his own frail heart that he expressed this thought:

"It is said that with a rope in which are twisted strands of a woman's hair, the mighty elephant may be bound,
 And that the deer in autumn will not fail to gather to the call of a pipe carved from the clogs a woman wears."

What again are we to think of the following picture, as vivid and as human as that which Browning has given us in his "Confessions"?

"Against the north side of the house, where the still unmelted snow had frozen hard,
 A carriage was drawn up, and the hoar frost glistened on its shafts.
 The daybreak moon shone clear, though there were dark corners;
 And yonder on the gallery of the unfrequented Great Hall one who did not look a common man was seated with a woman on the railing.
 They were engaged in talk which, whatever it may have been about, seemed as if it would never end.
 She appeared to be of excellent carriage and figure, and the way in which there came a sudden waft of vague perfume was very pleasing.
 Delightful too to watch their gestures and now and again to catch fragments of their talk."

Had not Kaneyoshi reflected in his hermitage

"How sad and bad and mad it was—
 But then, how it was sweet!"

Of course it could not but be that the sage's musings were influenced by those ideals of asceticism and worldly renouncement which had been nourished by certain dominant schools of Buddhism. Kenko quotes with approval the words of more than one of Japan's illustrious ones in favor of childlessness, and repeats the story that Shokoku Taishi "when he caused his own tomb to be built cut off and stopped up the paths thereto, because he meant to have no offspring." Nevertheless, I cannot believe that he, who was so human in so many other ways, was very far from tears when he wrote these words:

"A certain wild barbarian of fearful appearance, meeting a neighbor, said,
'Have you any children?'

'Not one,' he replied.

'Then you cannot know the dint of pity, and all your doings must be with an unfeeling heart.'

This was a terrible saying, but it must be so, as he said, 'that through children men come to feel the dint of pity.'

One might linger long on the story of Kaneyoshi's life, but space forbids. We see him by glimpses in the chronicles—upon which, however, too much reliance must not be placed. Sometimes he is seen tramping upon a pilgrimage to such and such a shrine; sometimes we behold him preaching to admiring crowds whom he hospitably entertains with rice-gruel as well as with sermons; anon we find him alternating his public work with periods of meditation in his beloved hermitage. It is said that his death occurred in 1350, and the story is told of the affectionate interest taken in his last illness by Emperor Suko. Food and medicine were sent from the royal palace. The dying sage declined the medicine and distributed the food to the poor.

Among the sayings recorded in the *Tsuredzure Gusa* is the following:

"The hermit lives so that he wants for nothing by having nothing."

It is a characteristically sincere utterance, for the whole poor inventory of Kenko's possessions found after his death is thus given:

"An old copy of the *Hot ke kyo*, some writings of Lao-tze, the Suma and Akashi volumes of the *Genji Monogatari*, a copy of the Maboroshi volume in the handwriting of Tona, twelve bundles of scrap paper, two suits of black vestments, his bedding and some pots and dishes."

Something else, however, remained of enduring value. Pasted up on the walls of the hermitage at Iga and Yoshida were found

a number of poems and, on the backs of old scrolls of prayers, were scribbled the notes which have now been given for the first time to the English speaking world and which, from the two opening words, have been entitled *Tsuredzure Gusa*.

It is well known that only a faint idea of the beauty of Japanese literature can be suggested in a translation, and of this beauty still less can be conveyed in such a sketch as this. However it is worth while hoping that some of the fragrance of the rose may cling to the earthen vessel which has held the rose. In any case we can hardly miss altogether the charm of Kaneyoshi's thought. In this case the Japanese habit of "following the pen" has proved a happy one, since the mind which guided the pen seems to have overflowed with material accumulated in a lifetime of serious reflection and of observation at once shrewd and kindly.

It is, however, not easy to decide what features of these notes are most deserving of stress in a brief paper like the present.

There is, as I have already said, so much else beside the hermit's musing upon the great problems of birth and death.

There is, for instance, a remarkable interest in the *Tsuredzure Gusa* on account of the light let in upon the old social order of Japan. We see, over against the growing luxury, something of the old simplicity which was nowhere more conspicuous than at the court. One is reminded by the mention of the "black door" in the emperor's palace of the days when Komatsu, prior to his accession, cooked his own food and performed other menial tasks. "It is called the black door because it was blackened by smoke from the kindling wood." We are brought very realistically into contact with those old swashbuckling priests who form such a singular phenomenon in Japanese Buddhism. Here is a picture hardly to be surpassed anywhere for vigor and for vividness:

"At a place called Shukugahara a large number of *boroboro* (bonzes) were assembled, reciting the prayer to Amida,
When there entered from without a *boroboro* who said,
'Is there among you a priest named Irooshi, Sirs?'
The reply came forth from their midst, 'Irooshi is here. Who is it that speaks?'
'I am called Shirabonji. My master so-and-so was, I have heard, killed in the eastern provinces by a *boro* named Irooshi.
I wish to have the honor of meeting that gentleman and avenging my master's death. That is why I ask.'
Irooshi replied, 'Nobly asked, Sir! I did do such a thing.
But an encounter here would pollute this place of devotion. Let us meet in the river-bed in front therefore.'
'I am humbly grateful.'

'Pray let not the company present assist either party.
If too many should get into trouble, it would hinder the performance of
the service of Buddha.'
Having thus arranged matters, the two went out to the river-bed,
Where they pierced one another to their heart's content, and died to-
gether."

What a flood of light, too, falls upon the growing complexity
of life in Japan from the following anecdote:

"A certain man decided to make his son a priest and said to him,
'You must study and learn the principles of the faith and by preaching
and so on make this your means of livelihood.'
The son did as he was told.
First of all, in order to become a preacher, he learned to ride a horse.
This was because he thought that it would be regrettable for a priest,
who owned neither palanquin nor carriage,
When he should be invited to take a service, and a horse was sent to
fetch him, to fall off because he had a loose seat.
Then, because he might be pressed to take wine and food after some
sacred rites,
And his host would think him dull if he were utterly without accomplish-
ments,
He learned to sing the popular ditties called *Haya-uta*.
Having at length begun to be proficient in these two arts
He felt anxious to do better still, and while he was devoting himself
thereto,
He grew to old age without having had time to learn how to expound
the scriptures."

The story does not lack application in our own time. Such
illustrations might be multiplied *ad libitum*. Kenko was an adept
in appreciating and understanding the customs of his time and our
confidence in him is not diminished from the fact that, when he
does not know the origin of a particular custom, he says so frankly.

There is in the next place that feeling of nature which is
characteristic of a race which has produced so many poet-painters.
One hardly knows what to choose among so many charming and
striking vignettes. Here are two or three pictures chosen well-
nigh at random:

"Here the autumn moor, in wanton luxuriant growth, is flooded with the
heavy fall of dew;
Insects sing noisily; and the water in the pipes flows with a soothing
sound.
The clouds seem to gather and disperse more rapidly than in the sky
of the capital,
The moon to wear a more variable complexion."

"In the sixth month the white evening-glory and the smoke of the *kayariba* Rising from some lowly cottage, make a touching sight.
An imposing ceremony, too, is the Purification of the sixth month.
The feast of Tonobata is bright and gay. Now as the nights grow cooler
The wild geese come crying, the leaves of the *lespedeza* start to redden,
The rice of the first crop is reaped and dried."

"Rather than to see the moon shining over a thousand leagues,
It sinks deeper into the heart to watch it when at last it appears toward
the dawn.
It never moves one so much as when seen, pale green over the tops of the
cedars on distant hills,
In gaps between the trees, or behind the clustering clouds after showers
of rain.
When it shines bright on the leaves of oak and evergreen, and they look
wet,
The sight sinks deep into one's being, and one feels
'Oh! for a friend with a heart!' and longs for the capital."

To give more would be to shut out from reference Kenko's fine, ironical, yet kindly humor. There is something truly delightful in his story of the Buddhist bishop, Riogaku, "a mighty choleric man":

"Near his house in the temple grounds there was a large celtis tree so
that he was known as the Celtis-Tree Bishop.
Disliking this, he had the tree cut down, but as the roots remained,
people called him the Tree-Stump Bishop.
At last, highly incensed, he had the stump dug up and thrown away,
leaving a large hole behind,
Whereat they now named him the Hole-in-the-ground Bishop."

Not less deserving of quotation is the story of the priest who was so fond of potatoes that "even at his sermons he would keep at his knees a large bowl piled high with them, which he would eat as he expounded the scriptures," or that of a certain man who held that the radish was the cure for all human ills and ate two every morning of his life. One day, hard pressed in battle, two strange warriors came to his aid and gained a great victory for him. When he inquired who the strangers were, they replied, "We are the Radishes you have trusted and eaten for so many years." Then there is the story of the man who believed himself pursued by a ghostly monster called a *nekomata*, but who was really being welcomed home by his own dog—a story reminding us of the "Fakenham Ghost" of our childhood. There is also the story of the inexperienced ghost which made such a failure of its attempt to terrorize—and many another. Not the least humorous are the quaint notes on disagreeable things, such as too many pens on an

inkstand, too many children in a house, too many vows in a prayer, or the reference to people who are bad to have as friends, such as "strong people who are never ill."

Yet over all the gentle humor and the poetic appreciation of nature rests the cloud of Buddhist dogmatism, the sad faith in Maya or illusion, the feeling that

"Like the baseless fabric of this vision,
The cloudeapp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve;
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a wrack behind."

Such a philosophy he accepted with the fortitude with which the Orient has always confronted fate, but Kenko did not pretend to conceal his genuine human sadness. To him who so loved life, the sight of life's sorrows and tragedies came as the revelation of age and sickness and death came to Siddhartha. George Eliot in *Adam Bede*, coming upon the wayside crucifix among the apple blossoms amid which a young girl was seeking to assuage her grief, drew therefrom the lesson of the necessity of a God who suffers. Kenko was unable to see more than evidence of the incurable malady of individual existence with its Trishna and its Karma, and this made him sad.

"The pools and shadows of the river Asuka! This is an inconstant life.
Time passes, things vanish. Joy and grief come and go.
What once was a gay and crowded spot becomes a deserted moor;
Or, if the dwelling rests unchanged, yet those within are not the same.
The peach and the pear-tree cannot speak. With whom then shall I talk
of bygone days? . . .
It is the old lament that the white thread must be dyed
And the ways must part at the cross-roads."

How quickly it all passes! After watching the endless stream of people attending the Kamo festival, he writes:

"When night falls, whither have gone the carriages that stood in rows and
the close ranks of people?
They soon become scarce, the noise of carriages dies down, blinds and
mats are taken away.
The scene grows to loneliness before one's eyes,
Saddening indeed as one feels that this is the way of the world."

In the whole phantasmagoria of life, too, how few lives seem to mean anything! As Matthew Arnold sorrowfully confesses that "most men eddy about" so that "no one asks"

"Who or what they have been,
 More than he asks what waves,
 In the moonlit solitudes mild
 Of the midmost ocean have swell'd,
 Foamed for a moment, and gone,"

so Kenko sings his dirge over the futility of life:

"Gathered together like ants, hastening east and west, hurrying north and south;
 Some lofty, some base, some young, some old; some going abroad, some returning home;
 Lying down to sleep at night, rising in the morning.
 What is the business they are about?
 They never cease in their greed for life, in their pursuit of gain.
 What do they expect from this nourishment of the body?
 Only old age and death are certain. They come apace and are on us quicker than thought.
 What pleasures can there be while awaiting them?
 Those who have wandered from the way do not fear them, because sunk in greed for name and profit,
 They reckon not of the journey they so soon must make.
 Fools think of them with sorrow, because they reflect on their own impermanence
 And do not know the reason of change."

If such is the case may not men get to think that all work, even the work of character, is like making a Buddha of snow on a spring day and fashioning for the image ornaments of gold and silver and jewels?

Even while it lasts there is no freedom from pain and we can imagine with what a sigh Kenko adds to the description of a certain bishop's disease the words "to think that there are such sicknesses in the world!"

Yet although the past may be unsubstantial and this life itself "such stuff as dreams are made on," the sage of Yoshida cannot help being, with the great western poet, "glad for what was." He too, Buddhist as he is, can write of "the joy of existence." Old things are dear to him, not merely because they are old, but because they have been, and are his. He clings to the memory of his father's laughter when he, a little boy, was overwhelming him with questions. He cannot bear to see the withered hollyhocks thrown away when they have served their purpose in the decorations for a feast. He believes that it is worth while going to see not only the young boughs just about to flower but also the "gardens strewn with withered blossoms."

"Men are wont to regret that the moon has waned
 Or that the blossoms have fallen, and this must be so;
 But they must be perverse indeed who will say,
 'This branch, that bough, is withered, now there is nought to see.'"

The future too is dear. The blossoms not yet come are his as well as those which are gone. He can conceive of love not only as "thinking fondly of the past" but also as "spending the long night sleepless, yearning for the distant skies." Only a person of poor understanding, he says, will have things in complete sets.

"It is incompleteness which is desirable."

"To have a thing unfinished gives interest, and makes for lengthened life. They say that even in building the palace an unfinished place is always left."

"In all things where there is no room for advance decay is at hand."

What is this which he calls "the regret of the mounting dragon"—but an anticipation of Browning's "Old Pictures in Florence"?

"To-day's brief passion limits their range;
 It seethes with the morrow for us and more.
 They are perfect—how else? they shall never change:
 We are faulty—why not? we have time in store.
 The Artificer's hand is not arrested
 With us; we are rough hewn, nowise polished:
 They stand for our copy, and, once invested
 With all they can teach, we shall see them abolished."

Moreover, the present is dear. "Why do not men daily take pleasure in the joy of living?"

"A man about to sell an ox on the morrow was grieved because the ox died in the night.
 Why grieve? It happened that the ox died. It happened that its owner lived.
 One day of life is weightier than ten thousand pieces of gold.
 The price of an ox is lighter than a feather."

* * *

With a heart beating thus in tune with nature, Kenko, even with the problems of the universe upon his mind, could not be all unhappy. Nor could his teachings, if they were in accord with the notes he left behind him, have been without their influence on the peasantry of Japan. Sometimes in the things he said we seem to catch an echo of the teachings of One who "spake as never

man spake." Do not the following words, for instance, at once recall one of the best parables of Jesus?

"An evil doer never walks just as he pleases into a house that is occupied. But into an empty house wayfarers enter at will, and foxes, owls and suchlike things take up their abode as if the place belonged to them, Because there is no human presence to withhold them; And even such strange shapes as goblins and so on appear. If the heart has a master, the heart will not be invaded by innumerable things."

But we must say farewell, a friendly farewell, I trust to Yoshida no Kaneyoshi. We might write for his epitaph the words which he himself quotes from a poem of Yoshimidzu:

"Here lies the gentle Ariwara who of old did love the moon and to gaze upon the flowers."

But we feel sure the recording angel would add some other words, writing him down "as one who loved his fellow man."

Let me close this paper with his own words which perhaps better than any others describe the manner of his passing hence:

"When you hear people talking of the splendid way in which a man has met his end,
You would think that they would feel admiration if only it were said that it was peaceful and undisturbed;
But foolish people add talk of strange and doubtful appearances,
And praise his words and behavior according to their own likings;
Which, one feels, is contrary to what he himself would have wished in life.
This great occasion is one which even incarnated saints cannot determine, And scholars of wide learning cannot calculate.
If one's own heart is not at fault, it matters not what others see and hear."

GOETHE THE FORGER OF HIS DESTINY.

BY THE EDITOR.

GOETHE'S was indeed a happy lot. Not that his life was free from troubles and anxieties, but he was a man so normal, so characteristically human that he could not help being typical, a rarely exquisite specimen of humanity. During the writer's last trip through Europe he discovered some pictures previously unknown to him, and he wishes to reproduce them in *The Open Court*. One of them appears as frontispiece to the current number and shows Goethe in his advanced age writing his famous poem at the hunter's hut on the Gickelhahn:

"Over all the mountains
Lies peace.
Hushed are the treetops;
Breezes cease
Slumber caressed.
Asleep are the birds on the bough,—
Wait then, and thou
Soon too wilt rest."

As an instance of the happy disposition of Goethe we will here recapitulate an anecdote of his younger years as told by Johann Daniel Falk.¹ It dates from June, 1777, when he had just settled in Weimar.

The narrative rests on the authority of Johann Ludwig Gleim, one of the most popular poets of Germany before Goethe. Gleim was born April 2, 1719 and died at Halberstadt, February 18, 1803. He is best known for his "Prussian War Songs of a Grenadier," and his are the thrilling dithyrambs in honor of Prussia's great king, beginning "Fredericus Rex, unser König und Herr," which have been set so grandly to music. He was a patron of the whole

¹ *Goethe aus näherem persönlichem Umgang dargestellt*. Leipsic, 1832, p. 139.

generation of younger poets; he cheered them up and encouraged them even with pecuniary assistance when required, and often he helped those who were unworthy of his generosity. But this was Gleim's nature, and so he deserved the title "Father Gleim" which literary Germany accorded him. Naturally he was anxious to meet the young Goethe, the new star that had so suddenly risen on the horizon of German literature and was strong enough not to stand in need of Father Gleim's patronage. Falk tells the story thus:

"Shortly after Goethe had written his 'Werther'—the venerable old Gleim once related to me [Falk]—I came to Weimar and desired to make his acquaintance. One evening I was invited with some others to the Duchess Amalia's where it was said that Goethe too would come later in the evening. By way of a literary novelty I had brought with me the latest *Göttinger Musenalmanach* from which I read aloud one thing and another to the company. While I was reading, a young man, whom I hardly noticed, with boots and spurs and a short green hunting coat, had mingled with the other auditors. He sat opposite me and listened very attentively. With the exception of a pair of wonderfully sparkling black Italian eyes there was nothing else about him which particularly attracted my attention. Nevertheless I was destined to know him much more intimately. During a brief pause in which some gentlemen and ladies were giving their judgment about this or that piece, praising one and criticizing another, our elegant hunter—for such I had taken him to be at the start—rose from his chair, joined in the conversation and, bowing to me courteously, offered to take turns with me in reading aloud from time to time, if I would be pleased to do so, that I might not tire myself too greatly. I could not avoid accepting this polite proposal and at once handed him the book. But by Apollo and the Nine Muses, not to forget the Three Graces, to what was I at last compelled to listen! In the beginning to be sure it went quite passably:

"Zephyrs listened
Brooks murmured and glistened,
The sun
Spread light for sheer fun, etc.'

"Even the somewhat heavier fare of Voss, Leopold Stolberg and Bürger was delivered so well that no one could find fault. But all at once it was as if the devil of impertinence had seized the reader, and I thought that I beheld the wild huntsman incarnate before me. He read poems which were never in the *Almanach*, and

he took turns with every conceivable key and style—hexameter, iambic, and doggerel just as it happened, everything mixed up and thrown together as if he just poured it out that way.

“What did he not improvise in his gay mood that evening! Sometimes there were such splendid thoughts—even though as carelessly thrown off as roughly sketched—that the authors to whom he ascribed them might well thank God upon their knees if such thoughts had occurred to them at their desks. As soon as every one shared the joke general merriment spread through the room. The mysterious reader worked in something about all who were present. Even the patronage which I had always considered my duty towards young scholars, poets and artists, although he praised it on the one hand, yet he did not forget on the other hand to give me a little stab for making mistakes sometimes in the individuals to whom I accorded my support. Therefore in a little fable composed *ex tempore* in doggerel verses he compared me, wittily enough, with a pious, and at the same time exceedingly long-suffering, turkey cock who sat very patiently upon large numbers of eggs of his own and other kinds, but to whom it once happened (and he did not take it ill) that a chalk egg was put under him in place of a real one.

“‘That is either Goethe or the devil!’ I exclaimed to Wieland who sat across the table from me. ‘Both,’ Wieland replied, ‘he is possessed by the devil again to-day. Then he is like a spirited bronco that strikes out in all directions so that one would do well not to come too near him.’”

Goethe’s was a happy lot indeed, and yet on one of the most essential ordinances of destiny he missed the mark most glaringly, and as he deserved the happiness he gained through his happy temperament in being truly human, so he missed his mark in his marriage relation through his natural disposition to shrink back from a bond that, being indissoluble, seemed to him a fetter.

Goethe’s view on marriage is thus outlined in one of his poems:

He:

“So well thou pleasest me, my dear,
That as we are together here
I’d never like to part;
’Twould suit us both, sweet heart.”

She:

“As I please you, so you please me,
Our love is mutual you see.
Let’s marry, and change rings,
Nor worry about other things.”

He:

"Marry? The word makes me feel blue,
I feel at once like leaving you."

She:

"Why hesitate? For then of course
If it won't work, we'll try divorce."

Goethe met many gifted and beautiful women who would have been worthy of him, and we will mention here only one who



CORONA SCHRÖTER.

By Georg Melchior Kraus.

would have made an unusually noble and helpful consort of the great poet. We mean Corona Schroeter. She had met Goethe as

a student in Leipsic and had at that time been greatly impressed by the charm of his personality. In 1776 she was engaged as a concert singer in court circles at Weimar, and to her were assigned the heroine parts of romantic love dramas. The most critical minds were agreed in regarding her as one of the greatest stars in her specialty, and she was also a great favorite with Goethe who

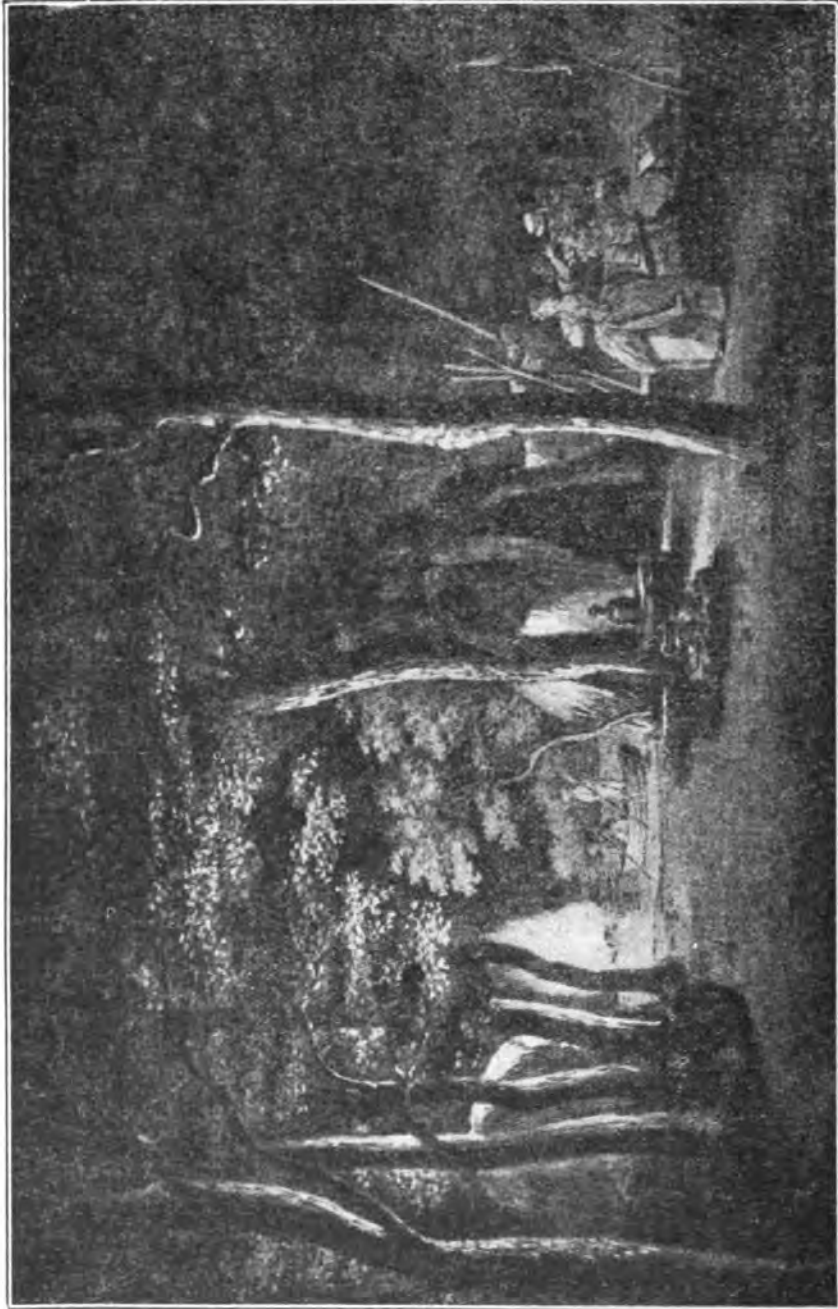


IPHIGENIA AND ORESTES.

By Georg Melchior Kraus.

sometimes appeared with her on the stage. She was the first Iphigenia and acted the rôle with Goethe as Orestes. A good drawing of one of these scenes was made by Georg Melchior Kraus. Corona's whole appearance was such as worthily to represent the Greek heroine. The audience was confined to the ducal court of

Weimar, and no other public was admitted. In Kraus's picture the scenery is in so far misleading as it suggests that the play was



"THE FISHERMAIDEN" PLAYED IN TIEFURT PARK.
By Georg Melchior Kraus.

performed in the open air at Ettersburg, but we know definitely that "Iphigenia" was first performed indoors.

Later on Corona Schröter became a successful teacher of reci-

tation and singing, and many of the most distinguished Weimar ladies were her pupils. She was also an exquisite and gifted painter and composer. She set to music Goethe's "Fisher Maiden" of which the Erl King is a part, and her composition of this poem appears like a rough draft of Schubert's more elaborate, more powerful and more artistic composition.

This little drama, Goethe's "Fisher Maiden," in which Corona Schroeter took the part of Dortchen, was performed on the banks of the Ilm at Tiefurt, the summer residence of the Duchess Anna Amalia, and has been portrayed in a wash drawing by Georg Melchior Kraus. The adjoined picture represents the first scene. Dortchen is enraged because she contends that women are not appreciated. She contrives a plot in which she makes it appear that there has been an accident. She hides one pail, places another on a plank near the water, and throws her hat among the bushes so that her father and lover will think she is drowned. After these preparations, she disappears in the woods just as the men return in their boat. They take alarm as she desired, but after a while their fears are dissolved when she returns and sets their minds at rest.

The field of Corona Schroeter's activity was not limited to the stage, for she was endowed with almost every other talent. Moreover her charming personality was like an incarnation of the heroines she represented. When Wieland first met her in the park together with her great poet friend he described her appearance in these strong terms:

"There we found Goethe in company with the beautiful Corona Schroeter who in the infinitely noble Attic elegance of her whole figure and in her quite simple yet infinitely *recherché* and insidious costume looked like the nymph of the charming grotto."

Goethe called her *Krone*, the German equivalent of Corona meaning "crown," and in his poem "On Mieding's Death" refers to her suggestive name in one of his verses saying,

"And e'en the name Corona graces thee."

In the same passage he dwells on her advantage in being endowed with beauty, a queenly figure, and all the arts, saying:

"Unto the world she like a flower appears,
Is beauty's model in its finished state.
She, perfect, doth perfection personate.
The Muses did to her each grace impart
And nature in her soul created art."

Tr. by Bowring.

In Weimar she was a favorite with almost every one and was especially admired by Friedrich von Einsiedel. Goethe dedicated to her the following lines inscribed beneath the statue of a Cupid feeding a nightingale, which adorned the Chateau Tiefurt:

"Certainly Cupid has raised thee,
O singer; himself he has fed thee,
And on his arrow the god
Childlike presented thy food.
Thus, Philomele, thy throat,
Which is steeped in the sweetest of poisons,
Chanting thy strains without guile
Fills with love's power our hearts."



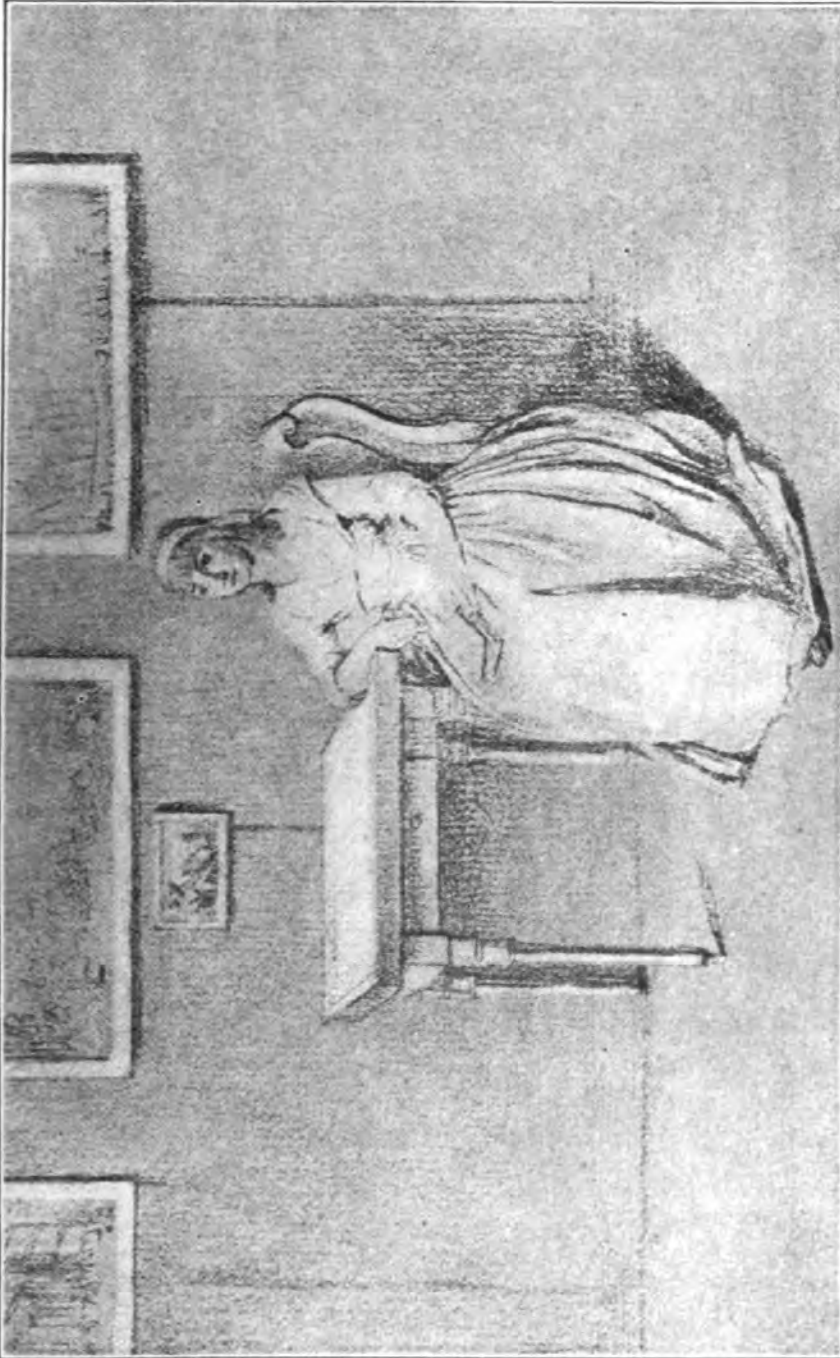
CUPID IN THE TIEFURT GARDEN.

After Corona Schroeter retired from the stage she made her home in Ilmenau and died there August 23, 1802.

Having missed the best chances in his life to select a distinguished woman of superior beauty and talents as his helpmate and wife to become the mother of a superior race of children, Goethe did the next best thing; he married, although not until after many years of hesitation, Christiana Vulpius, the mother of his son. She was the daughter of a talented man, who, however, had lost his situation through love of liquor.

Christiana's position in life was a humble one. She worked in the flower factory of Mr. Bertuch, a business man who had done much to develop Weimar. The girl was a buxom country lass with

rosy cheeks and a simple-hearted disposition. Goethe took a fancy to her and used to meet her in his garden house. We have a



CHRISTIANA WAITING.
Drawn by Goethe from life.

picture of her, drawn by Goethe himself, which shows her as a demure maiden sitting quietly at a simple table. On the wall hang

pictures of Rome. The small picture is Tischbein's sketch of his well-known painting of Goethe on the ruins of the Campagna.

Once it happened that Goethe kept Christiana waiting so long that she grew first impatient, then sleepy, and when he arrived he could not find her. Searching around he finally discovered her curled up in the corner of a sofa fast asleep:

"In the hall I did not find the maiden,
Found the maiden not within the parlor.
And at last on opening the chamber
I discovered her asleep in graceful posture;
Fully dressed she lay upon the sofa."



CHRISTIANA ASLEEP.

Drawn by Goethe in illustration of his poem.

Goethe brought her into his home where she took charge of the household. A charming little poem is dedicated to her which describes their meeting in a figurative way.

In the translation of William Gibson it reads as follows:

"I walked in the woodland,
And nothing sought;
Simply to saunter—
That was my thought.

"I saw in shadow
A floweret rise,
Like stars it glittered,
Like lovely eyes.

"I would have plucked it,
When low it spake:
'My bloom to wither,
Ah! wherefore break?'

"I dug, and bore it,
Its roots and all,
To garden-shades of
My pretty hall.

"And planted now in
A sheltered place,
There grows it ever
And blooms apace."

Goethe married Christiana October 19, 1806.

The incidents here mentioned are straws in the wind which characterize Goethe, and we can see that the results of his life were in agreement with his disposition. His life was an exemplification of the old Roman proverb,

"Faber est suae quisque fortunae,"

which means, "Every one is the forger of his own destiny." We close with a verse of Goethe's own which might well have served as a controlling maxim of his life:

*Liegt dir Gutes klar und offen,
Wirst du heute grüßig frey,
Kannst auch auf ein Morgen hoffen
Das nicht minder glücklich sey.*

Weimar 2. 15 Jun.

Goethe.

1826.

"If yestreen's account be clear,
Art thou brave to-day and free,
Meet thy morrow with good cheer:
Surely t'will auspicious be."

A QOHELETH OF OLD MEXICO.

FRAGMENTS OF A POEM ON "THE TRANSITORINESS OF HUMAN AFFAIRS."

BY JOHN W. GOETZ.

[Buddhism has taught us the truths of transitoriness and of suffering. The same ideas are repeated in Ecclesiastes, chapter i. 4, where we read: "Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher, vanity of vanities; all is vanity." And it is interesting to discover the same thoughts expressed in old Mexican poetry as composed by one of their kings.

Nezahualcoyotl—that was the sovereign's name—was born on February 4, 1402, in Tezcoco. His parents were King Ixtlixochitl and Queen Matlahuatzin, a sister of the Nahua king, Huitzilihuitl. In the year 1431 he was ceremoniously crowned as king of Texcoco and of the whole Chichimeco-Tecpanic kingdom.

The chronicles have handed down to us interesting accounts of his courage, his talents, his hardships, and romantic events of his life. One might really fancy to read an American tradition of the history of David.

Only two of his poems have come down to posterity, one of which is without a title, while the other bears the title "The Transitoriness of Human Affairs." Here follows a literal translation of it from the Nahuatl language. J. W. G.]

The transitory pomps of this world are like the green willows, for howsoever much the latter may strive for permanence, a sudden fire will nevertheless consume them, a sharp ax will destroy them, the north wind will pluck them out, and old age and decrepitude bend them and make them down-hearted.

The characteristics of the royal purple coincide with those of roses, on account of their color as well as on account of their fate.

The beauty of the roses lasts only as long as their chaste buds catch and keep avariciously those particles which the Dawn melts into precious pearls and economically dissolves into liquid dew;

But no sooner does the Father of the Winds send the smallest ray of light to them, then he deprives them of their beauty and

bloom, making them wither and lose their bright purple color with which they had been agreeably and gaily clad.

During a short period only the proud and flourishing nations enjoy their leadership;

For those that in the morning prove themselves great and haughty, weep in the evening over the sad loss of their throne and over the repeated catastrophes which bring them nearer to dismay, drought, death, and the grave.

All earthly things come to an end; for even the most festive, joyful and splendid career will come to a standstill, and completely vanish away.

The whole earth is a grave; nothing exists that she does not pitifully hide and bury.

Rivers, brooks and springs flow, and none of them returns to its source.

They eagerly hasten towards the vast region of Tloluca (the sea) and the nearer they come to its extensive coast, the deeper they dig their sad beds in which to bury themselves.

What was yesterday is not to-day, and one does not know what to-day's things will be to-morrow.

The tombs are filled with ashes of evil smell, which were formerly bones, corpses and living bodies of people who sat on thrones, presided over councils, led armies, conquered countries, owned treasures, founded religions, and enjoyed pomp, authority, good fortune and power.

These glories disappeared like the terrible smoke vomited by the infernal fire of the Popocatepetl, with no other monuments but the rough hides on which they are recorded.

And if I led you into the dark holes of the grave-yards, and asked you about the bones of the mighty Chalchiuhtlanetzin, the first chief of the ancient Toltecs, and about those of the venerable worshiper Necaxeomil;

If I were to ask you what became of the incomparable beauty of Empress Xiuhztal, and about the remnants of the peaceful Topiltzin, the last sovereign of the unfortunate Toltec kingdom;

If I inquired for the ashes of our ancestor Xolotl, or the still warm dust of my famous, immortal, though most unfortunate father Ixtlixochitl;

If I were to question you as to all your august fore-fathers; what would you reply?

The same as I also should answer: *Indipohdi, indipohdi* (I know nothing); for the first and the last are mingled with the earth.

Their fate will be ours and that of our successors.

Let us therefore, O invincible princes, brave commanders, true friends and loyal liegemen, try to attain heaven; for there everything is eternal and nothing decays.

The horror of the grave is a flattering cradle for the sun, and the miserable shadows bright lights for the stars.

Nobody is able to change those celestial bodies; for as they serve directly the magnificence of our creator, they let our eyes see the same things to-day that our ancestors beheld and that our offspring too will behold.

THE BUDDHIST ORIGIN OF LUKE'S PENITENT THIEF.

BY ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

Motto: Both religions independent in the main, but out of eighty-nine chapters in the Gospels, the equivalent of one, mostly in Luke, is colored by a knowledge of Buddhism.

IT is a canon of Gospel criticism that Matthew and Luke are copying Mark in the body of their narrative. When they depart from him they do so with a motive. Then how do we account for this?

Mark xv. 27, 32.

"And with him they crucify two robbers: one on his right hand, and one on his left. . . . *And they that were crucified with him reproached him.*"

Luke, xxiii. 33, 39-43.

"There they crucified him, and the malefactors: one on the right hand and the other on the left. . . . And one of the malefactors which were hanged railed on him, saying, Art thou not the Christ? save thyself and us. But the other answered, and rebuking him said, Dost thou not even fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation? And we indeed justly; for we receive the due reward of our deeds; but this man hath done nothing amiss. And he said, Jesus, remember me when thou comest in thy kingdom. And he said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise."

Matthew supports Mark, so that the contradiction is complete. John is silent about the reproaching, but he is outside the Synoptic tradition. Robinson Smith and other scholars have abundantly shown how Luke alters this tradition to suit himself. Thus,

it is his contention that all the resurrection apparitions were seen in or around Jerusalem; he leaves no room for Markan appearances in Galilee. The apostles are commanded to stay in the capital till Pentecost. (Luke xxiv. 49; Acts i. 4.) Consequently, when Mark records a double command to go into Galilee and meet the risen Lord (Mark xiv. 28; xvi. 7), Luke reduces this to a mere echo thus:

Mark xvi. 6, 7.

He is risen: he is not here.
Go, tell his disciples and Peter, He
goeth before you *into Galilee*; there
shall ye see him, *as he said unto you*.

Luke xxiv. 6, 7.

He is not here, but is risen. Re-
member *how he spake unto you* when
he was yet *in Galilee*, saying that the
Son of Man must be delivered up
into the hands of sinful men.

Luke's words "in Galilee" are a mere echo of the text of Mark which Luke has before him, but the sense is utterly changed to agree with his notion about the metropolitan exclusiveness of the resurrection:

Luke xxiv. 49. "Tarry ye in the city, until ye be clothed with power from on high."

Acts i. 4, 5. "He charged them not to depart from Jerusalem, but to wait for the promise of the Father, which [said he], ye heard from me: for John indeed baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence."

Thus we see how Luke alters the text of Mark with a motive. This is a canon of criticism now agreed upon by all historical critics. It remains to apply it. The motive in the case just discussed is sufficiently plain. But what is the motive for the penitent thief? Why does Luke violate the text of his master Mark who tells us that both the malefactors reviled the Lord? Hitherto no motive could be found, beyond the general one of love and forgiveness. This has been because New Testament scholars have been imbued with the Mediterranean culture. Greece, Rome and Judea were their three classic nations and the rest of the world was a mist. But we now know that at the time of Christ India was one of the four great powers of the earth and was the apostle of a world-religion which was knocking at the gates of Antioch, the great international metropolis where the Gospel of Luke was composed. Luke was an Antioch physician, and as a physician he had to know something about India, which was one of the homes of ancient medical knowledge. His city was an emporium for the Chinese silk-trade, and an ancient work on geography assures us that a long line of hotels connected it with India. Along this great

caravan route there circulated the coins of Kanishka, an Indo-Scythian potentate whose date is now being debated by scholars. Some put him in the first century B. C., others in the first century A. D. Upon several of his coins can still be seen the image of Buddha with his name in Greek letters:

BOΔΔΟ.

Upon the coins of Kanishka's predecessors and successors we read Buddhist names and titles, both in Greek and Pali.



COINS OF KING KANISHKA.*

Both coins show King Kanishka on the obverse and the Buddha on the reverse. The upper coin is of copper, the lower one of gold.

Now it is practically certain that Luke, who wrote in the nineties, had seen these coins and, being a student of religion, had inquired who this Buddha was. Travelers were quick to tell him that India, Bactria and the eastern part of the Parthian Empire were covered with his temples. Upon these temples were sculptured the scenes of Buddha's life, and one of the leading characters portrayed was a penitent robber. The Great Chronicle of Ceylon expressly says

* Reproduced from *The Buddhist Review*, July, 1909. After the official catalogue of the British Museum.

that this character was graven on the famous Great Tope at the island capital in the second century before Christ. Among the delegates from Buddhist countries who came to the opening ceremony was a company "from Alexandria, the city of the Greeks." This is the regular term among ancient Hindu astronomers for the capital of Egypt, but even if another Alexandria be meant, the story of the Buddha was known to the Greek world. Not only so, but we have discovered, during the present decade of this twentieth century, that at the time of Christ the Buddhist scriptures were being translated into the vernaculars of the Parthian Empire, the buffer state between Palestine and India. Strabo says that at this period nearly the same language pervaded Media and parts of Persia, Bactria and Sogdiana. We have now found considerable portions of the Buddhist scriptures in Sogdian. The Christian Gospels were translated into the same language about the ninth century, but before that the same language had been the vehicle of Manichean and Buddhist holy books, with Buddhist first.¹ The Wei Annals of China tell us that in B. C. 2 a Chinese official was presented with Buddhist scriptures *in a vernacular translation* at the hands of the very nation whose king Kanishka was.² If this vernacular was not Sogdian, it was probably Tokharish, in which also we have found fragments of Buddhist literature and can even identify them in the extant Pali canon.³ Tokharish was spoken in Bactria (Afghanistan) and Alexander Polyhistor tells us that in the first century B. C. that country was full of Buddhist topes. Asoka's inscriptions and the Ceylon Chronicles explain this by saying that Buddhist missionaries were sent thither about 250 B. C. From the fact that Greek and Pali appear on the same coins, we are entitled to infer that the missionaries translated their scriptures not only into Tokharish, but also into Greek. However, we will not press this point, as no remains have yet been found, and Greek was dying out in that part of Asia at the time of Christ.

But from what we do know, we can clearly see that the great Gentile Evangelist has sufficient motive for his penitent thief. The Fathers are unanimous in declaring that his Gospel was Paul's, and Paul was the apostle of the Gentiles. When therefore the evangelist found himself confronted all over Asia (for during his lifetime Buddhism entered China) by a religion of love and forgiveness, he could not but be influenced thereby. The penitent

¹ Louis H. Gray, in *The Expository Times*, Edinburgh, November, 1913.

² Francke, in *Indian Antiquary*, 1906.

³ *Journal Asiatique*, since 1911.

thief of Buddhism was "Fingergarland" (Angulimālo) so named because he wore a necklace of human fingers. Buddha converted him with a few gentle words, and the king who had come at the head of an armed troop to arrest the highwayman was astonished. A meek-eyed Buddhist monk responded to his salutation. The story was many times translated into Chinese; the penitent robber is one of the psalmists in the book of Psalms of the Monks, wherein are assembled all the leading characters of primitive Buddhism, and there is no reasonable doubt that Parthian versions existed in Gospel times. And Parthians were present at the founding of the Christian religion (Acts ii. 9).

The great obstacles against the recognition of the hypothesis here maintained have been:

1. Our ignorance of the propaganda of Buddhism at the time of Christ;
2. Our objection to admit that Luke dealt in fiction.

But the discoveries in Chinese Turkestan by men like Pelliot and Stein have removed the first objection, and the articles of Robinson Smith and others have removed the second. The ground is therefore now clear for the recognition of the fact that our Gentile Evangelist expressly adapted his Gospel to the great world-religion of his age and continent.

A BRIEF EXPOSITION OF FREEMASONRY.¹

BY THE EDITOR.

INTRODUCTORY.

AGAIN and again the claim has been made that freemasonry was founded by King Solomon, and that Hiram of Tyre was the first master of a masonic lodge in Jerusalem when he was building the temple on Mt. Zion. Sometimes even more extravagant statements are made in the assertions that freemasonry existed among the oldest civilizations of the world. But it goes without saying that these generalities are not based on truth, except in the sense that similar aspirations have existed in mankind at all times, long before the time when the first masonic lodges were founded in their present temples.

If we apply a strictly historical investigation to the subject we know that the first masonic lodges with their modern tendencies rose from stone-cutters' guilds in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The medieval guilds were combinations of artisans quite similar in purpose to modern trades unions. They were fraternities which looked after the interests of the craft to which they belonged, and of the members of the guild who found protection in cases of emergency, in disease, in times of enforced idleness and in their struggles to maintain living wages. In distinction to modern guilds these medieval fraternities insisted on general rules of good conduct; they excluded unworthy men from becoming members, and kept up an *esprit du corps* in accordance with the times, introducing into their by-laws a decidedly religious element. The liberalism of this religious element became the seed of modern freemasonry. Since their religious aspirations were not determined

¹ The details in this article are taken from a *Merkblatt über Freimaurerei* by Diedrich Bischoff, and although intended to be of a general character are based mainly on the conditions in German lodges.

by dogma, but by great breadth and charity in matters of conscience, they became so important that the original trade interests became of secondary consequence. Honorary members were admitted who were not stonecutters or masons, and finally the latter, active members of the craft, disappeared entirely. References to the masonic trade then became merely symbols and the religious spirit alone was dominant.

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

The first freemason lodges originated in London in 1717, from old fraternities of zealous stone-cutters whose history extends far back into the Middle Ages and is closely interwoven with the history of cathedral architecture. These fraternities attained a new purpose when their numbers were increased by members not belonging to the building trades. In this new form they became the models of the freemason lodges which soon spread from London over England, Scotland and Ireland and thence to the continent of Europe, and which now extend into all quarters of the earth and into almost every civilized country.

Today there are about 2400 recognized freemason lodges, with perhaps two million members. More than half of all the masons are in the United States of America. In Germany there are about 60,000, belonging to about 530 lodges. These lodges belong to eight different German associations of grand lodges independent of each other, with the exception of a few not affiliated with any grand lodge. These data refer solely to the so-called "recognized" masons. Besides these there are many other kinds of associations in Germany which likewise call themselves freemasons, but which have no connection with the freemasons organized in regular lodges and grand lodges.

Many leading spirits of the various nations have been members of freemasonry since its origin. In Germany, for instance, we can mention Lessing, Herder, Goethe, Wieland, Rückert, Mozart, Haydn, Fichte, Von Stein, Hardenberg, Blücher, and among other royal personages Frederick the Great, Emperor William I, and Emperor Frederick as well as his son William II.

From its beginning down to the present day freemasonry has been bitterly opposed by the Roman papacy. According to the view of the Vatican as it has been emphatically expressed in many important enactments, nothing in the world is more dangerous and more reprehensible than the purposes and aspirations of freemasonry. The very fact of this keen antipathy of the papacy dis-

played repeatedly from time to time, and on the other hand the affiliation of so many leading spirits, bear witness that in its fundamental intentions and effects freemasonry can not be shallow or insignificant.

Not at all times nor in all places have masons conceived and pursued the purport and significance of their cause in the same way. Freemasonry has lived through times of external progress and internal restraint, but also through times of stagnation and alienation from life. In Germany there is a constant internal development in freemasonry, inasmuch as the attempt is made seriously and successfully to bring its purpose and activities into harmony with the decisive progress, requirements and duties of the life of to-day. The greatest German poets have contributed not a little to deepen and broaden masonic ideals, and Mozart composed his opera "The Magic Flute" for the outspoken purpose of characterizing the masonic order.

SECRETS OF MASONRY.

Freemasons keep secret only certain signs of identification and rituals by means of which the unity of the members of associations scattered over all parts of the earth is made possible. In this way they guard against the possibility of people who do not belong to the masonic community forcing themselves into the confidence and into the ceremonies which build up their inner life and thus interfering with the efficiency of the brotherhood.

Masonic lodges do not pursue any secret hidden purpose. The direction of their intentions and activities is prescribed by certain fundamental ideas which are openly professed in masonic writings everywhere.

There is a common belief that the masonic order is a secret society, and this notion is based on the secret signs and grips by which its members recognize one another. Thus it has come to pass that the main aims of freemasonry are assumed to be a secret policy, but in fact there is no secrecy about them. The secrecy of masonic grips is a mere externality and is as unessential to freemasonry as are the secrets of student fraternities whose members are not allowed to betray the hidden meaning of the Greek letters by which they are called.

THE MASONIC IDEAL OF BROTHERHOOD.

The main tendency of freemasonry is the ideal of brotherhood which should unite all mankind. Freemasonry does not propose

to level social conditions to one type, but it tends to remove all hostility which may arise from social, national or religious differences. It condemns the haughtiness of the more powerful, more influential and richer classes, and strives after the establishment of peace on earth by removing all fanaticism and national hatred on account of differences of language, race, nationality, dogma and even color. The different classes should overcome their prejudices from which arise so many of the evils and jealousies among men. Freemasonry endeavors to develop a feeling of solidarity among all the members of human society, and believes that the higher a man ranges in the process of civilization, the surer he is to recognize his fellow men as brothers.

An association of people which lacks this unity between its parts is deficient in the main requirement for security and for the increase of its true value in its struggle to retain a place in history. Accordingly from the beginning freemasons have had in view an increase of brotherly feeling and a consciousness of solidarity among men and groups of men who otherwise would remain unsympathetic or hostile to each other.

THE BUILDING IDEA.

It is not the purpose of masonry to unite men through a common advantage. They are to become brothers in the moral realm, and it is in working for the upbuilding of humanity that masons find the common moral duty of all mankind. Every man and every nation has the same calling to contribute unceasingly to the uplift and ennoblement of human society. The entire direction of man's life (for instance his physical and mental education, his marriage and the rearing of his children, his part in the spiritual and social life of his age) is towards building up the present and future of the human race. His problem consists in employing his building material—beginning with the conscious education of himself, and an unselfish love of his family, country and humanity—so as to make of this social structure a place for the implanting and nurture of the highest possible spiritual life, a realm of perfect morality. According to the masonic conception mankind must be trained up to this royal art, this constant and skilful care for the wholesome, harmonious, universal condition of life and mind, if the correct moral consciousness of solidarity is to govern them, and if the body politic is to be endowed with the healthy soul requisite for its preservation and welfare. Only in the realm of work upon the upbuilding

of humanity can true unity and the desired spirit of brotherliness flourish among men and nations.

THE IDEA OF HUMANITY.

Every lodge meeting is designed to contribute to the cultivation of their ideal which they call "the royal art." Freemasons regard themselves as laborers who hew the blocks for the building stones of the temple of mankind, and they are conscious that their work is the highest of all. Where humanity is not nurtured brotherliness does not thrive, and workers on the temple of humanity become separated and disunited in moral training by different doctrinal systems. This is the main idea by which the purpose of masonry is characterized, namely the effort to foster the brotherhood of man by cultivating the innate social impulse to ennoble and beautify life.

LODGE-WORK.

The lodge brings together in a common ethical interest men who otherwise are far apart in life and would be separated from each other by a one-sided development of mind and interests, while it endeavors to make dominant in their inner lives the common will to labor for the temple of humanity. Members of lodges are to become brothers as disciples of the royal art which springs from the soul of humanity and aims at the perfection of human society.

This purpose is served in the first place by the temple ceremonies in which all take part and where the individual is encouraged to hold an inspection of his better self and to discover in the depths of his own emotional life his stock of building materials, his uncorrupted demand for social duty and righteousness. All this makes men recognize the sacred responsibility which each one shares for the external and internal welfare of the national life of the present and future. The purpose and content of the social architecture providing for the cultivation of this health and beauty is made perceptible to the apprentices again and again in a significant symbolism.

This cultivation of the moral and artistic spirit of brotherhood is perfected in earnest mental labor and a noble companionship amid the exclusive community of comrades striving towards the same goal and struggling for a profound conception of life. Outsiders are kept at a distance in order that the community spirit may operate the more deeply and with the greater harmony.

This community spirit does not find its expression in the letter of formulated dogmas prescribing for the individual a definite faith

and fealty, but merely in the symbolism of signs, forms, and words which grant to the disciple the most far-reaching mental liberty and constantly stimulate him to a search for truth on his own part. Symbolism, not dogmatism! This is a peculiarity of the masonic system of development which is of the greatest significance. To be sure the symbolic instruction is supplemented in the lodges by a liberal interchange of ideas on the correct aims and requirements of the structure of society and of social service, but this merely serves to cultivate freedom of knowledge in the individual. It is not true that definite theories of society are here inculcated in the guise of a masonic confession of faith.

By no means does the lodge subject its disciple to an authority compelling him to enter in a definite way for a definite social advancement. The masonic desire for association serves to cultivate in the individual an unhampered love of humanity. A manifestation of the bond for partisan purposes or as an organization for power is absolutely prohibited. When freemasons unite in behalf of a definite form of administration, when they become interested in elections, in industrial enterprises, or take a stand as to ecclesiastical polity, or favor special reforms in ethical culture, or popular education, or health regulations, or social service, etc., they never represent the masonic community as such. The true masonic bond consists in identity of conviction which has its roots in the ideals of brotherhood and humanity, not in identity of the presentation of the end and means by which this conviction manifests itself in the different walks of life.

It is a matter of course that a merely external membership in a masonic lodge is no guarantee of the existence of a properly masonic conviction. To many lodge members it rarely or never occurs to admit within themselves the spirit of freemasonry. When a freemason lacks the energy to cooperate he attains no real membership in the masonic community of thought.

In consideration of all this it is clear that the method of certain opponents to represent this or that alleged injurious political or other public activity of individual freemasons or masonic groups as an attribute or characteristic of true masonic work and lodge practice is absolutely misleading.

THE RELIGION OF RIGHTEOUSNESS.

"A mason is held under the obligation of the duty of his calling to observe the moral law; and if he rightly understands the art he will never be a stupid atheist and live without religious affiliation."

Thus we read in the "early duties" of the freemasons of the year 1723. Nevertheless it is at the same time incidentally emphasized that the lodge binds its members only to a religion of goodness, of loyalty and of righteousness "in which all men agree." The individual may pursue his particular religious conviction outside of the masonic community and let others do the same.

The lodge-work of to-day on the whole still starts from this traditional fundamental conception. It presupposes that true love for the social structure includes a religious veneration and constraint, and therefore it requires of the freemason a religion of righteousness, a strict observance of the moral law, and this conception also finds expression in the symbolism of masonry.

In all Germanic lodges, mention is made, with reference to the universal duties of all men toward the social structure, of a "master architect of the universe" to whom laborers on the structure of humanity should look, in their struggle for a creative fraternal spiritual life. This symbol of the freemasons serves to bring apprentices in the art to the consciousness that constructive effort after beauty which they recognize as the inmost requirement of their humanity, signifies the highest life. "A spiritual living and doing—higher, more universal, more permanent, constantly dominating our transitory and egotistic earthly pilgrimage—which finds expression in the progressive impulse of the human conscience and in the enlightened consciousness of good and evil in the individual, gives a vocation to every one and a sense and purpose to our existence. To this master architect and to his moral law the apprentice of the royal art should feel himself responsible and bound in faithful allegiance."

In freemasonry God is not a dogma, but a symbol. The word God stands for the authority of righteousness, and by believing in God masons mean that they recognize the principle that there is a moral ideal to be observed, and that this moral ideal is a binding principle of conduct for every human being. By its proposal to seek God freemasonry does not intend to spread a religious doctrine, but it uses this symbol to cultivate a moral idealism which insists on a feeling of responsibility and duty, and freemasons claim that in this point all men should agree if they are but rightly developed,—in spite of whatever different opinion they may cherish concerning the word God and church affiliations.

In this symbolism appealing to the soul's search after God the lodge does not serve the purpose of a propaganda of a religious system of doctrine but always leaves the interpretation to every

individual. Nevertheless, combined with this clear social consciousness of responsibility and duty there is a reverent, confiding and hopeful intention to keep sacred the ends and means of a true constructive justice and love for humanity revealed in the human soul. This religion of upbuilding mankind and of constructive righteousness appears to freemasons to be the most efficacious leaven of true brotherliness. In this religion—they hold—all men agree on a correct self-knowledge no matter to what diversity in world-conceptions, ideas with regard to God and ecclesiastical affiliations they may be devoted. For this religion therefore the friend of human brotherhood should prepare the soil with affection and with an open mind.

THE DIFFERENT SYSTEMS.

The lodge work is not organized in the same way in all associations calling themselves freemasons. The lodges in Latin countries, for instance, carry on the exercise of their masonic convictions in part according to a program which differs in many particulars from the Germanic practice. Thus there are some among them who have removed the symbol of the "master architect of the universe" from their system of work. They have come to this point because they feared that this image might be erroneously considered as a dogmatic God-conception in the sense of one or another ecclesiastical dogma. This should not be taken as an evidence of any tendency towards negative, irreligious or anti-Christian views, or towards irreverence or atheism.

The recognized German masonic lodges do not accept "atheists" on principle. Men who ascribe no reality to the ideas of good and moral, and to whom accordingly the application in the lodge of the symbolism of a master architect of the universe would be false and foolish, do not belong in a community built upon the religion of righteousness and the observance of ethics. One does not expect any advancement of a creative idealism from those who expressly deny the character of a higher super-individual spiritual life to human longing for beauty and moral consciousness, and who object to the assumption that every one in his own person assumes the task of building up, and our whole existence receives a creative sense through such a higher, more universal and more permanent life and that the God-conception is the symbol of the human ideal of truth, justice and right. A man who maintains that human life is void of purpose will, according to the conception of the recognized

German lodge, prove unfit to be a representative of that true and efficient fraternity.

But there are some differences in the systems of the recognized German lodges. Two grand lodges admit only professing Christians as regular members, because in their work of humanization and fraternization they utilize symbols of traditional Christianity and are particularly concerned with the evaluation of essentially Christian traditions.

There is no universal organization and international activity of masonic lodges. The grand lodges of different countries are not bound by any sort of common general council. There is merely an international masonic business headquarters at Neuchâtel in Switzerland (Beaux-Arts 26), which issues reports of the various masonic organizations and serves similar purposes of mutual information.

TOLERANCE.

The conviction that the will and the capability for independent discovery and for a realization of the true, the good and the beautiful are present in an ever increasing measure in the natural dispositions of men, causes freemasons to regard as dangerous and immoral the intolerant depreciation and suppression of any effort to search for the truth. Therefore freemasons stand for freedom of mind and conscience and the toleration of all theories whose representatives do not oppose the cultivation of humanity and the brotherhood of man and do not attempt to suppress others arrogantly and domineeringly in their freedom of thought.

German freemasonry keeps perfectly neutral with regard to religious convictions and in fact its members belong to very different religious and ecclesiastical denominations. Only those religious beliefs which do violence to the faith of other people or suppress the culture of humanity and the brotherhood of man find a natural enemy in freemasonry.

In the lodges themselves every intolerance is checked by the fact that no contention for or against ecclesiastical or political partisan views is allowed. Only by way of a tolerant brotherly search for the truth do they discuss the social constructive work of state and church in the masonic search for wisdom.

THE VALUE OF FREEMASONRY.

When the peculiar masonic work of fraternization in its performance does justice in every respect to its leading ideas, it sig-

nifies for the common life of humanity an important element of true progressive evolution.

The spirit of genuine masonic work acts as a leaven in national and international life and can be dispensed with to-day even less than formerly. Its extension is highly necessary. Otherwise because of a great lack in genuine moral consciousness of solidarity the most significant virtues of national life in internal and external struggles will sooner or later disappear. The particular masonic method of humanization, taking possession as it does of the inner life, can not be dispensed with in the education of a people where it is important to make accessible the sources of a remedial ethical truth and moral authority in the spiritual world of to-day, which demands independence of thought.

THE OPPONENTS OF MASONRY.

In striking contrast to the masonic conceptions and aspirations stand those who regard the humanitarian ideal as a gross error, maintaining that human nature does not possess any moral aptitude, that man can be saved only by an indiscriminating submission under a definite doctrinal system of sin and destruction. With this hostile opinion is often united the conviction that those of another faith—infidels and heretics who do not recognize a definite doctrinal system—are morally of little value, that the spread of their teaching ought not to be permitted and that believers should be separated from them as rigorously as possible and that the contrast be sharply emphasized. Advocates of these views, representatives of intolerance and exclusion who work in opposition to freedom of spirit, to humanitarian fraternization and the independent development of national morality, have fought against freemasonry from the beginning with the sharpest weapons, and have purposely brought it into the repute of the most destructive devil worship in the minds of many of their followers, a tendency which has produced the most ridiculous fictions.

Masonry meets with a different sort of opposition from those who look for salvation solely in political and other similar partisan aspirations, who worship success, who live in the delusion that they are the true politicians and have no vision for the great and decisive necessities of a thought culture and development of a community soul. To these the masonic association has nothing to offer because in its ranks it permits no politics of power and party but much rather in every estimation of other forces of civilization places its hopes for progress most decisively in a truthful moral

consciousness of solidarity, without which, in its opinion, intelligence and technical skill of individuals and communities can not construct any prosperous future. The masonic order is thus particularly ridiculed by people whose only god is success, who do not with masonry see in the moral ideals of humanity the great decisive realities and truths of life, but with materialism look upon them as the fancies of individuals which at best have proved of general utility.

Others again condemn the masons for exclusiveness and an air of mystery without inquiring at all into the nature and justification of the so-called masonic secrets.

On the whole the critics of freemasonry are composed for the most part of wiseacres who criticize and talk about this peculiar community but have never succeeded in studying their efforts conscientiously. Finally many imagine that they have grasped the spiritual content of the whole masonic system if they happen to know a few lodge members who may perhaps be themselves far from the inner meaning of the whole affair.

How few to-day really know and understand genuine masonry and its cult of a creative love for humanity and for one's brother. This masonic endeavor is pretty remote from the views and interests which the life of to-day imparts to every-day men. Moreover for a long time it has been in the public mind the object of a partly unintelligible, partly malicious, but at any rate entirely misleading hostile description and account, whereas the freemasons express themselves only in a very limited measure about their affairs and rarely get word into the press which does not like to enter into matters which are not purely practical. Nevertheless we confess that in recent times masonry has met with an increased interest in its struggles and aspirations.

THE WORLD'S DEBT TO EGYPT.

BY G. H. RICHARDSON.

SIR Richard Burton speaking of Egypt said, "It was the inventor of the alphabet, the cradle of letters. . . .and, generally speaking, the source of all human civilization." This appears a sweeping statement but all recent researches are establishing it. Egypt is the teacher of the nations. From whatever country we look back along the pathway of the arts, sciences, and religion, in the dim distance tower the mighty gateways of Egypt, beneath which the rites of religion and the blessings of civilization passed out to the world.

Our modern civilization is the outgrowth of that of the Mediterranean, and this can be traced back to the Nile valley, where, if the antiquity of the monuments is a safe guide, we find an advanced civilization many centuries before we find it in Babylon.¹ In fact it is in the Nile valley that we find the first civilization. When Egypt first appears in history proper we find her with a civilization practically complete—writing, administration, cults, ceremonies, a philosophical religion, and a social system. The antiquity of Egypt is almost unthinkable. "Seven cycles of civilization take us back to the beginning, with strides for which our two cycles in Europe, the classical and the medieval, scarcely prepare us." Egypt was hoary with age when Abram left Ur of Chal-

¹ Dr. Naville, in a personal note to the writer, after reading this writes: "The relative antiquity of Egypt and Babylon is very much discussed between Egyptologists and Assyriologists. It is undeniable that the civilization of Babylon goes very far back though I do not agree with Hommel and others who pretend that Babylon was the mother of Egypt. Still it seems to me that Babylon's birth is in a very remote past." The predynastic discoveries made since this note was sent seem to justify the statement of the text. Mosso (*The Dawn of Mediterranean Civilization*) says: "Many still believe that our civilization comes from Asia, but anthropology has decided the controversy, and we know that the Asiatic race never penetrated into Egypt or into the isles of the Ægean. Although the origin of man is wrapped in mystery, naturalists are agreed in admitting the preponderating influence of Africa upon the population of Europe."

dee. Greece had not taken her first steps toward civilization when Egypt showed signs of decay, and Rome was not yet founded on her seven hills before the signs of decay were very marked. When all other nations were in a state of barbarism we find an advanced art in the Nile valley. Nestor L' Hote, after prolonged study said: "The farther one penetrates into antiquity towards the origins of Egyptian art, the more perfect are the productions of that art as though the genius of the people, inversely to that of others, was formed suddenly. Egyptian art we know only in its decadence."²

Thanks to the labors of a great number of devoted scholars, we can begin to measure the influence of Egypt upon the world's life and thought. Her arts, religion, literature, sciences, and laws are still exerting their influences. Thales the Greek astronomer was taught by the Egyptians, six centuries before Christ, to calculate eclipses;³ Eratosthenes was taught how to measure the circumference of the earth; Aristarchus was the first to compute the relative distances of the stars and moon, and their magnitudes, under the tutelage of Egyptian teachers; Euclid perfected mathematical knowledge of the Egyptians; Hipparchus discovered the precession of the equinoxes, made the first star catalogue and invented the planisphere; Ctesius invented the siphon; Plato and other philosophers were proud to sit at the feet of Egyptian priests. These are but few of the names of the great who owed a debt but they are sufficient to convince us that the world owes a great debt to ancient Egypt.

But we must get back behind these men, who, practically speaking, are modern, back to the time when the prehistoric man of Egypt gave to the world its alphabet. The hieroglyphic system of dynastic times comes before us already perfected. Whence that originally came we have at present no definite knowledge, though Dr. Bissing maintains that it is African in origin. Much light has been thrown upon the origin of our alphabet by the researches of Petrie at Abydos and of Sir Arthur J. Evans in Crete. In his

² Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt*; Petrie, *Diaspolis Parva*.

³ Dr. Naville in the note referred to above adds: "I should not like to be so positive about the Greeks having derived their knowledge of astronomy from Egypt, considering how very poor is what Egypt has left us about astronomy. There is hardly anything which is not astrology. For instance there is not a single observation of an eclipse." We do not know the Egyptian word for eclipse." While acknowledging Naville's unrivalled knowledge on the matter we are compelled to pit master against master. The position of the pyramids, the building of the temples, and the arrangement of the altar demand a knowledge of astronomy, for they were dependent upon the accuracy of astronomical triangulation.

previous excavations at Nagada Petrie found a number of geometrical forms, and of these he says: "Few of them are striking, or like any definite alphabetical series; nor are any to be found in sequence to suggest that constant ideas were attached to them." But the excavations at the royal tombs and the researches in Crete have opened the way for the more thorough examination. On the pottery found in the royal tombs was discovered a series of marks of which "some are unquestionably hieroglyphics; others are probably connected with the signs used by the earlier prehistoric people; and many can scarcely be determined."⁴

The origin of these signs lies in obscurity, but what is remarkable is that they are found, not only on the pottery of the prehistoric period, but also on that of the first, twelfth, and eighteenth dynasties, and not only here, but also the primitive alphabets of Karia and Spain present a series of identical signs.⁵ From this we see that a common alphabet was in use around the basin of the Mediterranean for several thousands of years. "What then becomes of the Phenician legend of the alphabet? Certainly the so-called Phenician letters were familiar long before the rise of Phenician influence. What is really due to the Phenicians seems to have been the selection of a short series (only half the amount of the surviving alphabets) for numerical purposes." Now if, as is most probable, the island of Crete was colonized from Africa, this system was given by the primitive Egyptians, and thus we, and not only the peoples of the English-speaking race, but practically all civilized people to-day, are indebted to these people for our alphabet which can be traced back step by step through Roman, Greek and Phenician.⁶ "The theory which finds its (the alphabet's) origin in an adaptation from Egyptian Hieratic remains the most likely one despite the attempts to discredit it."⁷

One of the most amazing discoveries made in the realm of archeology is the relationship existing between Egypt and Crete, and not only Crete but the whole of the Mediterranean civilization. A few years ago we dared scarcely to speak of anything beyond the fourth dynasty. "Until recently the Egypt of Cheops and Cephren marked the limit in the past to which our eyes could reach. We saw it clearly and distinctly in full possession of its arts and polit-

⁴ See the tables in *The Royal Tombs*. Part I, p. 32.

⁵ *The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty*. Part I, p. 29.

⁶ Mosso, *The Dawn of Mediterranean Civilization*; Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt*; Petrie, *Royal Tombs*.

⁷ Hall, *Proc. Soc. Bib. Archeology*, Nov. 1909.

ical and social laws, but farther back the monuments suddenly ceased, and nothing more could be distinguished. It seemed that the mass of the pyramids interposed between it and the Egypt that had preceded it."⁸ To-day we can trace the footsteps of man right back through the Paleolithic period to a time before the Nile deposits had made agriculture possible. The fourth and preceding dynasties are now in the light because of the discoveries of Petrie, Amelineau, De Morgan, Naville, Reisner and others. Reisner's work has given us the key to many things which before were sealed. His work at the pyramids has opened up new fields. But the greatest work is yet to be done in the opening up of the royal tombs hewn out in the quarry near the pyramid of Mycerinus, and from which Mycerinus obtained the stone for his pyramid. Reisner's work can be only briefly touched upon because of lack of space. Petrie has followed a number of others at the royal tombs at Abydos, and, in spite of the fact that so much work had been done there, he has given us much new light upon the first dynasties. The kings treated as legendary have been definitely placed in their historical succession, and to-day we can drink out of their bowls and sit on their furniture. Petrie, Naville, Quibell, De Morgan and Garstang have brought back the life and civilization of the prehistoric people. Dr. Eliot Smith and his helpers have done remarkable work in the department of ethnology, bringing to light many new facts and settling many old difficulties.

While this work has been progressing in Egypt other scholars have been at work in Crete and throughout the Mediterranean, including Sir Arthur J. Evans and other devoted scholars, among whom we must mention Dr. Schliemann, the discoverer of ancient Troy and Mycenae. It is not too much to say that these excavations have completely revolutionized our whole conception of the past. It is to be regretted that our leading Egyptologists are not agreed as to their datings of the periods of Egyptian history. But while we cannot be altogether certain regarding the dates we can now definitely trace the relationships of these civilizations. As to how they arose we cannot determine at present. Mr. H. R. Hall ventures to say: "It may be, that far back in the age of stone, the earliest inhabitants of Crete and the Cyclades had migrated from the Nile Delta, so that the main elements of Minoan civilization and of that of Egypt may have had a common origin. The primeval beginnings of Greek civilization may be of Egyptian origin after

⁸ Maspero, *New Light on Ancient Egypt*, p. 122.

all."⁹ And again he says: "We are being gradually led to perceive the possibility that the Minoan culture of Greece was, in origin, an offshoot from that of primeval Egypt, probably in early Neolithic times." Speaking of Cyprus he also says: "So also in Cyprus the first immigrants from the South (for they possibly came from the Nile land also) settled only in the lower lands east of the Troödos. If the Cretans were originally Nilotes so must the related Lycians and Carians also have been."

We think more evidence is needed than appears to be forthcoming to bear out the statement made by some that the likeness of pottery, figurines, and weapons discovered in the basin of the Mediterranean was developed contemporaneously and on parallel lines.¹⁰ Taking into account the extreme antiquity of Egypt, and noting that the majority of the finds are very similar in details with those of Neolithic Egypt, it appears a far more probable theory that Egypt was the birth-place of these various civilizations. However far back we go in Egypt we find the imprint of the sandal. If Petrie is correct in his supposition that primitive Egyptians had large sea-going vessels we can see how these migrations were possible. We know that the Egyptians of the fifth and sixth dynasties were a navigating people, and if then why not before? In any case we know that in the time of the first dynasty Ægean pottery reached Egypt, for Petrie discovered it in the royal tombs of the first dynasty at Abydos,¹¹ and Evans has discovered in Crete pottery, which is distinctly Egyptian in form and make, diorite vases at Knossos of the fourth and fifth dynasties. It is a peculiar theory which can see ships coming from and returning to Crete, and yet cannot see ships coming from and returning to Egypt. Coming to the twelfth dynasty (which is contemporary with Middle Minoan II) we trace definite connections between Egypt and Crete. Kamares pottery has been found at Kahun and Abydos in untouched tombs of this dynasty. In the eighteenth dynasty (contemporary with Late Minoan I and II) we find wall-paintings in the tomb of Sen-Mut, the architect of Deir el-Bahari, and in the tomb of Rekhmara, an officer of Thothmes III, pictures of "The great men of Keftiu and the Isles." "The great metal vases brought by the Keftian ambassadors to Egypt are typical products of the art of the Late Minoan I and II, and that the people who brought them are

⁹ *Proc. Soc. Bib. Archeology*, Nov. 1909.

¹⁰ Mosso, *The Dawn of Mediterranean Civilization*.

¹¹ Petrie, *The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty*. Dr. Schiaparelli has expressed doubts as to whether this pottery is of the first dynasty, but Petrie's word in his own field must be allowed full weight.

Cretans is shown by their costume which is identical with that of the 'Cup-bearer' and other Minoans in the wall-paintings of Knossos and on the steatite vases of Agia Triada." At Gurob in the 'Maket-tomb of the eighteenth dynasty a Cretan vase was found. Scarabs of Amenhetep III and Tii have been found at Ialyos and Mycenae with Late Minoan pottery, and at Mycenae "has been found a blue paste figure of an ape with the prenomen of Amenhetep II on the shoulder. This is the most ancient Egyptian object found in continental Greece,"¹² with the exception of an alabaster lid bearing the name of Khian found at Knossos beneath a Mycenaean wall. While excavating the prehistoric palace at Knossos Sir Arthur J. Evans found that the frescoes, sarcophagi, pottery, and the decorative art showed plainly the influence of Egypt. Among other discoveries was that of a small seated figure of diorite which Petrie and Budge assign to the twelfth dynasty.¹³

Leaving this and turning to the art of working in metals we have firm ground beneath our feet, particularly when we deal with copper and bronze. Mosso says: "In the present state of archeological knowledge the priority of Egypt over Crete is absolute as regards copper and bronze both as to the date of its introduction and the perfection of craftsmanship."¹⁴ To the same effect writes Good-year: "My position is that the first substantial step in civilization was the discovery of bronze, and that this discovery was made in Egypt." The life-size statue of Pepi of the sixth dynasty shows us to what a high state of art the bronze workers of the early dynasties had attained. When we contemplate the naturalness and the expression of this statue we are forced to the conclusion that art and metallurgy had already been brought to perfection 3500 years before the Christian era. But before this period bronze working had developed to a high degree as is proved by the discovery of thin, finely worked plates in tombs of the first dynasty. The discovery of copper marks the division in predynastic achievement. It was for the time as great a discovery as the steam-engine in our own, and from that time progress was rapid and art advanced and power increased.

When we seek for the origin of the religious ideas and cus-

¹² *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Nov. 1909. Maspero, *New Light on Ancient Egypt*.

¹³ *Archeological Report* (Egypt Exploration Fund) 1899-1900. Maspero, *Manual of Egyptian Archeology*.

¹⁴ *Dawn of Mediterranean Civilization*. Since Mosso wrote this Reisner has given a course of lectures at Boston (1912) in which he remarked on the finding of copper in the tombs of the first dynasty and in predynastic tombs.

toms of the peoples of the Mediterranean, not only of the Stone, Copper and Bronze Ages, but also of later periods, we are again led back to Egypt.¹⁵ In the sphere of religion the world owes much to the Egyptians. The modern study of comparative religions has opened up a new world to the theological student in particular. We no longer look on the many religions of the world, past and present, as entirely distinct from each other. Religion is a universal phenomenon of humanity. Every systematized religion has given birth to a civilization, and we have noticed briefly that civilizations are linked in many ways.

The Egyptians were the first to teach, in any definite way, the immortality of the soul. Herodotus tells us that the Egyptians "were the first who taught that the soul of man is immortal."¹⁶ This doctrine is so familiar to students of the literature of Egypt that it need not be more than mentioned.¹⁷ Plato, who did more than any other to fasten this doctrine on the minds of the Greeks, and who in the *Phaedo* puts arguments into the mouth of Socrates, sat at the feet of Egyptian teachers. Pythagoras, another ardent advocate of the doctrine, was taught by Egyptians. Of the influence of Plato on the thought of the Jews Dr. Beet says: "We may therefore not unfairly attribute to Plato and his school, of whose influence in the ages preceding that of Christ Cicero affords abundant proof, the doctrine of the natural immortality of the soul so far as it influenced Jewish thought." We have only to take another step to find how much the Egyptians through Plato influenced the doctrine as held by the Christian church. While the influence of Plato is not marked in the teaching of Christ and his Apostles, a fact we would naturally expect, yet it becomes most marked in the ages after Christ. Tatian, Athenagoras, Tertullian, Athanasius and others teach the same doctrine, and this had been learned through their close study of Plato. Again quoting Dr. Beet: "Christ's promise of life eternal for the righteous and his threatening of destruction for the wicked were anticipated in a remarkable way in the teaching of the ancient Egyptians." The Elysian Fields, clothed with perpetual green, fanned continually by refreshing breezes and perfumed with the delicate fragrance of flowers, are the fields to which the pious Egyptian expected to go when he was justified.

¹⁵ *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, May, June, Nov., Dec. 1909. Mosso, Capart, Evans, etc.

¹⁶ Book II, 123.

¹⁷ Though, as Dr. Naville adds in a note to the writer, "immortality as they understood it is sometimes very different from what we understand. See my book *The Old Egyptian Faith*."

The Eleusinian mysteries of Greece are Egyptian in origin. "Foucart shows that the Demeter of Eleusis is an Egyptian by birth, an Isis who gradually became Hellenized. He accompanies her in her evolution, notes what her priesthood was, with its ideas of the future life, and the special doctrines. He afterwards compares the person and worship of the Eleusinian Demeter with the person and worship of Isis, and then shows that the resemblance is not merely accidental and on the surface, but must be sought in the depths of their nature."¹⁸ The worship of Isis spread over a wide area, being found in Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, in the islands of the Archipelago, and even in the Hellespont and Thrace.¹⁹

While dealing with this part of the subject a question arises. When one has read various papyri and the inscriptions on sarcophagi and afterwards reads the New Testament, the question comes: "Were the writers of the New Testament, and the early church theologians, indebted to the Egyptians for many of their ideas and much of their terminology?" Much of the language used of Osiris, written many centuries before Christ, sounds very familiar to the student of the New Testament, and the question arises as to its origin. We find Osiris, the man-god who was slain and rose again, called "King of eternity, lord of the everlastingness, the prince of gods and men, god of gods, lord of lords, prince of princes, the governor of the world, whose existence is everlasting." He was the one who "made men and women to be born again"; who made them rise from the dead and gave them everlasting life. He was the resurrection and the cause of the resurrection. He knew neither decay nor corruption, as we find on a coffin in the British Museum: "Homage to thee, my father Osiris! Thy flesh suffered no decay, worms touched thee not, thou didst not moulder away, withering did not come to thee, and thou didst not suffer corruption; and I shall possess my flesh for ever and ever. I shall not become corruption." He was the judge of all men in the "day when the lives of men are reckoned up in the presence of the Good Being (Osiris)." Osiris decreed what should become of every soul at the judgment, whether it should pass into blessedness or be annihilated. Those who were judged worthy passed into the kingdom

¹⁸ Maspero, *New Light on Ancient Egypt*, Chap. VI, where new evidence for the borrowing of Greece from Egypt is brought forward. See also Chap. V.

¹⁹ Cumont, "The Religion of Egypt," article in *The Open Court*, September 1910. See also articles by Cumont in the same journal dealing with Asia Minor, Syria, Rome and the Orient, "Why the Oriental Religions Spread," "The Transformation of Roman Paganism." These articles are published in book form under the title, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*.

of Osiris, where, in his presence, they ministered to him, and spent much of their time in singing and praising him. They were clothed in white garments and ate of the "tree of life" which stood beside the sacred lake. They never thirsted nor hungered, and, above all, they shared in the incorruptibility and immortality of Osiris. The spirit of the glorified became a "being and messenger of god," and sat with him on his throne. The enemies of Osiris were cast into the lake of fire where they were annihilated, not eternally tormented. This language is so familiar to the reader of the Book of Revelation that we need not to cite texts from it. We have asked the question. We do not intend to answer it, for scholars are not agreed on the question.²⁰

As we have already seen, there can be no question that the doctrine of immortality which entered the western world with Christianity has a close relation to that of Egypt. "In Egypt the Osirian faith and dogma were the precursors of Christianity, the foundations upon which it was able to build; and altogether apart from their intrinsic worth and far-reaching influence, it is this which constitutes their significance and worth."²¹ And again, Dr. Tisdall says: "In consequence of his (Osiris's) having died and yet remaining alive spiritually, Osiris seemed to his worshipers to be a real deliverer, at least in the sense that they thought that he felt for dying men more perhaps than any other god, and could therefore be entreated to take pity on their souls and protect them from the multitudinous dangers that beset the soul on its long journey to the Sekhetu Aalu, or Elysian Fields."²²

We know that the early church was much indebted to Egypt. Here had taken place the preparation of Israel. It was in the schools of Egypt that Moses was instructed and where he learned the art of government. When we think on all the Jewish law means and has meant to the whole civilized world we begin to realize that the world owes a greater debt than we have cared to acknowledge. The training of Moses, given for a vastly different purpose by the Egyptian priests, was used for the up-building of a down-trodden people. It enabled him to take a despised horde of slaves and to prepare them for world-teachers of righteousness, and for the advent of the Christ. The world still feels the influence of the Jew-

²⁰ Dr. Naville thinks that the writer's training has led him to see too much in the resemblances. Possibly! That there is a great resemblance no one will deny. The question is, did the church borrow anything?

²¹ Wiedemann, *The Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of Immortality*. Naville, *The Old Egyptian Faith*.

²² Tisdall, *Mythic Christs and the True*, p. 61.

ish race. The religious life of Israel was the root out of which Christianity sprang, and that religion bears the marks of Egypt. In the teaching of the Book of the Dead "the moral teachers of Egypt anticipated the moral teachers of Israel." "In the judgment hall of Osiris," writes Dr. Sayce, "we find the first expression of the doctrine which was echoed so many ages later by the Hebrew prophets, that what the gods require is mercy and righteousness rather than orthodoxy of belief."

In a later age we find Alexandria the hub of the intellectual life of the world. Here, in its magnificent library with its 700,000 volumes, the Asiatic, the Jewish Rabbi, the Greek and Roman philosophers met and exchanged thoughts. Here was made the Septuagint version of the Old Testament Scriptures, the Bible of Jesus and his apostles, the Bible which so wonderfully prepared the Jewish race, and not only Jews but all the peoples of the Mediterranean basin, for the coming of the Christ.

Coming to the later life of Greece we at once see what a debt is owed to Egypt. Not only has her alphabet been borrowed, though indirectly, from Egypt, but also her arts. "The earliest known vestiges of Greek art, Greek sculpture, and Greek decorative art are copied from Egyptian sources." When we find the subtle entasis of the Greeks that gives to their temples such alluring charm existing in Egypt it upsets the theory of autochthonous Greek development that has stood for centuries. In a paper on "The Grammar of the Lotus" W. H. Goodyear says, "My position is that the Greek ornament is Egyptian throughout in elementary origin." We can go back step by step along the world's architectural highway, passing through the Renaissance, through medieval Europe, on through ancient Rome and still more ancient Greece until we find ourselves in Egypt thousands of years before Christ. The oldest buildings in the world are to be found in the Nile valley, and here came the Greeks at an early age to learn and to copy. As far back as the twelfth dynasty we find mention of the Greeks on the monuments of Egypt. Usertesen II of the twelfth dynasty, and Thothmes III of the eighteenth dynasty established colonies of Greeks in Egypt.²³ Tribe after tribe came against the Delta only to be conquered and captured. Petrie found at Kahun and Gurob the towns where the

²³ Dr. Naville, in a note to the writer, says, "These colonies are absolutely hypothetical, and to my mind improbable." The discoveries of Petrie, however, at Kahun and Gurob appear to settle the question. Not only has the Cypriote pottery been discovered but the cemeteries contained the bodies of a fair, and golden-haired race like the "golden-tressed Achæans" of Homer. More recent discoveries have given further proof.

Greeks were established. "In both have been found innumerable fragments of pottery of Cypriote and archaic Greek styles; and hundreds of these potsherds are inscribed with characters some of which may be Phenician, or that earliest derivative of Phenician known as Caedmon Greek." At Tel Gurob were found remains of the primitive rulers of the Etruscans, as well as letters of the Etruscan alphabet. Speaking of these Miss A. B. Edwards says: "If they throw light upon the history of writing and language, they throw no less valuable a light upon the history of art. By revealing the astonishing fact that Egypt contained settlements of early Greek and Italian tribes at a date long anterior to the earliest date at which those people had any history or monuments of their own, they show in what schools of art those nations studied. And thus the marked Egyptian character of the archaic paintings and sculptures of Greece and Etruria is at once explained."²⁴

For a long time we have looked on Greece as developing its own life and arts quite independently of the world outside, but that time has passed, and now the possibility is that we shall discover that all that has been treated as distinctly Greek has been borrowed. When Dr. Schliemann excavated Troy, Orchomenos, and Mycenae he brought to light many things startling in their nature and significance, and at once pronounced them perfectly new and indigenous. The patterns he found upon the walls of the treasuries of Atreus at Mycenae and of Minyas at Orchomenos, the spiral, meander, "honey-suckle," and rosette, are found to be identical with those on the walls of the tombs of Beni Hasan, carved out of the solid rock during the twelfth dynasty. The pillars of the treasuries were also copied from these same tombs, the pillars of which were carved many centuries before the workmen cut the stones for the treasuries. Even to the carvings they are identical, showing that far from the patterns being new they were ancient when these treasuries were built. The spiral can be traced back to the fifth dynasty, the rosette to the fourth, the "honey-suckle" to the twelfth, and the meander to the thirteenth dynasty. The pottery found at Mycenae also bore Egyptian designs, but this is not to be wondered at when we remember that a close relationship existed between Egypt and Mycenae, especially during the period of the eighteenth dynasty. At Tel el-Amarna numerous fragments of Mycenaean pottery have been found, and in graves at Mycenae scarabs and other Egyptian objects have been discovered.

²⁴ *Pharaohs, Fellahs, and Explorers*, p. 79. Goodyear, *The Lotiform Origin of the Greek Anthemion*.

Speaking of the men of "Keftiu" bringing presents from "Keftiu and the islands of the Mediterranean" Maspero says: "In racial type, costume and attitude these men recall the Cretan Myceneans depicted in the frescoes of the palace of Knossos; and the metal cups and vessels that they bear are distinctly Mycenean in design. The frescoes at Knossos, on the other hand, are obviously influenced by Egyptian paintings of the same period as that in which the Theban frescoes already alluded to were produced. Communication between the Egyptian and Mycenean civilizations seems to have been continued into the twentieth dynasty."²⁵

Going back to the tombs of Beni Hasan we discover that they gave to the Greeks the Doric column. The oldest ruin of the historic school in Greece is a Doric temple of the seventh century B. C. At once it is recognized as a copy from an Egyptian model, and Ferguson asserts that it is "indubitably copied from the pillared porches of Beni Hasan."²⁶ The pillars of the Parthenon were copied from the same source. Turning from the Doric column to the Ionic capital we are again sent back to Egypt to discover the original. In the *Lotiform Origin of the Ionic Capital* Goodyear proved that it is Egyptian in origin, being copied from the curling sepal of the lotus. "What I positively assert is that the lotus in Egypt did have, among other forms, an Ionic or voluted form, and that this Ionic form did positively produce the Greek Ionic capital." "Suppose a flat stone to be placed upon the top of the curved calyx-leaves, let the weight of the stone press them downwards and outwards, and we have the Ionic capital of Greece." The earliest example of the Ionic capital was discovered by Petrie at Naukratis in the ruins of the temple of Apollo, dating from 660-645 B. C. The discovery of Naukratis was one of the greatest archeological discoveries ever made. It was accidentally discovered by Petrie while out for a walk, though he did not know at the time that it was the city so long sought after. It is probable that Naukratis was first settled by a band of Greek traders about 660 B. C. Destroyed by fire, it was afterwards rebuilt by Psammetichus I, and to this period we ascribe the building of the temple of Apollo. Naukratis was one of the doors through which many influences passed affecting the life of both Egypt and Greece. "We have long known that the early Greek, when emerging from barbarism, must have gone

²⁵ *Manual of Egyptian Archeology*, p. 365.

²⁶ A. B. Edwards, *Pharaohs, Fellahs, and Explorers*, Chap. V. Pilcher, *Egyptian Architecture: Origin*. So also writes S. J. Wolf: "Egypt contributed the lintel style and solidity of finish; indeed the prototype of the Doric style is found in Egypt."

to school in the Delta and in the valley of the Nile, not only for his first lessons in letters and science, but also for his earliest notions of architecture and art. Now, however, for the first time we are placed in direct evidence of these facts. We see the process of teaching on the part of the elder nation, and of learning on the part of the younger. Every link in the chain which connects the ceramic arts of Greece with the ceramic art of Egypt is displayed before our eyes in the potsherds of Naukratis."

The discovery of Tel Defenneh (the ancient Tahpanhes) has shown us another point from which the interchange between Egypt and Greece took place. Again, examining the architecture of Greece we find that the Corinthian capital is borrowed from Egypt and is of lotus derivation.²⁷

The Greek harpy, so familiar in the decoration of vases, is borrowed from the religious thought of Egypt. The Egyptians pictured the soul in the form of a bird with a human head, which visited the mummy in the recesses of the tomb. This was taken over by the Greeks and changed into the harpy and afterwards into the siren, so familiar in the story of Ulysses.

Turning to Greek statuary we are compelled to go back to Egypt for the beginning. "The Egyptian character of all very early Greek statuary may at once be recognized by any observant visitor to the British Museum, the Louvre, the Berlin and other collections. He needs but to walk through the galleries containing the Egyptian collections into the galleries assigned to the archaic Greek marbles, and the evidence will be before his eyes. In the Museum of Athens he will see the archaic Apollo of Thera, in the British Museum the Strangford Apollo, and in the Glyptotheca of Munich the Apollo of Teneka, to say nothing of the other examples in which the general proportion and treatment are distinctly Egyptian."

It is not necessary to deal with the influence on our own day, seeing that we have been so directly influenced by the arts of Greece in so many ways, and seeing that Greek art is in origin distinctly Egyptian. W. H. Goodyear, in the papers already referred to and also in the masterly work *The Grammar of the Lotus*, has brought together an amazing array of evidence to show how the influence of Egypt has been exerted in parts of the world so distinct as India, China, Tibet, Japan, and even America. The discoveries made in Mexico during the past few years have also given us new evidences.

²⁷ W. H. Goodyear, *Architectural Record*, Oct., 1892; April, Oct. 1893; 1894.

From the time of Psammetichus of the twenty-sixth dynasty Egypt played a very important part in the history of the rising nation of Greece. When we review the evidence already given, and when we think on all that Egypt treasured of the wisdom of the world, can we wonder that a priest of Egypt said to Solon: "You Greeks are mere children, talkative and vain; you know nothing at all of the past."

Can we any longer doubt the tradition which affirms that Cecrops came from Egypt bringing with him the arts, learning, and priestly wisdom of the Nile valley? The Excavations of the last few years have robbed many archeological dogmas of their force. It was an easy thing to scoff at the Greek legends until Dr. Schliemann unearthed the city of ancient Troy, and Sir Arthur J. Evans excavated Crete. There is some element of truth in those old legends, and it may be that the future will prove that we have been too hasty in our rejection of them just because they were old, and because the writers or reciters brought in the gods. We begin to understand what Petrie means when he says that "Egypt is the measuring line by which we must sound the abyss of European history."

The Egyptians were great readers, and many of their favorite stories have come down to our own day to delight young and old, though somewhat disguised in their English dress. Many of the fairy-tales we read when we were children are of Egyptian origin. "In some we recognize stories familiar to us from childhood as old nursery tales, and as stories first read in the Arabian Nights; in others we discover the originals of legends which Herodotus, with a credulity peculiar to the learned, accepted as history. Even some of the fables attributed to Æsop are drawn from Egyptian sources, older by eight hundred years than the famous dwarf who is supposed to have invented them. When we remember that tradition associates the name Æsop with that of Rhodopis, who lived in Naukratis in the time of Amasis, we seem to be within touch of the actual connection between Æsop and Egypt." The stories of "The Lion and the Mouse," "The Dispute of the Stomach and the Members," "Cinderella," "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves," "Prince Agib," "Sinbad the Sailor," and many others we delighted in are Egyptian. Many of the popular songs of Egypt have come down to take their place among the folk-songs of Europe. Even some of the games we play are Egyptian in origin. The game of nine-pins was played by predynastic Egyptians, a fine set being found by

Garrow Duncan in a predynastic grave.²⁸ A somewhat crude set of gaming figures, made of clay, was discovered at El Mahasna. Here was a table standing on four stumpy legs which had been modelled separately and then stuck on. The top of the table is edged with a row of small holes, with two other rows running down the center, while at right angles to these are five other lines dividing the table-top into eighteen squares. The pieces, nine in number, are crudely made, and were with difficulty saved.²⁹ What the game was we do not know, though it appears to be the forerunner of our modern draughts. Draughts (checkers) was a favorite game. While excavating the Osireion (1911-1912) Naville found a vignette representing King Merenptah playing the game. "Instead of the pieces being all alike as usual, each pawn represents a different animal."³⁰ On one of the Turin papyri we see a lion and a gazelle playing at draughts, while on a papyrus in the British Museum we see a lion and a unicorn playing, each holding a piece. The British Museum possesses a wooden draught box with drawer and eleven pieces, besides a collection of draughtsmen in wood, porcelain, etc., and made in the form of gods, animals, etc.

Even the mechanical toy, so pleasing to the average boy, was a common toy in Egypt, as is witnessed to by the collection in the British Museum. Our whole debt to the mysterious land of the Nile we shall never be able to determine. In more senses than one we can repeat the prophetic words, "I called My son out of Egypt." We have touched the hem of a great subject. We have only begun to discover anything of the debt we owe. What lies beneath the sands of Egypt we do not know. For only a few years have excavations been carried on scientifically and in those few years the thought of the world has been revolutionized. No effort, no expense ought to be spared in bringing to the light of day the long-buried civilization of Egypt. This is one of the many ways left to the world of to-day to repay something of the debt it owes.

²⁸ Garrow Duncan, *The Exploration of Egypt and the Old Testament*.

²⁹ *El Mahasna*. (Egypt Exploration Fund) 1911.

³⁰ *Archeological Report*, 1911-1912.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE LESSON OF AN ANCIENT TOMBSTONE.

Gothland is an island in the midst of the Baltic between Germany and Sweden, and being somewhat isolated it is natural that customs survived there which had died out in the surrounding countries, Sweden, Denmark and Germany. The ancient paganism persevered here longer than on the continent. Such is the rule with territories in which life does not pulse as rapidly as in the centers of commerce and civilization. The pace of progress was even slower in far off Iceland, where Christianity was not introduced before the year 1004. While on the continent of Europe much blood had been shed in the struggle between the old and the new, the transition in Iceland took place in a most peaceful way in a public council where a bill to abolish the traditional paganism and introduce Christianity was presented, seconded and carried. There was no quarrel about it, not even a heated controversy. The people were pretty well agreed on the main points. The priests of the old religion became Christian clergymen, and the lands on which they lived and from which they had drawn their income in former years, continued to furnish their revenue in the new religion. While on the continent the old pagan songs and poems were systematically destroyed, they were preserved and even cherished in Iceland, being now the most valuable source of information concerning the old Teutonic mythology.

Gothland is not of the same importance, but three tombstones have been discovered there—one in Ardre, another in Hablingho, and a third one in Tjängvide—on which the dead person is represented as riding on an eight-footed horse and is met by a woman with a drinking horn in her hand. These tombstones are obviously pagan, and are presumably of a comparatively late date. We may assume that when they were erected Christianity had long been introduced in the surrounding countries. The horse being eight-footed is at once recognized as the steed Sleipnir, the famous charger of Wodan (or Odin) the All-Father of the Teutonic pantheon. But in these tombstones of which the one in Tjängvide is reproduced in the adjoined illustration, the rider can not be Wodan but must represent the deceased person.

In the illustration before us we see in the lower section a ship in full sail, and we might suspect that this vessel is the ship on which the dead were believed to cross the ocean of death, but it would be strange to have two different symbols of death presented on one and the same tombstone, the horse and the ship, so we may fairly well assume that the deceased person who rests in the tomb beneath this stone was a sailor, and the ship represents him in his occupation during his life.

The tombstone is of great interest because it represents an earlier phase of Teutonic mythology and proves that the eight-footed horse which we know from other reports to have been the exclusive symbol of Wodan, must have been in earlier days the horse of the dead representing death itself. We know from the history of the origin of Bürger's ballad that a German popular song existed with the refrain "*Der Tod reitet schnell*," "Death rides swiftly," which the poet misunderstood and incorporated in his ballad as "*Die Toten reiten schnell*." Thus we must assume that in olden times death was conceived as being either seated on a horse or being the horse itself carrying



ANCIENT TOMBSTONE OF TJÄNGVIDE, GOTHLAND.

After Hildebrand, *Sveriges Historia*, I.

the dead, and we see an old relic of this view in the report that Sleipnir was the quickest horse and that no other could beat him in a race. In the time of the winter storms which took place in the twelve nights at the end of the old and the beginning of the new year, the old Teutons believed that the dead were racing over the earth in the swiftly moving storm clouds, with the god Wodan leading their host. He was the wild hunter and he was the chief who led the souls of the dead to their heavenly abode. It is perhaps for this reason that Tacitus identified Wodan with Mercury, for the Roman Mercury corresponded to the Greek Hermes who was called *Psychopompus*, the leader

of souls. We learn from these considerations that Sleipnir, the eight-footed horse, was originally the incorporation of the idea of death and that Wodan, the leader of the souls, was originally a god of ghosts and king of the other world. The gloomy features of Wodan as the god of the dead gradually gave way to a brighter conception, and he changed into the saviour of the dead and the god of Valhalla, of heaven, to whom even during life his worshipers looked up for health and salvation. We further conclude that the old Yule-tide about the time of Christmas was originally an All Soul's festival. At the end of the year the dead were commemorated, but closely connected with a memorial of the dead was the idea of a transfigured life in a new celestial home, and so the Yule festival which originally may have possessed gloomy features became a festival of joy and could easily be assimilated to the feast of Christ's birth in the new religion.

P. C.

QOHELETH TO-DAY.

BY WARWICK JAMES PRICE.

"Vanity of vanities!" the Preacher sighed,
A poet disillusioned by the tide
Of the swift passing of the burdened days
Which left vain hopes, and little else beside.

"The ceaseless swing of Time's encircled years,
"The unending round of grief, joy, smiles, tears,
"With, at the last, one door to ope and close—
"No answer to the mystery appears."

Yet is this *all*? Shall man, perplexed, dismayed,
Cast down his cards before the hand is played?
Life *is*, and Love, and Truth; a trinity
To guide us ever onward, unafraid.

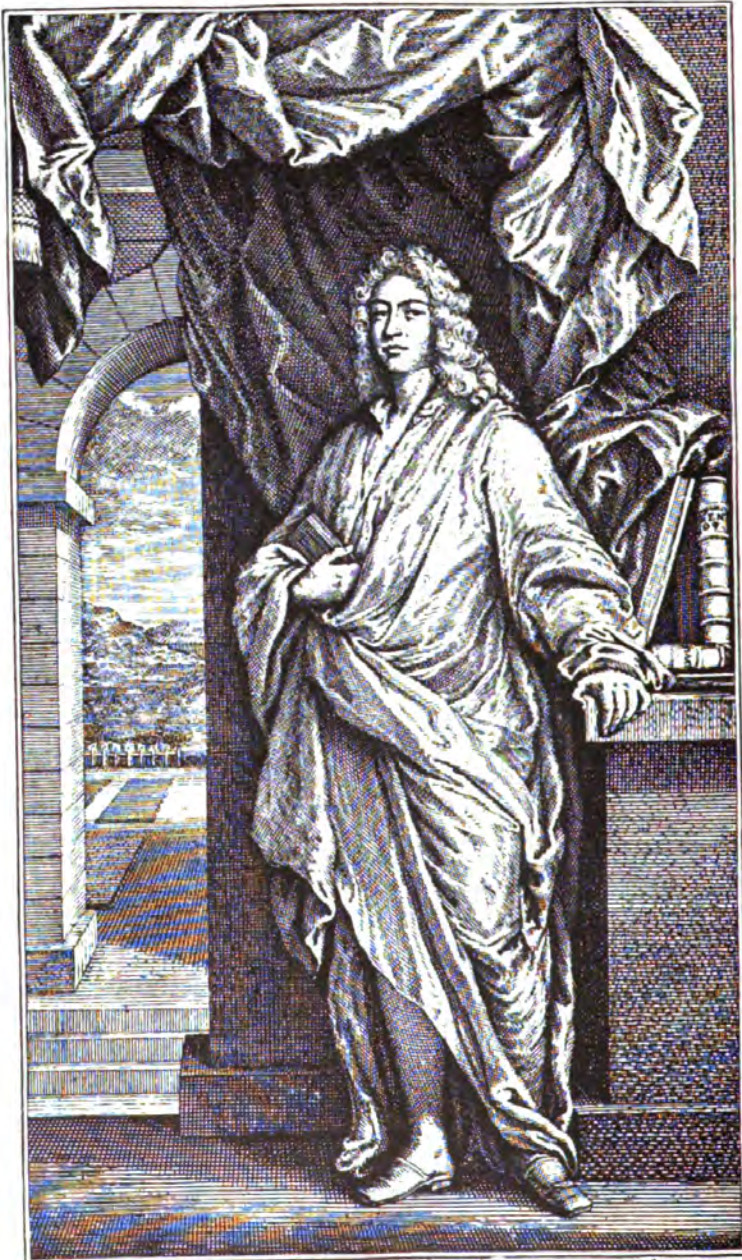
The dim to-morrows do not heaven bind;
To-day enfolds it. If we seek, we find.
Our joy shall lie in labor bravely wrought,
Our high reward be serving humankind.

BOOK REVIEWS.

TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE. By *Bernhard Pick, Ph. D., D.D.* New York: American Bible Society, 1913. Pp. 59.

This little volume contains a carefully compiled bibliography of 653 versions of the Bible, or parts of the Bible, which have been made since the invention of printing. It contains a few versions omitted from the British and Foreign Bible Society's *Historical Catalogue*, and a few later publications, and, generally speaking, serves a purpose which the more laborious and learned work cannot so well perform in being chronologically arranged and compressed into the briefest possible items. Dr. Pick is well known for his painstaking and scholarly work in all lines pertaining to the rise and development of the documents of the Christian religion.

P



*The Right Honorable Anthony Ashley
Cooper Earl of Shaftesbury, Baron Ashley of
Winbourn S. Giles, & Lord Cooper of Pawlett.
J. Closterman Pinx. Sim: Gribelin Sculp.*

W. J. Cole Del.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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MEMORIES OF MONTENEGRO.¹

BY MARIE MACH.

ACCORDING to the researches of the Croatian historian A. Klaić history furnishes the following data with regard to the founding of Montenegro: In the second half of the fifteenth century the powerful principality Zeta was ruled by Ivan Crnojevič, a voivode renowned in song and story and still living to-day in the memory of the people, whose capital Žabljak lay somewhat north of the Lake of Scutari. The whole life of this man was a constant struggle against Venetians and Turks. If the poet is right when he says that the man who would deserve liberty and life must conquer them daily anew, then Crnojevič deserved both.

The northern part of the principality of Zeta was governed by Stephan Vukčić, and the southern by the famous Albanian, Georg Castriota (Scanderbeg). Both of these were brave allies of Ivan. Inspired by their example he conceived the bold plan of recovering for his kingdom its original extent over to the Adriatic Sea. Venice had possessed Scutari since the year 1396, and since 1441 also the entire coast of Cattaro up to the mouth of the Bojana River, and therefore was bitterly opposed to Ivan's designs. After a long and

¹This article is a chapter translated by Lydia G. Robinson from Miss Mach's *Erinnerungen einer Erzieherin*, published anonymously with an introduction by the author's brother, Prof. Ernst Mach of Vienna, first in 1912, and in a second enlarged edition the following year (Vienna and Leipsic, Wilhelm Braumüller). A French translation has also been published. A review of the book (with extracts) appeared in *The Open Court* of February 1913. Miss Mach's sojourn in Montenegro took place in 1889-91, but her reminiscences have been brought down to date just preceding the late Balkan war. The illustrations of the article are reproduced from photographs made by a Cattaro photographer.

futile struggle the increasing menace of Turkey forced the bold voivode to renounce his plans and become reconciled to Venice. He even concluded an alliance with the republic.

After Scanderbeg's death Sultan Mohammed II succeeded in taking Negroponte from the Venetians. He then endeavored to expel them from Albania and to conquer Zeta. He despatched an army of seventy thousand men against Scutari under the chief command of the beglerbeg Sulyman Pasha, but all assaults were repulsed by the defenders, the Venetian captain Antonio Loredano and Ivan Crnojevič.

In 1478 the Sultan, enraged at his defeat, placed himself personally at the head of an army to conquer Scutari. He succeeded in capturing Žabljak, Ivan's capital, and in driving him back into the mountains; but Scutari did not fall into his hands until peace was concluded with Venice in 1479. When Herzegovina submitted to the Turks in the same year Zeta was shut in by enemies on two sides, and its inhabitants fled to the gorges of "Zetskaplanina" north of Žabljak as far as Cattaro. Because of its dense pine forests and dark cliffs this mountain range received the name Crnagora (= Black Mountains or Montenegro), which is first mentioned in the year 1435. Until the year 1479 the district was used by the inhabitants of Zeta only as pasture land.

Together with his subjects and the former archbishop of Zeta, whose see, the cloister of St. Nikola on an island in the Lake of Scutari, had likewise fallen into the power of the Turks, Prince Crnojevič withdrew into the pathless Crnagora. The Turks also tried to conquer the rest of Zeta, but while Ivan lived they were not able to do so. Although abandoned by his Venetian allies he continued the struggle, and even succeeded in winning back his capital Žabljak though only temporarily. Mohammed's successor, Bajazed II, laid siege to it. As there was no longer any possibility of escape, Ivan set fire to Žabljak and with his faithful followers threw himself into the mountains where he settled in the village of Cetinje, an estate of his family. Pursued here also by his enemies, he fled to Italy. When he succeeded in returning to Cetinje in 1483 he erected a cloister and a church there. By this means Cetinje became the spiritual center of Crnagora. Ivan erected a dwelling for himself in Cetinje and made it his capital, also fortifying all the mountain passes. Towards the Turkish frontier he established forts at suitable points, among others the fortified town Sokol on the mountain of the same name and its ruins are still called "Ivan-ograd" (Ivansburg). In an assembly of the people it was deter-

mined that no Montenegrin should leave the place assigned to him for battle without the permission of his superiors. Whoever did so in spite of this prohibition was declared destitute of honor and was compelled to wear women's clothes and to carry a distaff. Does not this recall the code of Lycurgus?

One is reminded of the ancient Spartans so often and in so many ways in the customs and usages of the people that he is finally tempted to believe that the Montenegrins must have some drops of Spartan blood in their veins. It is not at all impossible



CETINJE.

that a portion of the Spartans either voluntarily or under compulsion migrated northward and mingled here with the original inhabitants. Their nearest neighbors, the Albanians, can not disown Greek descent. One sees among them people with as pure Grecian profiles as if they had been models for Phidias. Ivan, the last ruler of Zeta and the first prince of Montenegro, died in 1490.

The credit of having blazed the path of culture in Montenegro is due to Prince Danilo and his wife Darinka, a remarkable couple, though misunderstood and little appreciated. He was a brave man little affected by cultivation but endowed with natural intelligence

and inflexible energy, and she was a gifted, cultured and beautiful woman. These two rare people were united in an ideally happy marriage.

Danilo had no desire to be a bishop as well as a prince, like his predecessors. Accordingly he hung up the ecclesiastical dignity on a nail and declared himself a secular prince. At one stroke blood revenge, brigandage and robbery were done away with, and peace and order were established. Danilo was the man to execute the Draconian code which he had prescribed. He was a despot but an enlightened one, and—which is the main thing—he was the man whom Montenegro needed. It required an iron fist and not kid gloves to create order in a land constantly threatened from outside by the Turks and torn within by factional feuds.

In 1855 Danilo married the beautiful fifteen-year-old Darinka Csuvikitch, a wealthy Slavic merchant's daughter with whom he had become acquainted two years earlier at her parents' home when he was passing through Triest. The young princess performed the task assigned to her with spirit and skill. The first thing she did upon arriving in Cetinje was to have the Turks' heads removed which had been placed as ornaments on the tower. This was the sign of the arrival of a new era, and now began the work of civilization to which Danilo and Darenka indefatigably devoted themselves. Their common activity lasted only five years, but all that Montenegro is to-day and has to show in cultivation and intelligence it owes to these two great characters. Whence did Prince Nikola and his ministers derive their training? Darinka had them educated in Paris. By her amiability and solicitude she won over the rough but good-hearted people who even to-day reverence her as a saint. She strove to improve the condition of the women by introducing among them such lighter branches of industry as silk-culture and fruit raising. To Danilo she was a faithful counsellor, an oracle whose utterances he followed without hesitation. To be sure there were plenty of difficulties. The new position as secular prince, the recently attained independence from the suzerainty of the Porte, and above all the necessity of entering into relations with the great powers,—how would Danilo have been able to adapt himself to all these changed relations without the advice and active cooperation of his highly gifted wife? Darinka in her partiality for France succeeded in winning over the court of the Tuileries and in breaking the Russian influence, a wrong stroke which later drove her into exile.

Probably there are people in Cetinje who even to-day assert

and complain that Darinka administered the etiquette of the court too strictly. But if we consider what Asiatic customs and usages she found existing in the Black Mountains we cannot help arriving at the conclusion that the ordinary laws of social custom would seem like strict court etiquette to the Montenegrin of that day. Even in 1891 I saw an old voivode spit on the carpet in the salon of an ambassador's wife.

In the summer of 1860 Danilo with his wife and two-year-old daughter Olga took a country house in the Bocche di Cattaro in



CATTARO FROM PERZAGNO.

order to benefit by the sea baths. In the afternoon of August 13 Danilo, wishing to return with Darinka from Cattaro to his villa in Perzagno, was in the act of boarding the boat which was to carry him across the small bay, when a shot was heard and he fell to the ground. The assassin, Thoso Kadish, was captured and a few weeks later was hanged in Cattaro. The Montenegrins still hold this against Austria, for they say, "People do not hang Montenegrins, they shoot them." Thoso was avenging his brother who had been shot at Danilo's command while he himself had been

merely banished. * Both brothers had taken part in an uprising against Danilo, and Thoso had remained away from Montenegro for three years, lying in wait for the favorable moment for revenge. That same night Danilo died suffering unspeakable pain. The victor of blood revenge had fallen a sacrifice to it.

Darinka accompanied the body of her husband to Cetinje on foot and exerted all her influence to enforce Danilo's last will which named his nephew Nikola as his successor. The terrible blow which came to the young wife, who had barely reached her twentieth year, could not make her faithless to her task or rob her of her composure. When she had assured the throne to her young eighteen-year-old nephew she undertook the thankless task of training him for his calling. She attempted—unfortunately to no avail—to instill into him the characteristics of his predecessor. The inexperienced youth gladly submitted to the guidance of Darinka who governed without restriction during the first part of his reign, to the great benefit of the country.

Darinka had never made a secret of her French sympathies and had always given France the preference over Russia. Now there was in Cetinje a party with the voivode Mirko (who is described as a martial hero and a hen-pecked husband) at its head which perceived in the civilization of Montenegro a misfortune and the downfall of heroic spirit. Mirko, the father of Prince Nikola, is said also to have looked askance upon the influence exerted on his son by "foreigners." Thus it became an easy matter for Russia in conjunction with this party to accomplish the removal of Princess Darinka. The poor woman left the land which she had entered with such high hopes and the people to whom she had devoted her whole strength and by whom she was idolized, and chose Venice for her dwelling place. Her paternal fortune, a million florins, which Danilo had never drawn upon, she lost with the bankruptcy of her father's family. So she lived almost in a state of poverty on an annuity provided for her by Napoleon III and after his fall by Russia. The government of Cetinje promised her an annual pension of twenty thousand francs which it is generally believed she never saw. Such was the fate of the princess who had lavished beneficences with a generous hand. Darinka died in the winter of 1893 and received the recognition which had been refused her when alive. She was buried in Cetinje where her husband rests. Princess Olga, the child of Danilo, accompanied the body of her mother to Montenegro and did the best that a poor orphan princess could do—she died soon afterwards. Nevertheless Da-

rinka's memory lives on in the hearts of the grateful people and will never be extinguished. When a Montenegrin wishes to express his veneration for a woman he says, "Thou art like the Princess Darinka," the greatest flattery of which he is capable.

Aside from this idolizing of Darinka, the Montenegrin does not have a very high opinion of women. If a daughter is born to him he is ashamed and greets her with the blessing, "May the lightning strike her!" When he walks abroad his wife walks respectfully three steps behind him, which however is a relic of the days when foes lurked behind every rock. Even the educated voivode can not easily bring himself to offer a lady his arm, for according to ancient tradition this is a humiliation to a man. Even the example of Prince Nikola, who always gallantly takes his wife on his arm, has not yet inspired them to emulation. An old voivode was once compelled by circumstances to offer his arm to the wife of an ambassador. The lady, who was familiar with their customs, said: "Voivode, you probably have not often taken a woman on your arm?" "*Boga mi*, thou art the first," he answered candidly. This intimate "thou," which the Montenegrin always employs when he speaks Servian, which he uses in addressing his prince as well as every other person and which makes intercourse with him so pleasant, will soon be displaced by advancing civilization. In the society of Cetinje where French is the every-day language it is of course replaced by *vous*.

The road from Cattaro to Cetinje is a masterpiece of Austrian engineering. It winds up the rock in thirty-two turns, from which a magnificent view of the Bocche di Cattaro may be enjoyed. After I had seen a few Montenegrins armed to the teeth I reached Njegos, the ancestral home of the ruling Petrović family. At sight of a crowd of children who ran barefoot out of the school carrying books and slates under their arms, who stared at me curiously and greeted me kindly, I was ashamed of the heavily loaded revolver which I carried in my belt under my cloak and of the heroic resolves with which I had entered the "legendary Montenegro," the land of the famous "robbers, murderers, cut-throats and sheep-thieves."

The road from Njegos to Cetinje follows somewhat straighter lines. Cetinje lies in a valley which for a moderate pedestrian is about a half an hour long and twenty minutes broad. One can see at the first glance that he is in the basin of an exhausted lake. At the west end of the valley there is a dry river bed which I was told can be followed as far as Lovcen. The whole is surrounded

by steeply jutting rocks of fantastic formation. In the walls of the valley can be seen rock washed out by the waves, chalked mus-sels and other fossilized fresh water fauna.

On my first glance at Montenegro the neighborhood seemed very familiar to me, and after long reflection I remembered that I had seen the same abrupt cliffs at the Vienna observatory by moonlight.

A street of one-storied houses built directly on the ground, two cross streets and a few huts scattered in the valley—this is the



NJEGUS.

capital of the prince of the Black Mountains. In spite of its unobtrusive appearance Cetinje makes a favorable impression. Opposite the royal palace is the dwelling of the Crown Prince Danilo, a one-storied little cottage with three windows in front and a small balcony—probably the most modest dwelling of a successor to a throne in all Europe. First I saw a few cows deliberately walking over the lawn, then came a young dandy in a costume glittering with gold and with a monocle in his eye, who was pointed out to me as the minister of finance. The finances of Montenegro are said to be by no means so brilliant as their minister.

A dirty Albanian with a long loaf of bread in each hand walked down the street, a large dog following at his heels and rubbing his nose first on one loaf and then on the other. Albanian, bread and dog disappeared in the door of the Turkish embassy, which like all the palaces in Cetinje is a very modest one-story house. Even the prince's palace has only one story and gives the impression of a pretty villa. In the rear it is joined to a rather neglected garden which at first is surrounded by a wall, but this wall is continued in a fence of interlaced juniper branches.

These are my first impressions from the year 1889. Since nothing was changed up to the time of my departure in 1891 the picture would be about the same to-day. They are very conservative in Cetinje.

The road to Rjeka lay between picturesque cliffs. From one point (which is called Prilip and also Belvidere) there is a splendid view of the Lake of Scutari and the mountain heights of Albania. The Lake of Scutari offers an ever-changing, but always incomparably beautiful picture, according to the time of the day, the light and atmospheric conditions. Smiling and joyous in sunshine, on dark days it is gloomy and melancholy; it seems a different lake in morning light than at evening. This view alone is worth the journey to Cetinje, and yet of the many strangers who visit Montenegro's capital but very few ever get so far. They alight at the hotel—Cetinje has a real hotel—they eat a good meal, view the palace, church, cloister and theater from the outside, receive checks by post—which is the main thing—and with the consciousness that like bold travelers they have braved the danger of having their noses cut off, and that they know the Black Mountains thoroughly, they journey homewards to write stately volumes on sheep stealing.

A quarter of an hour's walk down from Prilip, which usually marked the snow line, there lies in the valley the village Dobroselo, which enjoys the distinction of being permitted once every year to invite the prince to dinner in the open air. Tropical fruits flourish in this valley. This should not seem remarkable, for here we are in the same latitude as at Rome, although the high altitude of about two thousand feet accounts for the comparatively rough climate of Montenegro.

It was on this path that I saw the Turkish ambassador, an elegant young man who was taking his old dragoman out for a walk. It was funny to observe how awkwardly the old-time Turk, who wore wide bright red breeches adorned with patterns as large as one's hand, adapted himself to this unaccustomed occupation.

The pasha, our daily guest, stood and chatted with us, while the old man stood by him with eyes demurely cast down. The first rule of propriety of the uncivilized Turk is, "Thou shalt not look upon any woman whom thou hast not bought." The second runs, "Ask no one after his family." Thus as occasion offers one learns the *savoir vivre* of other nations.

On one occasion the action of the representative of the Sublime Porte aroused general merriment. Montenegro was celebrating the anniversary of the victory of Grahova over the Turks, and Cetinje



CETINJE FROM THE SOUTH (EASTERN END).

was brilliantly illuminated. When the Turkish ambassador saw that everything was lighted up he did the same without asking any questions, and so illuminated in celebration of the defeat of his own nation.

Once when we were tired of climbing and sat down to rest upon a rock we saw before us among the bare rocks a few patches of earth which were carefully tilled, and a human habitation, half hut and half cave. Soon an old Montenegrin came out of the hut

carrying a whole arsenal in his belt. He greeted us and introduced himself as the possessor of all these splendors. In the simple whole-hearted fashion of nature-folk he asked for our biographies and told his own. He was a much traveled man who had gone as far as Asia Minor as a peddler and was even acquainted with lands "where there are no rocks." "How people can live there I do not understand," he said, with a shrug of his shoulders. In his youth he had taken part in every Turkish war and said, not quite logically: "Every spring the war began; the Turks always began the war and we always fought on Turkish ground." Then followed great praise for the good old times and condemnation of certain innovations. "Doctors!" he cried, "What's the use of doctors? They send doctors to us from Russia who cut off the hands and feet of the wounded and make cripples of them. Look at me!" He sprang up. "Both my feet have been shot through. Am I lame? I have become well and strong. If the doctors had had a chance at me they would have killed me or at least made me a cripple."

From his further narratives I learned to understand how war had become the necessity, the habit and the source of livelihood for this rude mountain people. What heroic stubbornness it required to wrest the means of sustenance from these rocks! Since the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria war with Turkey has ceased, and the Montenegrin must learn to find another occupation. Indeed it is hard, but the natural intelligence of the people and the necessity of earning when they can no longer plunder help to overcome the difficulties. Offer people work and they will gladly seize the opportunity. But indeed, what can be hoped from a government which rejoices when the population is diminished by thirty-six thousand inhabitants from the effects of poverty and emigration, and thinks that all trouble is ended because the inhabitants who are left will now be able to make a living? Our old man asked at parting when the Turks would finally be driven out of Europe. Unfortunately we could not give him any definite answer.

A conspicuous personage of Montenegro intellectually was the voivode Maso Vrbiza. After his fatherland turned into peaceful paths, the conqueror of Grahova demonstrated that he could attain success in peace as well as in war. Without having made a special study, the first commander of Montenegro was transformed into its first engineer. He built streets, bridges, houses, and an aqueduct for Cetinje. He labored untiringly for the country, undisturbed by the fact that he received only a contemptuous shrug of the shoulders as reward for his activity which was often combined with

personal sacrifices. If all Montenegrins were like him in unceasing activity and ability the country would certainly be upon a higher plane of civilization to-day. Vrbiza was the first Montenegrin to establish a factory. Since then he won the "gratitude of princes" for the labor he devoted to the common weal, and went into exile to Bosnia where he died. With what feelings must the old man have left the Black Mountains, the land for which he had bled in war, and to which in time of peace he had consecrated all his powers!

With regard to its defences Montenegro can serve as a model for all modern states. In a population of something more than two hundred thousand inhabitants it can place an army of thirty-six thousand men in the field. At the same time no standing army is kept to burden the finances of the country. Every man owns his own arms, every man is a soldier. The tocsin is sounded from mountain to mountain and before twenty-four hours have passed the entire force is mobilized. Neither old men nor children will endure being held back when they are fit for marching. At the time of the last Turkish war a regular mania to go with the army raged among the boys. One boy who had made repeated attempts at flight was shut in and his clothes taken from him. When every one in the house was asleep he jumped out of the window half naked and ran after the men who were advancing against the Turks. In the morning he was found benumbed and brought home where he died shortly afterwards from the consequences of his night's excursion. Another boy who was lucky enough to reach the battlefield sprang upon a Turk's back in a hand to hand conflict. The Turk held the boy firmly and turned to run with him as a prisoner to the Turkish camp, but the little Montenegrin drew his dagger from his belt and stabbed the Turk in the throat.

Even the women and children frequently took part in battle. They showed me a beautiful majestic woman who when she was a girl had been through the last Turkish war with her voivode father. The conveyance of arms and provisions and the removal of the wounded were always tasks that belonged to the women, who like the women of Sparta did not weep for their fallen husbands and sons.

The fair daughter of a certain voivode had many suitors. As soon as the visit of a wooer was announced she would place herself defiantly in the door, half blocking the way. A contemptuous smile would play on her lips when the aspirant pushed by her in order to reach her father. Sometimes the father was satisfied with the

suitors but the daughter rejected them. One day there came a man who roughly pushed the girl aside when she did not make room for him to pass. The girl looked at the ungallant fellow with big eyes, and when her father summoned her to make known her pleasure she said "Yes," to the astonishment of every one. Three sons were born of this marriage, all of whom like their father fell in battle against the Turks. The mother received the news of their death without shedding a tear. When they told her that her third and last son had fallen she stood rigid a few seconds, then laughed out shrilly and fell down dead. During my stay in Cetinje, the wedding of her granddaughter was solemnized. When I expressed my admiration of the bride's beauty an old voivode said, "Her grandmother was more beautiful yet," and then he told me the story.

Montenegrin women, although generally pretty and in particular instances even beautiful, nevertheless carry the brand of their calling as beasts of burden, which they have borne for centuries and still retain to some extent; namely a broad arched back and a narrow chest. Even the voivodess who has not labored for several generations carries the mark just the same as the poor woman who drags her bundle of wood to the market at Cetinje. The men on the other hand have followed only the vocation of arms and are proud and powerful heroic forms. Darwin would have seen here the living manifestation of his theory.

That the women are also not lacking in courage and decision is shown by the following instance: A woman came to a doctor and asked him to bind up her bleeding hand from which she had chopped off a finger. To the doctor's inquiry she related that she had been climbing around among the rocks in order to cut the scanty underbrush when a poisonous snake had bitten her finger. She quickly chopped off the injured member and not until then killed the snake. Since she showed no trace of poisoning, the doctor was of the opinion that she had not delayed in her act a single pulse-beat. The same doctor told incredible things about the vital energy and power of resistance of the inhabitants, and thought that if he were to publish in a medical journal the operations in which he had been successful they would declare him insane and take away his diploma.

One occurrence which took place during my stay in the Black Mountains ought also to find a place here because it serves better than thick volumes could do to place the character of the people in its proper light. "A youth loved a maiden" who had shown no preference for any other. The young man's father at his son's

request went to ask the girl's father for her hand, but was rudely rebuffed, because the families had been enemies from the lamented days of blood revenge. Thereupon the youth ran off with his beloved and brought her to the house of his father. The old man was terrified and ran to Vladika for advice. "Go once more a-wooing," said the oracle. "Tell truthfully that the elopement took place without thy knowledge and consent, and beg the father to become reconciled." "And if I am again rejected?" "Then let the girl marry thy son without the consent of her father." The old man's attempt at reconciliation was rejected and he acted according to the instructions of Vladika. Some time later the young wife betook herself to her father's home to beg forgiveness from her family. What happened there no one has told. It is only known that the young woman on her way home sprang off a precipice and lay crushed upon the ground. A short time afterward one of her brothers shot the obtrusive brother-in-law. He plead guilty and was condemned to death. On the scene of his execution he addressed the people, emphasized the justice of the sentence, tore open his coat so as to present his bared breast to the bullets, commanded "Fire!" and died like a hero of tragedy. In this connection it may be observed that in Montenegro the humane custom prevails of reading the sentence of death to the condemned for the first time on the place of execution where they had been brought out under the pretense of taking them to another prison. Not long ago the newspapers reported that in Spain they shut up condemned criminals the last night before their execution in a chapel in which they could only kneel or stand. In other civilized countries it is not much better. Are they not tempted to cry out in Montenegro, "After all we savages are better"?

A well-known figure on the streets of Cetinje was the so-called Duca di Meduna. I could not learn his real name; his children have adopted the name Dukič. Many years ago he left wife and children and started out into the wide world, an ordinary citizen without education. How he succeeded in acquiring cultivation and the forms of social intercourse has remained his own secret. The fact is that he came to be a perfect master of all the important languages of Europe, moved undiscovered among the court of Napoleon III in Paris, and in the highest social circles of Italy passed as the Duke of Meduna and brother of the Prince of Montenegro. He is said to have married an Italian duchess and to have escaped with her diamonds. At last he became homesick and returned to Cetinje. He was at once apprehended and brought before

the prince. "How couldst thou dare pass thyself off as my brother?" thundered Nikola. "Thou thyself hast said that all Montenegrins are thy brothers," calmly replied the duke. Nikola had his "brother" put into prison but later allowed him to escape. Since then he lived very quietly as a pettifogger, and only now and then caused remark by some biting *bon mot*. Sometimes he served as a guide to tourists. Returning from such a trip in Bosnia, he remarked to the Austrian attaché, "I was always an enemy of Austria, but since I have seen what it has accomplished in Bosnia within a dozen years I feel that we might be friends." In conversation with a gentleman who did not use the choicest language the duke said with dignity: "*Savez-vous, Monsieur, vous avez reçu beaucoup d'instruction mais peu d'éducation.*" Once he saw a relative of the prince reeling intoxicated through the streets. "*Voilà l'oncle des Romanovs!*" he cried in mockery. The duke had become old; he felt that with youth and beauty the prospects of success had likewise disappeared and therefore he stayed at home. If he has not written his personal memoirs it is greatly to be regretted. The French ambassador expressed a wish to see the duke's children. The poor duke was ashamed of his bare-footed flock, but his inventive spirit again helped him out of his embarrassment. He blackened his children's feet, waited until twilight and thus was able to introduce them with credit.

On July 8, 1890, before eight o'clock in the morning a shot suddenly rang through the main street of Cetinje, followed in the course of a few seconds by two other shots. The people rushed to the spot and Cetinje resounded with wild tumult. Bosko Martinović, a cousin of the prince and commander of his body-guard, fell with a fatal wound. The murderer, Savo Pocek, was seized by a priest who sought to disarm him. The dying Martinović felt for his revolver which had dropped out of his belt when he fell, found it and with sure aim sent one ball through the assassin's breast and the second through his head so that he fell dead at once. All this was but the work of a few seconds and was sooner done than said. When we take into consideration that the men who rushed out of the houses after the first shot surrounded the wounded man, that the priest wrestled with the murderer, that Martinović was fatally wounded, we must admit that the dying Montenegrin surpassed Tell's legendary master shot. Martinović, universally esteemed and beloved because of his upright noble character, lost consciousness, and was taken into a house amid the lamentations of the people. Physicians called him back to life but only for a short time.

for he died that same morning in the most terrible agony without a sound of complaint or a sigh passing his lips. One of his last utterances sounds curious in the mouth of a Montenegrin. "What has become of Pocek?" he asked. "He is dead." "I am sorry; it was over-hasty of me to shoot him," said the dying man. From all parts of the country came deputations who adorned his grave with garlands. Austria's representative called Martinović the noblest of Montenegrins.

The history preceding this murder is as follows: Savo Pocek got into a quarrel with the Perjaniks and was so mistreated by one of them that he lay ill for months. Following the law which forbade retaliation Pocek entered a complaint and the guilty man was sentenced to—six hours imprisonment. Half insane from a sense of injured honor Pocek decided to obtain for himself the satisfaction which the court had denied him. In search for the originator of the unjust sentence he unfortunately fell upon the idea that Martinović must have been the guilty person. But this was far from the truth. If Pocek had been in his right mind he would have been compelled to say to himself that Martinović, universally esteemed and recognized to be of an upright character, could not have had any hand in the affair. The present minister of war Martinović is probably a son of the murdered man. At that time a son, a young blood, was called home from Italy, where he was receiving his education, to step into his father's place. The young man shone as a graceful skater on the skating pond of the princesses.

* * *

On July 14 there was a celebration of which the irony was understood perhaps by only a very few. The bands of music of the Crown Prince played the Marseillaise before the French embassy. The Cetinje Byzantines congratulated the ambassador, and he himself, the fanatical aristocrat, Count A., was obliged to express his thanks for the homage rendered to the republic—and all this "because the thought of freedom in defiance to all limitations dances on in a Bacchanalian and undying whirl!"

In the year 1890 there was a great famine in Montenegro. In spite of the emigration which diminished the population by thirty-six thousand inhabitants, the starving people sat in the streets in long rows by the walls of the houses. They were pale, sorrowful figures, who without begging sat there in quiet resignation and simply looked at the passers by, but in that look there lay an expression of suffering which said more than a long discourse. And

in this Street of Sighs strolled the society of Cetinje without allowing the infinite misery to disturb them in their pleasure. The common Montenegrin, accustomed to endure suffering without complaint, also passes by the sufferings of others with indifference, not from hardheartedness, but because he considers it as an everyday matter to be taken for granted. But that the cultivated people should so entirely lack all sense of humanity enraged me. Incidentally it may be observed that culture exerts by no means an ennobling influence upon the character of the Montenegrins, but it seems to be true of all natural people that they adopt first the vices which civilization brings in its train. The cause of the prevailing famine is to be sought partly in the character of the soil and partly in the inactivity of the government. If the harvest which the Montenegrin expects from the patch of earth wrested from the rocks is scorched by drought or decayed by too much moisture, what then? Industry and professions, where one can speak of these at all, are still in their infancy, and Prince Nikola looks comfortably on while thousands of his subjects perish. Socially he is very amiable, but to his people he is a tyrant. In spite of the famine of 1890, the grain loaned by the government to the inhabitants was demanded back with great severity including about twenty-five percent interest. A deputation from Banjani appeared in Cetinje before the prince and besought him not to demand the back payment all at one time but to let it be divided in installments over two or three years. Instead of receiving an answer they were thrown into prison to serve as a warning to others and were kept there almost a month. The emergency loan was collected without mercy. What does Nikola care for the hunger and misery of his subjects? It is his vocation to satisfy his vanity, and to squander the sweat and the blood of his subjects on his travels. Adherents of the *ancien régime* may well go to Montenegro where they can study the consistent practice of the phrase *L'état, c'est moi*. When the "beautiful princess Milena" goes to a watering-place she is said to take with her the contents of the state treasury, and the officials wait for months for their pay. The beautiful Milena, the daughter of the voivode Peter Vucotić, who they say ran barefoot when she was a child and married when thirteen years old, knows how to play a modest and dignified part and is a good mother to her many children. She is not a mother to her people in the sense that Darinka was. The court was at Rjeka when an indigent family stopped there on their way out of the country. The father was taken sick and the poor wife who was entirely without means

sent her boy to the princess to ask aid of her. The child was seized by the Perjaniks and so abused that he returned home with great gashes in his head. It is highly improbable that the Perjaniks would dare to commit such barbarities if they knew that the poor were welcome to the "mother of her country," and if they were afraid of being punished for such acts of cruelty. In Darinka's time they certainly would not have dared to perpetrate such deeds of violence. The poor woman who told us her misfortune in simple words concluded: "If I had not happened to ask the princess for help I would have had one sick person on my hands, but now I have two."

On March 27, 1891, an event took place which is well suited to set the mild paternal government of Nikola in its proper light. One morning about eight o'clock a poorly dressed man came into the palace and desired to speak to the prince. Being repeatedly repulsed he sat down before the door with the words: "The prince must listen to me, he must grant me justice!" At this he was seized and for half an hour was flogged before the palace amid his deafening cries. Finally the police who had applied the punishment dragged the half-dead man in triumph through the streets—probably as a warning example for the people—past the hotel and the Turkish embassy back to the bazaar, where they threw him upon the ground. To my indignant summons of the police, for I thought that it was some private squabble, I was informed that I had before my eyes an executive act of the noble prince, "the poet," "the spiritual prince." Up to that time I had always been of the opinion that I was not bloodthirsty, but I believe that in the excitement of the moment I would have looked on with pleasure if they had torn Nikola to pieces.

Most historians condemn the terrorists of 1793 who throughout their whole lives had been witnesses of similar infamous acts, for no one in our own tame century understands the feelings with which they turned against the oppressors. But in this moment I understood them, and I knew they were not "monsters" but avengers of the injured dignity of mankind. What kind of a disposition must Nikola have, when he is capable of such acts at a moment when his beloved wife is lying dangerously ill? Public opinion in Cetinje, to be sure, said that such "bad humors" of the prince sprang from the same cause as the famous mist of Chlum. I can neither confirm this nor deny it. I was not able to find out whether the poor man who trusted in his prince's justice lived or not. To all my questions I received only a dumb shrug of the

shoulders for reply. Only one poor woman informed me that the unhappy wretch had crept to the hospital on his hands and feet. "Patience!" she cried, and raised her hand threateningly towards the palace. "Sometime the poor people too will be avenged. They are having a bad time now," she had reference to the illness of the princess, "but they will have still worse times!"

The Montenegrin has a vast amount of patience. He suffers without complaint, but when once his measure is full then the report of the revolver is heard and Europe has once more proof that the Black Mountains are inhabited by "robbers and assassins."



CATTARO FROM THE SOUTH.

That the oppressed are procuring the satisfaction which has been refused them, that there is many a murderer in Montenegro whose hand a man of honor may press without shame, the world is not aware. "To know everything is to forgive everything." I myself was personally acquainted with two murderers. One was a very young lad who had shot a Turk in Albania at the age of fourteen years. He was a servant in the house where I lived. "Have you no pangs of conscience? You have a sin upon your soul," I asked him once. "No," replied the boy with blazing eyes. "The Turk mistreated my mother; I tore the gun from the wall and shot him

down. I would not do any differently to-day. Moreover," he added quietly, "he was only a Turk." The second murderer was in the service of the voivode who mistreated him. "Do not strike me or I might forget myself," he begged. The voivode paid no attention and struck him again. Then the insulted man seized a revolver from his belt and shot him down. He made no attempt at flight and quietly awaited his fate. The "supreme court" condemned him to death. The prince—and this is the only humanly fine action which I heard of him and it too is said not to have arisen from the purest motives—at any rate the prince pardoned him. The court condemned him to twenty years imprisonment and the prince made him gardener in the state school of forestry. Here he had a nice little house in which he lived with his wife and apparently prospered.

After the completion of the road to Podgoriza Prince Nikola rose to a great stroke of statesmanship. He went to the bazaar of Cetinje and made a great speech to the market women on the subject of how unpatriotic it was to handle vegetables from Cattaro, from abroad, while in Podgoriza in their own country the best vegetables were to be had. Then he forbade them under heavy penalty to bring any more vegetables from Cattaro to the Cetinje bazaar. Nevertheless his Highness forgot to advance to the poor women the necessary working capital. The women who carry on the vegetable trade of Cattaro carry wood and poultry there to market in order to buy with the proceeds their wares for Cetinje. Since there is no sale for wood or poultry in Podgoriza the vegetable dealers were not able to procure any capital and so the Cetinje population remained several days without vegetables, whereupon there followed the solemn revocation of the prohibition to buy vegetables abroad.

* * *

Montenegro has also its poet-martyr. His name is Marko Dragovič. When "the sky of Cetinje" lowered heavy above him he tried first to locate himself in Turkey and then in Austria. But a Montenegrin must have the special permission of his prince before he is permitted to live in foreign lands. Since Dragovič either did not ask for this or was not granted it, he was expelled from both countries at the request of the Montenegrin government. Forced to live in Cetinje he sought a small office which was granted him. Since he was under suspicion of corresponding with foreign journals his house was searched one day. Pretext for this action was afforded by the real or fictitious loss of "documents from the state

archives." Among the papers of Dragović were found several caustic epigrams on the prince, about whose person and family he was said to have contributed "spiteful and mendacious accounts" to various newspapers. He was captured and thrown into prison. With head held high like a conqueror he left his house between guards and walked to prison. "I am suffering an injustice," was the only observation he made. He was sentenced by the supreme court to six years imprisonment for the misappropriation of state documents, and to six more years imprisonment for offences against the prince. Once I saw this martyr of despotism before the prison walking with proud step up and down somewhat apart from his companions in misery. He did not look as if he were ever destined to become a court poet. At the time of the betrothal of one of the princesses, the brother of Dragović made the attempt to obtain his pardon from the royal mother, but he was hurled into the air by the prince's adjutant. Among the inhabitants of Cetinje many different rumors were current. Once it was said that Dragović would soon be released, at another time that the prince had said that he would never leave prison alive. Again we heard that he was to be sent into the interior of the country in a fever district where all the prisoners died. Since I left Cetinje soon afterwards I heard nothing more of the fate of the poor poet. What valuable human material, what an amount of energy is lost in the Black Mountains because of despotism!

One more example of arbitrary power. An artisan who took the liberty of asking an exalted personage for the settlement of an account was thrown into prison and was there misused, people say, only because he was a foreigner. I do not believe this for I saw with what great severity the natives also were treated. A number of thirteen- to fifteen-year-old boys were gathered together to form an orchestra. They were worried and drilled all day long, and when no more music was wanted they were compelled to improvise in contests for the pleasure of the court. When a stranger made the observation that the frail boys would break down under the strain, the usual reply given by the authorities was: "That makes no difference, they will teach a larger number so that the loss will always be covered." A short time later two of the poor musicians died in the hospital. I learn from the writings of Franzos that the same thing occurs in Russia in recruiting boys.

All foreigners who come to Montenegro are well received at first, so that an ill-natured saying goes: "A man who fails to matriculate in Austria can still be Minister of Instruction in Mon-

tenegro." But they are not pampered long. As soon as Montenegrins have had enough of them they are tricked and oppressed so that they are glad enough to leave the Black Mountains behind them. This was the case with Doctor Lazo Kostić, a Servian poet who edited a newspaper in Cetinje. He revised the poems of the prince. Finally he went to Cattaro, and when there he sent in his resignation from safe Austrian ground.

In March, 1890, the young princess Zorka, the wife of the present King Peter of Servia, died. The people crowded to her funeral from all parts of the country. Accustomed to the dangerous throngs and the tumult usual on such occasions in civilized countries I was greatly astonished at the behavior of the people. The crowd of many thousands stood in hushed silence like a wall at the appointed places so that nowhere was there the slightest disturbance. The king and queen walked with unmoved faces behind the coffin of their beloved daughter, and only the convulsive twitching of the muscles showed that they possessed human feelings.

Are the Montenegrins devout? I could not make out. In one of their folk songs there is a line, "God, the ancient destroyer," an expression of Prometheus-like dauntlessness. Their account of the creation is particularly curious. After the creation of the world a whole bagful of mountains was left over. This bag the creator took upon his back and started up to heaven, but on the way the bag tore open and the mountains all fell out on one place, which is called Montenegro.

I heard that there is also a shrine to which Turks, Jews and Christians alike make pilgrimages. At the head of the procession walks a Turk carrying the cross. At least it is a remarkable example of mutual tolerance.

It is said that whoever has drunk the water of Cetinje must return there. I would rather say that whoever has breathed the Cetinje air yearns for it. Raw, but invigorating and keen like molten steel, it absolutely does not permit any nervousness and makes every inhalation a pleasure. Perhaps the reason for the heroism of the inhabitants lies for the most part in the quality of the air. I am surprised that it has never occurred to a physician to set up a sanitarium here.

During the entire time of my long stay in Cetinje there was never any trace of hatred towards Austria on the part of the people. In 1909 this must have been stirred up artificially. In the government, to be sure, it was quite different. They were compelled to accept with thanks the rich subsidy which they received. Opposite

the Austrian embassy stood a watchman who took note of all who frequented it. One evening I was walking through the streets of Cetinje. In front of me was the son of the Austrian ambassador, a pupil at the Naval Academy. He was accompanied by his fourteen-year-old sister who likewise wore the sailor's blouse and cap in honor of her brother. Two Montenegrins met them. One said to his companion, "See there! two Austrian soldiers!" "Fine looking fellows!" replied the other, assenting. Both had overlooked the fact in the dim light that the second soldier was a girl. Once a person belonging to the embassy desired to have some *opanken*, shoes such as were worn in that country, and sent to the *opanke*-maker, who sent word that she would be glad to make the *opankes* if she had the measure, but she could not come because if she did her husband who was on the police force would lose his place.

Once when we were out walking we were followed by a very decently dressed man bearing strange old fire arms. He stared at us sharply, stayed behind and when my companion had gone a few steps ahead he came up quickly and whispered to me, "I am horribly hungry." Just then an old man came up, a walking arsenal, who was moved neither by distress nor by culture. He at once submitted us to a keen cross examination. "Where do you come from? Where are you going? Are these your children? No? Then whose are they? Then you are Austrians? Well I'm glad of that. But now you must tell me, what your emperor is thinking of." Dumbfounded I stared at the questioner. "What do you mean?" "Well, why doesn't he live in Cattaro?" "In Cattaro?" "Yes, he can't find a finer city, can he?" Cattaro is regarded most highly by the Montenegrins. A man who was banished from Cattaro for disorderly behavior said: "A Montenegrin who can't go to Cattaro is like a mouse in a trap."

The winter of 1891 was very snowy. In Cetinje the snow reached up to the first stories of the houses. When the convicts had shoveled the snow away I went out. I came to a place where the snow was still untouched and I tried to climb up the mountain but always slid back. Above me stood a convict who trailed a long chain behind him at his feet. He took the chain, hooked it into his belt, stepped to the edge of the chasm, stretched out both hands to me and said. "Come, I will help you." In surprise I looked up and saw a pair of dark eyes looking frankly at me. Without hesitation, without prudishness, I laid my hands in those of the criminal and let him draw me up. "Thank you," I said. He saluted stiffly. I would like to have known what crime my friendly

companion had been guilty of, but there was no one there whom I could ask.

In closing I must remember thee gratefully, tall Savo, thou bringer of joy, who made possible our intercourse with Europe. The door opens, a long handjar appears, then a pair of old pistols, and in comes tall Savo bowing, and brings our letters and papers. Poor tall Savo! He came to a shameful end. It was a holiday and perhaps Savo was a little over-merry when he delivered the mail at the Turkish embassy. To his misfortune he met the cook alone and kissed her. This was nothing to object to, for Savo was a fine looking fellow. But unfortunately at this moment she saw the Pasha on the stairs, and therefore for propriety's sake she had to scream. The Pasha entered a complaint on the ground of injury to the embassy, and because of this kiss tall Savo was condemned to two months imprisonment, and dismissed from his office.

NON OMNIS MORIAR.

PROBABILITIES OF AN AFTER LIFE.

BY F. W. ORDE WARD.

WE see a vision of personal immortality objectified in the continuation of the human race; we know there was a paleolithic man ages ago, and perhaps before him the eolithic man ages and ages ago. Nor indeed does any assignable limit, within millions of years, seem possible. There appears to be no reason why there should be a final end now or in the ages to come. We existed almost from the beginning of time in the ancestral germ-plasm of infinitely remote but related predecessors, and we perpetuate ourselves, so to speak, in our children and in their descendants as well as in the race. We belong indissolubly to each other by right of succession. The individual cannot help identifying himself with the race. This seem practically immortal and therefore why are not we ourselves? We admit a subjective futurity for all, in memory, in love, in honor, and in the minds of others. The best part of us, our spiritual life, sows itself, takes root, flowers, and bears fruit in endless following generations. Our work endures, builded into the work of others and confederate with theirs and our successors. It carries on the personal note into the impersonal inheritance. We, who perish in our mortal part, transmit nevertheless out of the time process our distinctive features into the life process, the cosmic process, the eternal process. We belong ethically, through the passing on of undying truths and virtues, our moral and religious excellences, our spiritual expansion and experience, to another world or over-world which recognizes no death. We feel it impossible to believe that the indomitable soul with its appetite for infinity, its craving for the universal, its heavenly hunger, its divine discontent, can pass away like the outworn flesh or a crumbling clod. If the so-called dead body exists and

must exist forever, though in different forms, and becomes part of new incarnations and enters into new and countless complexes, how shall the highest part of us (the essence and not the accident) with such noble qualities and aspirations, disappear into absolute nothingness and become less than the very dust beneath our feet? Besides, the holotelic impulse, the effort of every individual thing to fulfil and complete itself, remains otherwise utterly and entirely unaccountable. Consciously or unconsciously, life seeks for a spiritual totality, a rounding off of itself never quite finished here, but yielding inextinguishable references to a future and a hope in some kind of vaster otherness beyond.

"Thou wilt not leave us in the dust;
Thou madest man, he knows not why;
He thinks, he was not made to die;
And Thou hast made him—Thou art just."

Young children cannot understand death, it is more than difficult, impracticable to explain it to them. They know better, being sure of themselves and of life. But not only so, they also bring with them at birth into the world, something more than knowledge, an instinctive assurance of greatness and persistency, which dies in them very hard, if it ever dies at all. Before the stupid machinery of an intelligent education has commenced, they feel themselves bigger and better than they seem. They possess a mystical endowment which declines to be explained away. Children have these intuitions which they may be unable to express or are afraid to talk about, but still they cherish them among their most sacred and private treasures. It often appears to them, not from a diseased egotism or megalomania but from a healthy conviction, that they deserve a larger medium and are members of a regal family, and the earth is too small for them. They inherit as by some heavenly right royal instincts, which all too soon prove incommensurable with a humble lot. It is not so much recollection, though it may sometimes partake of this, as a deliberate and ultimate faith, which asks no reason and lies beyond the necessity of demonstration. It operates as one with life's outfit, its original stock of equipment.

Wordsworth in his magnificent ode "the high-water mark of English literature" as Emerson justly called it, has given for all time the final expression to this strange and beautiful consciousness. The child, of whom no poet has ever spoken so adequately and truly as Wordsworth, stands nearer to the fountainhead of life. What we adults only think or hope or guess or vainly desire, he is.

Thought and being with him are one. He expects, he needs not proof, just because he sees and knows. At first, at once, he does not enter the time process which enslaves the older, but he dwells in the life process, among the centralities and essentials and truths and fundamentals. He is united to reality. So that doubts and fears and misgivings and hesitations lie outside this vision, as a *terra incognita*. The recognition of death with its accompanying dread does not occur to him. If presented it remains unintelligible. Death does not concern him, because he stands at present on a different plane, on the level of immediate knowledge. Poets and artists, and those we call prophets, never can altogether lose this intimate assurance of immortality. And when the end of their existence in the time-process does arrive, they feel like Frederic Myers, who hailed the event with relief and pleasure as the *exeat* of the schoolboy who is only going home, and knows that the shadow does not mean either extinction or severance but simply a closer spiritual union.

Whatever the Hebrews may have thought of immortality, it seems certain that after the exile, and most of the Psalms certainly seem post-exilic, they must have transferred to some extent the continuance of the nation to the continuance of the individual, as the later prophets probably did. And a naive childlike faith begins to show itself in these. At any rate in the Psalms we frequently find "soul" and "glory" employed as convertible or synonymous expressions. They had definitely realized that the "soul" of man was indeed the chief "glory" of man. And to children, at the outset dwelling in a sphere not in time or space, all things look *sub specie aeternitatis*. They inhabit for a while Spinoza's spiritual universe. The poor adult has to die, often a thousand deaths in a sense, before he can be *in aeternum renatus*, like the votary of Mithras. But the child begins in the life with which we end.

The notion of personal continuity seems to have held good in most people, and even some of the most degraded savages. They all felt that the death and disintegration of the body had little to do with the real life and effected no interruption. The deceased were supposed to go on with their earthly pursuits, though in an invisible world, but a world underlying and enfolding and embracing this. "Not to know how a thing can be, is no disproof that the thing must be and is." In a world of animism, which goes back as far as the earliest records and endures still and can never pass away, it was far easier to believe in the perpetuation of the individual than in his annihilation. The primitive instincts, like the instincts

in the lower animals, seem virtually infallible. Even the cave-man probably said to himself, though not in so many words, *non omnis moriar*, I shall not altogether die. Besides, long before, the idea (so simple now) of individuality, when the whole tribe was a single organism affected by the action of every member and sinning and suffering with every member, each constituent unit sharing in the solidarity of the tribe, while at death passing out of sight, enjoyed still the existence of the tribe and lived on in that. The race was immortal, and therefore the individual.

It may be, in spite of appearances to the contrary and the fancies of poets often pessimistic with a view to excite pity and stir the emotions, that the belief in immortality was so universal and profound a conviction that it was taken for granted and rarely if ever proclaimed as a fact. *I shall not die but live*. Love has given the lie to extinction. Death was often rather a sleep than an end. In fact the idea of a terminus seems absolutely foreign to the primitive mind; when survivors gave food to the departed and buried tools and weapons and wives, slaves and animals with them. Persistency seemed far less difficult to accept, confronted as the aborigines were with birth upon birth in their own families and in nature. "Everything has in itself a striving to preserve its own condition and to improve itself." The stupid and most unobservant, the least curious spectator of life, did not recognize death so much as an increasing purpose, a process of eternal creation, an everlasting epigenesis.

Finality is a purely modern conception, and the troglodyte would never have exclaimed with Horace *Debemur morti nos nostraque*, we and ours are doomed to death. This was but one of the affectations of poetry, the disease of a decadent civilization, working in the shades and backgrounds of the picture. As a matter of fact, if in varying degrees, every one and no doubt Horace himself followed Aristotle's advice, *ἀθαρτίζειν ὡς ἐνδέχεται*, practised immortality in so far as it was possible. The two dominant forces in human nature have ever been faith and love, and these must have made short work of doubt or fear. And the fact that speculations on the soul and on a future state have always been subjects dear to philosophers proves that the belief in immortality must have been a very general persuasion. Historically the Roman Catholic Church dates from the Council of Trent, 1542 to 1563. But faith in survival after death remains undated and dateless, like Browning's poetry, which is for no particular period but for all time. Men noticed from the very first, without philosophizing, that there

were no breaks or stoppages in nature, for in spite of checks and catastrophes here and there and now and then and indeed everywhere, things went on as usual. The spirit of the departed found familiar work to do in the beyond, and never lost its particular personality. Cessation of activity was not real but only apparent, and visibility and tangibility were but the least portions of the individual. The more the soul changed in its external form, the more was it the same thing.

From the beginning man conceived himself to be free of two worlds, the seen and the unseen. His gods, his ancestors and others inhabited the last and he the first, but the two overlapt and were conterminous. In sleep and dreams he crossed the borders, which united rather than divided, while the denizens of the unseen were ever able to cross over and frequently did, taking as they did, still a keen interest and energetic part in earth's existence. Peoples of the very lowest grade in culture, nevertheless present to the traveler ideas of personal and lofty gods. And the Omaha, according to Miss Fletcher, adore their deity in contemplation. The closed systems of the present day would have had no meaning to the paleolithic men, and possess none now for the dullest peasant of the dullest nation on the earth, who with all his ignorance knows he will live for ever, and allows no final end in his limited vocabulary.

Yes, we all pass but we none of us perish or can perish. *Tout passe, tout casse, tout passe, mais tout renaît.* Transformation meets us everywhere, but an ultimate terminus nowhere. If the simplest and oldest organisms, that propagated and propagate themselves by fission or gemmation, by constant division and sub-division or by throwing off buds, are practically immortal, there should surely be some permanent element in the higher and more complex organisms that cannot die. Whether the trend be anabolic or catabolic, upward or downward, we discover no annihilation, and no true finality. Something survives, persists, endures, marching on like John Brown's soul.

Man would never be able to look beyond, unless he was intended to live beyond. The cosmic sense, which empowers us to measure and judge and rise above the world in which we live, and despise mere material barriers, the Christ sense which impels us to sacrifice ourselves for others, and the sense of responsibility which assures us of a personal account to be asked and given, and the sense of solidarity which identifies every man with every other man, all these afford accumulated evidences and arguments, that,

when the body returns to its elements, the spirit does not and cannot die. We dare not assert quite as much as Eckhart, "I am as necessary to God, as God is necessary to me," though this involves an important and vital truth, as we shall presently see. But, whatever our philosophy of life may be, or our theology, it seems clear that a permanent and persistent factor in man, a spiritual principle, has always been the belief of the race, and such an intuition must be infallible, because error always was and will be particular and not universal.

We have seen before, and said already, that the individual at first, while by no means non-existent though far from autonomous, was merged in his society. The same appears to have held true even of words, for some authorities think that the sentence preceded the word and the word at first enjoyed no independent life. And so when we examine writing in early manuscripts we find no punctuations and no divisions. But, inasmuch as any given society was believed by the primitive mind to be a portion of reality, every member consciously or subconsciously participated in it. For the underlying fact in race or individual cannot but be reality and reality alone which persists. The tendency of metaphysic was ever to eliminate, so to speak, the copula and to enrich the predicate. All great truths are expressions of new predicates. Every advance in life is a fresh predicate. Each added epigenesis means the very same thing, and we feel, however crowded our existence may happen to be, it is not exhausted and our predicates are not properly or fully quantified. At death (so called) the analytic and synthetic sides of life merge in something higher, and we know we stand in the presence of a new predicate.

Everything, act or word, involves a judgment, and what is our earthly lot or time but a series of judgments connected and expanding and aspiring. Death signifies not even a comma, much less a full stop. To live is to judge, and therefore to claim our individual inheritance of divinity. If we read our Old Testament carefully, we shall find that Sheol or Hades does not necessarily mean a fixed and permanent state, but only a purgatorial period or halting place. Between the lines of all the old sacred books, we discern the holotelic craving, the sense of continued life, which has so much more to know and to be. We realize, the dullest of Englishmen and even the man in the street, our imperfection, that our works constitute at the best and utmost but fragments of some vaster totality. The present life, with its limited outlook and prison windows, seems but an insignificant part of us, while the

best and greater portion of us lies uninvested and unemployed, but nevertheless capable with adequate opportunities of almost infinite enlargement. On the earthly, temporal, human, mortal plane, we have such a mean environment. With a wider field of energy the dormant passive potentialities of reaction, splendid faculties at present lying idle and going to waste, would respond and correspond richly to the spiritual medium in which we repose submerged and helpless. The refusal so common to accept final defeat, and our painful pressing hourly awareness of incompleteness, form a presumption better than all the academic arguments in the world, that we are immortal. *Ubi imperfectio ibi aeternitas futura*—where imperfection resides, there have we the promise and expectation of eternal life. The ulterior relation, the telotelic reference, involve unexhausted and inexhaustible possibilities—*Tendentesque manus ripae ulterioris amore*. It is not so much the lack of balance or desire for compensation, as the sense of a scientific expression of every individual ego.

Omnia in aeternum exeunt—all things, we cannot help noticing, seem to run out far beyond us into the eternal and the infinite and invisible. Even when we knock against an *impasse* or *cul de sac*, we feel certain of an opening somewhere, at the “back o’ Beyant.” Relations exist, doors unclosed, though we do not perceive them, for those who possess the secret, the password. And we are conscious at heart that we all ourselves, if not until the end of all, shall know at last the magical formula or faith, the “Open Sesame.” Reality may have as many coats as we choose to reckon, but underneath all is a revelation. The provoking plus met at every turn, the mysterious margin, come as challenges to the soul, that it may claim its inheritance, its birthright in God himself and in nothing less than this or short of him. The dreams of yesterday constitute the ordinary facts and common property of to-day, and the visions, the impossibilities of to-day will make to-morrow’s outfit. All these incessant happenings should encourage us to hope for everything. All things are possible to faith and we can never ask or expect too much.

“We are coming to a King,
Large petitions let us bring.”

This couplet from the dear old hymn embodies the very essence of the matter. “Blessed are they that expect nothing for they shall not be disappointed”—such is the creed of cowards and slaves. The usual Hebrew greeting, *Marhaba*, may you have enlargement, is

singularly suggestive. For this Pariah race, this crucified people, has never doubted its greatness, or its ultimate victory. Salvation for their nation meant enlargement. And their motto might have been

"Hope springs eternal in the human breast,"

had it not actually been assurance. And the everlasting Jew may well encourage us to faith in the future and the survival of personality. The multiplying and widening avenues of life, in socializing the individual and giving the part or member the accumulated strength of the whole and the cosmopolitan feelings of our time, all combine to suggest that the immensely enlarged ego of this age can have no assignable limit to existence. Whatever we do or say now, wherever we go, we meet liberation of new energies, the unclosing of new doors into the infinite. Man, each man, is not so much being socialized as universalized. Everything, every person, appears broadening out. We say, or said, that two and two made four. But the newer mathematics, that sometimes shows the part to be as big as, or even bigger than, the whole, would not object to the sum of $2+2=4$ plus. We encounter everywhere the little more, the particular result *and*. So with us, we are mortal *and*. The mortality does not prove an exhaustive account of human greatness. He wants more, and he would not be autotelic if he were not also heterotelic, and therefore he is more. And as every day we are dying and then rising again, dying to a lower life and rising to a loftier, we do not doubt for a moment that the process we call death must be a step upward and not a step downward, and is but a small part of the eternal progress in which we realize ourselves and individuate ourselves more and more.

THE SURVIVAL OF PERSONALITY.

BY CHARLES H. CHASE.

THE age-old question, "If a man die, shall he live again?" is always of intense interest to mankind and has been so in all ages. How great that interest is we can appreciate only when some prominent man denies the possibility of survival of the self and consciousness after physical death, as Thomas A. Edison did a few years ago.¹ The pulpit and press comment thus provoked is a sure index to that interest. It is doubtless true that 99% or more of the world's population believe in immortality—not the immortality of influence merely, but the continuous existence after death of the conscious, thinking, willing self, the ego of man's individuality. Yet with the great majority this belief depends not on any conscious reasoning process, but upon what may be termed intuition. Indeed, the great masses of the people cannot defend their belief in that regard.

And because the ordinary man (the "common herd," as some contemptuously designate the masses) cannot defend his belief, he is thought not to count for or against the question, by those who assume for themselves a monopoly of philosophic thinking. The common ideas of God are crude and anthropomorphic; the common ideas of the soul, heaven, and the future existence are fashioned after things which man knows here on this mundane sphere, being therefore materialistic, and for these reasons his views are not to be relied on. In such ways are we wont to place ourselves into an aristocracy of correct thinking.

But this common intuition is, without doubt, more to be relied on than is the opinion of any specialist who has devoted his life to the pursuit of any one, or any small number of, lines of scientific or philosophic investigation. The training of a physician, so-called biologist, bacteriologist, chemist, toxicologist, physicist (and in

¹ See report of his views on page 380.

many and any other specialist lines) quite incapacitates them to reason upon religio-philosophic questions.

The foregoing statement may be regarded by some as a bald and unwarrantable assumption; but its truth and the reason therefor may be indicated as follows: The ignorant man is not usually onesided in his development; his field of vision may be small, but it is comprehensive and manysided in that field. He may be superstitious, inconsistent, fallacious in his reasoning, but in his intuitive grasp of great fundamentals he surpasses his more educated and specialized brother. The specialist is trained to ignore what he cannot discover by his senses—to treat it as though it were not. The physician says: "There is no soul; I have dissected the body and found none." The chemist and physiologist say as to the processes of digestion and metabolism: "It is a mere matter of chemistry, the action of the blind forces of nature which we see everywhere about us; such processes afford no evidences of the soul or God." The physicist says as to all phenomena, including life: "All phenomena can be reduced to matter and motion." The mechanical and electrical engineers say: "Man is a machine, a very well built machine, but imperfect. If an expert optician were to turn out so imperfect an optical instrument as the eye, he would disgrace his profession." The self-styled biologist says: "The whole of life processes is but the chance selection by which the strongest, and the fittest, escapes dissolution. All is the result of the fortuitous clashes of brute atoms."

This manner of reasoning may be affirmed of all those who have not risen above the old maxim that "seeing is believing." There are, indeed, many notable exceptions to the charge of narrow reasoning, as quoted above, men who have gone outside the narrow confines of their specialties, who have escaped the mental paralysis ordinarily produced by too close confinement to what are known as scientific methods. Auguste Comte and our own Thomas A. Edison are notable examples of such paralysis of the reasoning faculty, though in Comte it may have been an inherited mental defect.

It was faith in the unseen, in that which cannot be discovered by the senses, which has given us the interstellar ether, the inter-atomic, intra-atomic, and all-pervading ether. It was faith in the unseen and the undiscoverable by the senses, that has given us the long ether-waves, the Hertzian waves; and how well does the wireless telegrapher make use of them! These truths were established by induction, the scientific imagination, by the process which we

call generalization. They were assumed, treated as true, and we can find no other way of interpreting results obtained by experimentation on such assumption.

It is by such processes that we arrive at the God-idea, that of the self-existing ego, or soul; there is no other way of reducing the cosmos to a rational consistent whole. The whole mental attitude and effort of the specialist is to reduce all phenomena to the elements of such simple phenomena as he knows by daily contact with them. The chemist and physicist are satisfied to reduce their phenomena to motions, attractions, and repulsions. To them sound, light, heat, electricity are mere vibrations. The subjective side of these phenomena (we should say the phenomena themselves, since vibrations are in no respect light, heat, etc.) is entirely ignored, or treated as accompanying, merely, as an epiphenomenon, the objective phenomenon. Psychic phenomena must, with them, be reduced to materialistic terms. The mind is a mere mirroring of the objective world; the brain, a plastic material upon which the phenomena of the external world are recorded—a phonographic record, in Mr. Edison's view of it.

Such analogies are far fetched and mere child's play; for no material, no objective, phenomena can represent by any fair analogy the phenomena of mind. Many, too, trained in the materialistic way of reasoning, trick themselves into believing they reason when they define a phenomenon by its synonym, as by saying that consciousness is mere awareness. This is generally done with all the naïveté of one who thinks he has explained all there is to be explained about consciousness.

It is true that the complete proof of the immortality of the conscious ego cannot in the present state of our knowledge be made; but the probable evidence in its favor is overwhelming.

There is only one of the many cosmic theories which is incompatible with the continued existence of the conscious ego after the dissolution of the physical organism, and this theory is quite untenable. I refer to the extreme materialistic theory which attempts to reduce all phenomena to a push or a pull of inert atoms—fortuitous clashes of unintelligent, dead matter. No philosopher worthy of the name now holds to this extreme theory; even Ernst Haeckel, the present champion of materialism, is a hylozoist, believing that all matter is alive. In no other way can he avoid the absurdities of the the materialistic theory. We may, therefore, dismiss the extreme materialistic theory as unworthy of any consideration whatever. To suppose that the universe has come from

the fortuitous clash of blind, brute atoms is as absurd as to suppose it possible that the application of blind forces to piles of lumber, mountains of ore, and other miscellaneous materials would result in the formation of commodious homes, useful and complicated machines and appliances, and intelligent automatons. In fact the two hypotheses are the same, and need only to be stated to be rejected as absurd.

With hylozoism, idealistic monism, idealistic pluralism, the common dualism of popular belief, and even with a certain form of materialistic monism the theory of immortality is entirely compatible. The assumption of immortality explains in the cosmos what can be explained in no other way.

Descartes's *Cogito ergo sum* (I think, therefore I am) is the most fundamental of all philosophic propositions, and the most obvious and indubitable to the mind. It is the only sure foundation of epistemology. The individual can know no matter; it can know (experience) only sensations, thoughts, emotions, and volitions. What we know of the outside world is only an imperfect and often fallacious report which the mind interprets as material or mental phenomena. That in matter which we have been accustomed to believe the most fixed and immutable property is now about to disappear. Inertia, mass, that without which matter could not be known to us, could in no way affect our senses, has become a mere will-o-the-wisp, dependent on the speed of the electrons which compose the atoms; and when the electrons lose their motion, inertia (mass) is no more. And were the electrons to retain their motion after the material universe has been disintegrated into electrons and the final equilibrium of motion established (a continuous and uniform flow in all directions), matter, in every respect as we know it, will have become *non est* (annihilated). To say that matter is substance, fluid, solid, etc., tells us nothing of its ultimate and fundamental nature. The ego can know nothing but its own sensational, emotional, and intellectual states. Mind we know is, and cannot know to the contrary that all we know as matter is but the manifestation of mind. We may never be assured whether there be a dualism of mind and matter, a monism of thinking, willing, and moving matter, or a monism of mind only. We do know that there can be no monism of brute material; for brute matter can in no way develop into mind, or account for the existence of mind as we know it. The conclusion may be stated: *Sentio, cogito, emotus sum; ergo sum ego, et mens sum ego*. Intelligence only can account for the inerrant power of selection by the various

vegetable organisms growing in the same soil, of just the elements needed by each for its own use, the carrying of the elements to the point where they are needed, and their assimilation at that point. Thus, too, in the processes of the animal, intelligence only can select from the blood stream what the organism needs and eliminate what it does not need. Why does the bone matter in the blood go to make bone, the nerve matter to build up nerve cells, except by intelligent selection by our vital powers, though unconscious? Intelligence and will are everywhere, and without intelligence and will there is nothing that we can do or know. Intelligence and will are the two things in the universe, as far as we know, that are conserved, and cannot be destroyed. They are timeless in the ever present, have had no beginning and can have no end. How we are individualized and separated, if so, from the Universal Intelligence we do not know, may never know; but that we are an individualized and coherent part of the Universal Intelligence, there can be no doubt.

It may be thought that the above stated conclusions are without warrant, since few reasons are given; but, in truth, to give all the reasons would require the marshaling of all science and philosophy before the court of reason to bear testimony. Yet I believe, were we able to see the question of immortality from all sides in the light of all that science and philosophy can give, we must be convinced of the continued existence of the conscious ego throughout a timeless eternity.

MYSTICISM AND IMMORTALITY.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE question of immortality has been moving mankind, and will not down. Freethinkers, rationalists, heretics, infidels, have again and again pointed out that the whole human organism falls to pieces in death. Men have become more and more acquainted with the scientific facts of life as a process, of consciousness as a function, of the soul as a product of a cooperation of nervous activity; and yet the notion of an immortal soul inheres firmly in the minds of the people. A radical thinker like Schopenhauer, who did not believe either in God or in a personal immortality, devotes a whole chapter to the indestructibility of our inmost being, and he takes it for granted that every living creature is ensouled with the idea of its own permanence, with the indestructibility of itself. It is almost impossible for any man to think of himself as non-existent, and we ask, Is this feeling mere illusion, or is there a truth at the bottom of it?

As instances of these tendencies apparently inherent in the constitution of human beings, we publish in the present number two articles of thinking men both of whom we need not doubt to be honest seekers after the truth, and both hold their views because they have paid close attention to the problem and cling to their belief in immortality in spite of the objections that can reasonably be offered by the natural sciences on the grounds of careful observation and close arguments.

In our opinion there is a deep truth in man's conviction of the indestructibility of his inmost being. The truth is that whatever exists is a fact, and a fact remains. We all know that substance and energy are indestructible, but in addition to this law, there is a law of the preservation of form. Form is not indestructible, but after all it has a tendency to persist; its trace, especially in the living substance of organisms, remains though it may be modified,

and thus it will influence all other formations which will be superimposed in the course of events. This means that whatever is done is embedded in existence, it leaves a trace and though this trace may be modified, and have other traces superimposed on it, it has become (be it in ever so insignificant a manner) a part of the constitution of being and will remain such forever and aye.

Let us grant here at once that the preservation of traces is different according to conditions. Words written in water will be illegible the next moment, and the preservation of the shape of a billow on the ocean will be so utterly negligible that its effect matters very little except so far as the formation of shores is concerned. It makes no difference to the future commotions and storms on the ocean itself. To be sure the effect of everything remains, but for certain considerations it will be absolutely lost, just as much as the light of stars which existed thousands of years ago conveys at a further end of the cosmic system of our starry heavens no meaning of intellectual life, none, for instance, of the aspirations which took place on its planets.

More persistent however in their way are the commotions that take place in a man's brain. They are insignificant so far as matter and energy are called into play. Certainly they are puny in comparison to the enormous force displayed in the descending water-drops of Niagara Falls, and they are very small in the amount of material constituents which their activity stirs in the brain; yet they are highly efficient in ulterior results by stirring up through the medium of communication, through spoken or printed words, other cerebral structures in the brains of other people, and the ultimate result may be the building of extensive railroad highways, or the removal of mountains, the connection of waterways between oceans, or the improvement of the conditions of large multitudes of mankind. It is not the amount of energy which is first to be considered, nor is it the volume and weight and mass of substance which challenges our attention, but it is the possibility of imparting direction, of marshalling the forces of nature and making them subservient to our purpose; and this is not a question of energy, as the philosophy of energeticism would have it, nor of matter, as the materialists think, but as we insist, of form. Life is a forming and re-forming, and the significance of form ought to be the first question of every philosopher to be answered; it is the first problem to be solved and the indispensable condition for an understanding of the constitution of existence.

It is here in the nature of form that our own solution of all the

philosophical problems centers, and so we might call our own philosophy a philosophy of form. This philosophy is intended to be, not the philosophy of a single thinker but the philosophy of science, of an objective statement of knowledge, of a knowledge that ought to be acceptable to every one, whatever attitude he may take toward life and the universe.

The term philosophy is used in a narrower sense and in a broader sense. In the narrower sense it is an objective statement of a systematized knowledge at our command. It is a world-conception digested from the data furnished by science on the basis of our experience, and we call it the philosophy of science. If science exists there must be a philosophy of science. If a philosophy of science is impossible there can be no real science, and in place of definite, positive and unquestionable science we can have mere opinions, more or less probable conjectures.

In a broader sense philosophy is not objective knowledge of the world, but a subjective attitude toward it, and in this sense we may have innumerable philosophies, optimism, pessimism, meliorism, sentimentalism, and mysticisms of different shades, all of them being justified as much as any kind of art may give expression to our sentiments. Every poem, every sonata or every landscape, a painting of any mood or *Stimmungsbild*, has its place as a description of our temperament, our satisfaction or dissatisfaction with life or the universe. Sentiments know of no logic and any kind of sentiment is a world of its own.

The question is whether philosophy in the first sense is possible at all or not; and we believe that it is. All the philosophies in the second sense have a right to exist, and philosophy as a science, as the science of sciences, has no quarrel with any of the others unless one of them usurps the place of the philosophy of science and would regard it as a mere dream just as are the philosophies in the broader sense themselves.

Now to come back to our problem of immortality. Considering the fact that everything that exists is possessed of permanence, we can very easily understand that every form of existence if possessing consciousness feels itself to be a part of the great universe, and has the immediate feeling of persistence, yet this is one side of the truth only; there is the other side to be considered. At the same time with the assurance of our existence we feel the factors of our surroundings which are constantly at work to modify our being. Thus we might as well say that together with the feeling of the indestructibility of our inmost being there is a constant fear

of suffering violence from the outside. Every one perceives the changes that are wrought upon him, some of them welcome and affording the feeling of an expanse, and some of them unpleasant arousing the fear of modifications so radical as to be equivalent to destruction. In insisting on the feeling of the indestructibility of ourselves, Schopenhauer ought also to have borne in mind the consciousness of this constant modification which at certain moments reaches a climax in a terrible fear of death.

We claim that the nature of form will reveal to us the true nature of our being. Many make the mistake of searching for a solution of the riddle of the universe either in the nature of matter or of energy and will finally come to the conclusion that neither can be known. We see no problem in either matter or energy. Matter is simply the reality of existence, energy its actuality in the sense of activity. There is no mystery in either except the blunt fact to be stated in the tautology that existence exists. There is no possibility of getting anything more out of it. As soon as we want an answer to any question why? we can expect an answer only from a tracing of form. If we shall ever be able to understand how and why this natural world developed from some non-material potential substance—say, for instance, from ether—we must expect the answer to be a theory explaining how according to the laws of form the potentialities of a nondescript substance shaped itself into concrete atoms, into whirls, ions, or whatever we may call them. The laws of form are the key that unlocks the doors of all the secrets of nature; they are the revelations of the cosmic order, they are the eternal source through which reason develops, they furnish us with the foundation of science.

We ourselves are forms, and we continue as forms. Goethe proclaims the significance of form in a poem entitled "One and All" where he says:

"In active deeds life proves unfolding,
It must be moulded and keep moulding."

The most obvious feature of the world is the constant flux in which things appear to us and the flux is conditioned by changes of form. As soon as our systematized experience, called science, begins to understand the nature of being it discovers this truth of the significance of form, which, however, is first formulated negatively in the great axiom, or postulate, or doctrine, or principle, or whatsoever you may call it, that the sum total of matter remains unaltered. This is negative, for it means that nothing originates,

nothing disappears. The substance of the world in its ultimate constituents remains the same for ever and aye. But we ought to state it in positive terms, saying that "all that happens in the real world of facts is a change of form," and so the task of science will forever remain a tracing of changes of form. At the same time all the artist can do is to form substances to represent ideas and ideals, in bodily appearances either with paints on the canvas or in corporeal shapes in marble or wood, or in thoughts or words, or in any other way. The task of practical life is to mould things that are useless so as to make them useful, to create formations with purpose and with meaning, to describe the facts of existence in a methodical system so as to afford us a reliable survey over the world in which we live and move and have our being.

There is no province in life where the essential task would not consist in giving a new shape to things. Our very ideas are forms, and the creation of new conditions is nothing but re-forming.

The wonder is that form, this most significant feature of the world, is at bottom a simple and most indubitable, most obvious and most undeniable condition which really is in every detail a matter of course. The sciences of forms and of pure forms can be built up in purely mental constructions on the basis of general abstractions by positing units for arithmetic, by constructing figures through mere abstract motion, and by developing the laws of thought according to the principle of consistency in logic; and these sciences of pure forms exhibit to us the results of consistency in universal terms for universal application in fields of any real or fictitious formation. Since they apply to any kind of possible existence, they are applicable under all circumstances. Kant calls this mental construction by the term *a priori* because we assume them to be valid before our experience begins; they condition experience and they are the tools of our mind. The theorems of our formal sciences are intrinsically necessary, which means, according to the simple principle of consistency, they cannot be otherwise, and being universal they dominate any and therefore all the formations which we meet in experience.

Now there are some people like Omar Khayyam who complain that everything is form and we vanish into nothingness like bursting bubbles, while on the other hand there are men of energetic deeds and poetic strength, men like Goethe who, knowing that the nature of all existences is in their forms and that we ourselves are forms, take up the duties of life and put all their energy into forming the world as they find it into a more suitable abode and

enjoy continuing to live in their work. For such as we are, and such forming as we have done according to the nature of our being, such results will remain after us, and here is the immortality which we feel is ours, which nobody can take from us, and which cannot be denied by any one, be he ever so materialistic, or negative, or infidel, or pessimistic.

The common objection to this view of the persistence of form is based upon the prejudice against the significance of form. Man is so materialistic as to jump at the conclusion that pure form being neither matter nor energy is a nonentity, and that if the essence of our being is form we do not exist. The truth is that the purpose of life, if we can speak of purpose at all, appears to be the realization or actualization of such forms as we wish to be, and the endeavor to shape ourselves according to the ideal in our mind.

As says the poet Rückert:

"The type he ought to be
Each one bears in his mind;
Until that be attained
He never peace will find."

People who feel the truth of the significance of form but are unable to understand the theory and philosophy of it, give expression to their views in visions and allegories, religious doctrines and other mystical theories. They feel that the essence of their mysticism is right, and they do not object to having it clothed in poetical figures.

This in brief is the explanation of the eternal return of mystical theories, although if they are taken literally they may be objectionable as being mere poetical fancies and it is the important duty of a thinker to understand these tendencies.

From this standpoint we can be hospitable to every religion, every poetic interpretation of life, every artistic or sentimental attitude, if but the practical tendencies of these mystical world-conceptions be wholesome and if the symbols and allegories express truths. Mysticism is a mode invented by nature and mostly adopted and followed unconsciously by such souls as have no clear scientific or truly philosophical insight into the nature of existence and yet are capable of adapting themselves to conditions. Every mysticism is dangerous, because the mystic as a rule is uncritical, and the result is that his errors become superstitions which may lead to the most terrible misconduct and religious crimes. Human sacrifices and also animal sacrifices are such evil results, and the awful practices of

heresy trials and witch persecutions belong to the same category, but for all that, mysticism has often proved a very beneficent guide of religious progress. Thus the propheticism of ancient Israel, although it had its drawbacks, was upon the whole a most auspicious movement which tended in the right direction, because there is a deep truth in the idea that God is not a God that takes pleasure in full-moon festivals and in sacrifices, but is a God of justice delighting in mercy. Some mysticism may be childish but harmless, as for instance Luther's belief in a personal devil; but even such harmless notions, humorous though they are, must be regarded with suspicion because they may at any time become dangerous in narrow-minded and strong-headed persons the courage of whose conviction would not shrink from drawing the most abominable consequences.

The religious and philosophical mysticism of to-day is mostly noble and in agreement with modern humanitarian ethics. Indeed it is helpful for those who would be incapable of understanding the truth in its abstract purity. How few people can understand the awful consequences of evil, and how many need the conception of a real brimstone hell to fear doing wrong! Nature kindly provides most people with the religion they need, and nature's method is to clothe truth in the allegory of mysticism.

One of our contributors, Judge Chase, says that ninety-nine out of one hundred believe in immortality, and that may be true, but if it is true I would consider it rather as an argument against the truth of the belief than in its favor. We must remember that Galileo Galilei when positively insisting that the earth turns around the sun, was probably one man against 999,999 out of 1,000,000, and yet in the face of such and similar facts which could be multiplied by the thousands, who would venture to-day to prove truth by the democratic method of counting opinions rather than weighing them?

If we follow up the history of the belief in immortality we must bear in mind that the apologetic writers as a rule reverse the situation. They assume, without any foundation in facts, that primitive mankind knew nothing about the soul or its immortality, and that modern man by investigating the problem more and more, and by penetrating into its mysteries more and more, became more and more convinced of the immortality of the soul, and that we are gathering new evidence with the progress of science. The fact is exactly the reverse. The savage does not believe in an immortal soul; he feels absolutely convinced of it. If you ask him, he

knows that his dead are still alive in the shape of some kind of spiritual beings, for their ghosts appear to the survivors. He does not *believe* in the ghosts of the dead, he *knows* of their existence as surely as he knows of his own and his friends' actuality, for he sees the dead in his dreams, and all the visions—and in that state of development visions are much more frequent than nowadays—are to him unquestionable realities. No American Indian needs evidence, or proofs, or witnesses to prop up his belief in the existence of the soul or its immortality, because such things are matters of fact to him which he would never doubt.

Doubt and positive disbelief develop gradually and indeed very slowly, and when they take possession of man, then, and then only, are demands heard for evidences and for proofs and for arguments in favor of immortality.

By the side of the definite feeling of our positive existence and the indestructibility of our inmost being, which we do not mean to doubt and on which even Schopenhauer insists, we have the feeling which exists in some minds, perhaps in a few only, say in one mind out of a hundred, that the time will come when the world will move on in its old stable ways without us, and as such an instance we will mention William Kingdon Clifford, who wished this simple legend to be written on his tombstone: "I was, I loved, I am not."¹ So we have here the testimony of at least one man against many others who cherishes the positive opinion that after his death he will be no longer; and it seems to us that if Professor Clifford had been acquainted with the interpretation of man's persistence after death as an immortality through the instrumentality of his deeds, including his thoughts and the impression he made upon his contemporaries, he would most assuredly have granted the indestructibility of his inmost being.

The history of the idea of immortality seems to teach us a lesson and it is this: We feel that life does not begin with birth and does not end with death but has a significance beyond the span of our individual existence. This conviction is deeply rooted in our inmost being, and from it springs the belief in immortality. Man has naturally a crude notion of the nature of his own self. He misconstrues the unity of the consciousness of his personality, frequently called the ego, or the self, or the soul. He naturally considers it as the essential part of his mentality, as a metaphysical

¹ I cannot verify this epitaph, and have since found another version of it which reads thus: "I was not and was conceived; I lived and did a little work; I am not and grieve not."

entity, as a thing-in-itself, as a being which could exist without the contents of his thoughts, aspirations, ideals and other personal attributes. This is a common mistake which people make in the same way as they create the notion of things-in-themselves, and in every-day speech man is accustomed to saying, "I have ideas," "I cherish the intention," "I possess the conviction," while the reverse is true. If there is any ownership on either side, it is the ideas, the intentions, the convictions, that come to us or perhaps rise in us and take possession of us, understanding by the pronoun "us" our entire personality. In fact every one of us consists of his convictions. If we speak of a man we mean the sum total of his will, motives, tendencies, aspirations, his thoughts, his emotions and whatever helps to make up the combinations of his personality. We learn in the course of our deeper study of personality that such an entity as the ego or the self does not exist as a special metaphysical being. How can it be immortal? While the true essence of our being, the constituents of our soul, the truths we have recognized, the aspirations we pursue do exist and they continue after we are gone. Many of them have existed before us; they have taken possession of us and in the domain of our soul have been enriched, or strengthened, or enlarged as the case may be, and will continue in the future life of mankind after we are gone.

THE BOLDEST OF THE ENGLISH PHILOSOPHERS.

BY M. JOURDAIN.

“ONE of the boldest of the English philosophers”¹ is Voltaire’s description of that interesting figure, the third Earl of Shaftesbury, though it is probable that by boldness Voltaire meant not so much speculative originality as audacity in criticism of the Old and New Testaments, and that the touch *un peu gaillard* that the Electress of Hanover reprehended in the *Letter on Enthusiasm* was especially sympathetic to him.²

But Lord Shaftesbury was by no means only *un peu gaillard* in these matters, but one of the group of “moralists,” a man drunk with the idea of virtue. A great deal of the high feeling of his philosophy is due to his temperament, for his character led him to dislike the interested motives held out by Locke and popular opinion as a spur to the pursuit of virtue. He vindicates the “naturalness” of benevolent or altruistic conduct because such conduct was without doubt natural to him.

His life has therefore the interest of a commentary on his works. He was born February 26, 1671, at Exeter House in London, where his grandfather, the first Earl of Shaftesbury, the brilliant cabal minister of Charles the Second’s reign, lived. His father, who seems to have been delicate in health and unremarkable except for a handsome person, was married at the age of seventeen, his wife being chosen for him by Locke, the friend of the first Earl. The latter undertook to oversee his grandson’s education, and in order to give him the “quickest despatch” with the classics, placed with him Elizabeth Birch, a schoolmaster’s daughter, who could

¹ This phrase is generally quoted as “the boldest of the English philosophers,” but Voltaire actually says, “l’un des plus hardis philosophes d’Angleterre,” *Œuvres*, Vol., XLIII, p. 235.

² *Third Earl of Shaftesbury, Life, Letters and Philosophical Regimen*, ed., Benjamin Rand, London, 1900, p. 256.

speak Greek and Latin fluently. At the age of eleven the boy went to school, at first to a private school, then to Winchester, where he was "treated very indifferently" owing to the memory of his grandfather's opposition to King Charles and his less popular brother. The boy persuaded his father to let him travel, and from 1686 onward he spent a considerable time in an extended grand tour in Italy, Austria, Hungary and France, where he picked up the virtuosity or knowledge of what were called the polite arts, which was to stand him in good stead in the last years of his life at Naples. As a boy of eighteen he already writes like a convinced Whig of the Revolution, congratulating England on its escape from the "horriddest of all religions" and the Catholic James II; and he attributes the misery of Prague to the number of Jesuits there. "In Prague they reckon about 2000. I leave your lordship to reflect on the condition of this poor place under the swarm of such vermin, by the trial we have had lately of a few of these only amongst us."³

In 1689 he returned to England, and to a further five years of study. His seclusion was broken by his election as member for Poole, but the fatigue and overwork of the long sittings of the House of Commons and committees so impaired his health that he was forced to give up public life after 1698. It is characteristic of him that he promptly went for a year's retreat to Holland, where he lived as a student of physics, concealing his title of Lord Ashley during his father's lifetime. He had evidently less root in his country and class than his contemporaries. His prolonged tour isolated him, and he seems to have had few friends of his own class. He rated his own rank and riches lower than one would expect of a Whig nobleman. At a later period, alarmed at his expenses at his Dorset house of St. Giles's, he warns his steward, John Wheelock, that if economy is not established, "the consequences will be great indeed, when I tell you that I shall at last give over family and house and all, and determine never more to see St. Giles's nor keep up the house, but let it sink, discharge all my servants, let it to farm and so farewell. This is very serious and true. I would not have you think I am trifling; it is now past that time of my life. I do not reckon upon many years of life, but those remaining I will not pass in making myself a slave to a great house and family."

During his year in Holland he lodged with the rich Quaker merchant and book collector, Benjamin Furley, (where Locke had

³ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

lived for more than a year before the revolution of 1688), and lived in the society of men of letters and learning such as Le Clerc, the editor of the *Bibliothèque universelle*, and Pierre Bayle, afterwards the author of the *Dictionnaire universelle*. An imperfect edition of his *Inquiry after Virtue* was, during his stay, surreptitiously printed by Toland from a rough draft sketched when he was only twenty years of age. He at once bought up the edition before many copies were sold, and no copy has been found. This accident set him to work to correct and publish the *Inquiry* himself.

Soon after he returned to England he became Lord Shaftesbury on his father's death. In spite of his weak health he attended the House of Lords regularly from February 1701 until William the Third's death, but on the accession of Anne and in the changed political atmosphere of this reign, he "returned again to his retired way of living," and to Holland for a second stay from August 1703 to the same month of 1704. In London the "great smook" drove him to Chelsea, where he had a small house, and in 1706 forced him still further afield to Hampstead; and his infirm health led his friends to press him to marry. He took their advice, and with characteristic stoicism chose his wife by report, not by sight; his chief end, as he writes, being "the satisfaction of his friends" who thought his line worth preserving, his life worth nursing. His choice "for character only" turned out very successfully, for he found in spite of his previous reports that the lady was "a great beauty." A year or two afterwards, in 1711, finding his health still declining, he left England for the last time, in search of a warmer climate. Living for nearly two years, at Naples a broken imperfect half-life, "entertaining himself (as he writes) very busily with drawings, sketches, prints, medals and antiques," he died in the spring of 1713. His life, writes his son, would probably have been much longer "if he had not worn it out by great fatigues of body and mind, which was owing to his eager desire after knowledge as well as to his zeal to serve his country. For he was so intent upon pursuing his studies that he frequently spent not only the whole day, but the great part of the night besides in severe application, which confirmed the truth of Mr. Locke's observation on him that the sword was too sharp for the scabbard,"⁴—a curious parallel to Dryden's famous phrase of his grandfather's "fiery soul" fretting that pigmy body. An uneventful life compared with that grandfather's feverish political activity; its long years of study in

⁴ Rough draft of a sketch of the life of the third Earl of Shaftesbury, quoted in Rand's book, p. xxix.

sharp contrast with its short course of forty-two years, yet from his letters we do not get Voltaire's impression that he was a most unhappy man.⁵

If virtue is its own reward, Shaftesbury must have had full measure. He was not only a moralist, but moral; a man of ardent character, carrying his belief in benevolence into practice, liberally helping a number of promising young men who were his *protégés*, with care and money. It is characteristic of him, in the days when the Whigs were not backward in begging posts for themselves and their friends, that the only place begged by Shaftesbury was a civil office for one of these young *protégés*, Micklethwayte, and that he allowed a small pension to Toland, even after Toland had surreptitiously published his papers.

It was not unusual for persons of quality to be painted in a queer travesty of classic costume, or to recline in marble effigy in wig, toga and sandals, in the family chapel or church. But in the case of Lord Shaftesbury, whose gown suggests some classic costume in its folds, the suggestion is not as meaningless as in the case of many of his contemporaries. His mind took the classic dye, and apart from that "modern antique" after Plato, *The Moralists*, in his rough memoranda, written for his own eye and not for the world, we seem to be listening to an incoherent Marcus Aurelius. He tried the modern world by the ancient, and found it very wanting. In particular the religious development of the modern world is uncongenial to him; and in exchange for this he gives us his own theory of the universe, which he managed to expound, somewhat circuitously, in the *Characteristics*, a collection published in 1711. The *Letter on Enthusiasm*⁶ gives his views on the religious movements. Germane to this paper, but with application to literary criticism, are the essay called *Sensus Communis*,⁷ and the *Soliloquy or Advice to an Author*, and in the last pages of this unlikely place some of his most audacious criticisms of Christian orthodoxy are hidden away. The *Essay on Virtue*⁸ states his views on morality, while the *Moralists* is a sort of rhetorical amplification or appendix, supplying the emotion and poetry of his scheme of things; the *Miscellaneous Reflections* are a commentary on these preceding papers, while in the *Choice of Hercules* he deviates into an esthetic

⁵ *Œuvres*, Vol. XLVII, p. 98: "Un homme très malheureux."

⁶ First published in 1708, at London, under the title *A letter concerning Enthusiasm to my Lord*, . . . (i. e., Lord Somers).

⁷ First published in 1709.

⁸ The essay had been published in an imperfect state in 1698.

discussion which has lost all interest to-day except in its bearings upon Lessing's *Laocoon*. These collected papers continued for a long time, as Macaulay says, to be "the gospel of romantic and sentimental unbelievers in this country, and on the Continent, where he had even greater influence than in his own country."⁹ He is the voice speaking to us in Pope's philosophical poems, in Butler's theology. All the ethical writers are related to him more or less directly, by sympathy or opposition.¹⁰

His system is optimism, which Voltaire, who recognized Shaftesbury's influence in spreading it in England, considered a gloomy one. "Man is a wretched being," Voltaire writes, "who has a few good hours, some minutes of pleasure and a long procession of painful days in his short life. Every one admits this and confesses it, and they are right in doing so. Those who cry out that all is well are charlatans. Shaftesbury, who brought this theory into fashion, was a very unhappy man."¹¹ But Shaftesbury was no charlatan, and was deeply enamoured of optimism and its harmonies. There is no evil in the world (to him) and the universal frame of things is enough to throw Theocles (the mouth-piece of this theory in *The Moralists*) into ecstasies of adoration, and set him rhapsodizing, though his prose hymns have lost their savor. The world is good, and the dark picture painted of it by divines is a libel; and they blaspheme it because in their zeal to miraculize everything they rest the proof of theology rather upon the interruptions to order than upon order itself.¹² The world, a complete whole in itself, does not require a supernatural revelation, which empties it of its own divinity in the interest of heaven. And most of all the face of man was blackened by the theological dogma of the corruption of human nature. Here Shaftesbury shows considerable originality in his bold defiance of utilitarianism, his belief that man was not so black as he was painted, in fact,

* "All the greatest spirits of that time, not only in England, but also Leibnitz, Voltaire, Diderot, Lessing, Mendelssohn, Wieland, and Herder, drew the strongest nourishment from him." Hettner, *Literaturgeschichte des 18ten Jahrhunderts*, 1ter Theil, p. 188.

¹⁰ Leslie Stephen, *History of English Thought in the 18th Century*, London, 1876, Vol. II, p. 18.

¹¹ "L'homme est un être très misérable, qui a quelques heures de relâche, quelques minutes de satisfaction, et un longue suite de jours de douleurs dans sa courte vie. Tout le monde l'avoue, tout le monde le dit, et on a raison. Ceux qui ont crié que tout est bien sont les charlatans. Shaftesbury qui mit ce conte à la mode était un homme très malheureux." *Œuvres*, Vol. XLVII, p. 98.

¹² *Moralists*, Part II, sect. 5.

Leslie Stephen's *Essays on Free Thinking and Plain Speaking*, London, 1907, p. 261.

not black at all, but possessed of a moral sense (a term of his own invention), and natural bent towards virtue. This moral sense is the same as the esthetic, the difference only lying in the objects to which they are applied. And thus the virtuous man is the virtuoso in morals, a man of taste in manners. Beauty and goodness are still one and the same with his Theocles.¹³ With such a philosophy, Shaftesbury could not fail to be in opposition to the church, though he professes his "steady *orthodoxy*, *resignation*, and entire *submission* to the truly *Christian* and *Catholic* doctrines of our Holy Church, *as by law established*," with the emphasis of italics upon the last words. Of course the Roman Catholic Church abroad was the "horrider," as he would express it, but even the innocuous established Church of England was not the shelter for "sensible men" like himself and his grandfather. It was something comparable to the College of Heralds, to which he compares it, and its divines no more venerable than Clarendon or Garter:

"'Twould be somewhat hard, methinks, if Religion, *as by law established*, were not allowed the same privileges as Heraldry.... 'Tis agreed on all hands that particular persons may *design* or *paint*, in their private capacity, after what manner they think fit: but they must *blazon* only as the publick directs. Their *lion* or *bear* must be figur'd as the science appoints, and their *supporters* and *crest* must be such as their wise and gallant ancestors have procur'd for 'em. No matter whether the shapes of these animals hold just proportion with nature. No matter tho' different or contrary forms are join'd in one. That which is deny'd to *painters* or *poets*, is permitted to Heralds. *Naturalists* may, in their separate and distinct capacity, inquire, as they think fit, into the real existence and natural truth of things: but they must by no means dispute the authorized forms. *Mermaids* and *griffins* were the wonder of our forefathers; and as such deliver'd down to us by the authentick traditions and delineations above mentioned. We ought not so much as criticise the features or dimensions of a *Saracen's* face, brought by our conquering ancestors from the holy wars; or pretend to call in question the figure or size of a *dragon*, on which the history of our national champion, and the establishment of a high *order* and dignity of the realm depends.

"But as worshipful as are the persons of the illustrious heralds Clarendon, Garter and the rest of the illustrious sustainers of British honour, and antiquity; 'tis to be hop'd that in a more civiliz'd age, such as the present we have the good fortune to live in,

¹³ *Miscellaneous Reflections*, 5, ch. 3

they will not attempt to strain their privileges to the same height as formerly. Having been reduc'd by law, or settled practice, from the power they once enjoy'd, they will not, 'tis presum'd, in defiance of the magistrate and civil power, erect anew their stages, and lists, and introduce the manner of civil combats, set us to tilt and tournament, and raise again those defiances and mortal frays, of which their order were once the chief managers and promoters."¹⁴

But the State Church has its uses as a national refrigerating machine, a method of keeping priestly vagaries within due bounds, and its orderliness was in pleasant contrast to the performances of the French prophets, those unfortunate refugees from the Cevennes, who were holding revivals in London and the country. His *Letter concerning Enthusiasm*¹⁵ may have had its origin in a personal dislike of its expression, for his son writes: "my father had perhaps a greater antipathy to enthusiasm than most persons, having seen many of the fatal consequences attending this deception in some people with whom he was particularly acquainted." He suggests that these prophets prefer persecution to ridicule, and it is by ridicule they are to be fought, making them the subject of "a puppet-show at Bart'lemy Fair" rather than an illumination at Smithfield. Ridicule was with him the test of truth, for truth can bear it, while it sticks only to the ridiculous, and in this he is followed by the French deists and Voltaire, and with both, the chief opportunity and temptation to batter the forts of orthodoxy was afforded by the Jews. That "cloudy people" aroused his sharp contempt for their "enthusiasm," and their ancient barbarities were to him so much "horrid depravity." He suggests that "the catastrophe of the original pair from whom the generations of mankind were propagated" are matters "abstrusely revealed and with a resemblance to mythology." Ironical deference to the Established Church was a convenient weapon for dealing with a theology when no other weapons were at hand; and he goes so far as to question "whether those sacred books ascribed to the divine legislator of the Jews, and which treat of his death, burial, and succession, as well of his life and actions, are strictly to be understood as coming from the immediate pen of that holy founder, or rather from some other inspir'd hand, guided by the same influencing spirit."¹⁶

¹⁴ *The Soliloquy*, Part 3, sect. 3.

¹⁵ According to Shaftesbury "enthusiasm" is to be contrasted with inspiration. "Inspiration is a real feeling of the Divine presence and enthusiasm a false one." *Letter concerning Enthusiasm*, sect. 7.

¹⁶ *Miscellaneous Reflections*, Vol. V, ch. I.

Even when writing avowedly as a literary critic, his examples of subjects below or unsuitable for poetic treatment are all taken from Scripture history. If David had the character of being after the pattern of the Almighty, he was not a king after Shaftesbury's own heart, nor a subject for art. Again, he writes: "In mere poetry and the pieces of wit and literature, there is a liberty of thought and easiness of humour indulg'd to us, in which perhaps we are not so well able to contemplate the divine judgments, to see clearly into the picture of those *ways* which are declar'd to be so far *from our ways*, and above our highest thoughts or understandings. . . . In such a situation of mind we can hardly endure to see *heathen* treated as heathen; and the *faithful* made the executioners of divine wrath."¹⁷

The Jewish God has created his people in his own image, and is an instance of the effect of a bad deity upon his worshippers.¹⁸ To him, in short, revealed religion was, as to the Greeks, foolishness; for Shaftesbury was on the side of the ancients, one who had turned their philosophy into sap—a stoic born out of due time.

Very prominent both in his works and his letters is his feeling that religion was unnatural, or, as he terms it, "super-natural." "Religion and gallantry have been wonderfully dressed up in latter days. The ancients were very scanty in the first, and so impolite as to know nothing of the latter. No wonder, indeed, since they stick to simple nature, which has been improved so much since that time. For Christianity is supernatural religion, and gallantry supernatural love. It is a wonderfully hard matter to deal with supernatural things."¹⁹

In quoting from Shaftesbury, the clearest and sprightliest runnings of his somewhat undistinguished style have been chosen; for he is, in the mass, indeed, very unreadable, not from the fine-gentlemanliness that has unfairly been objected to him,²⁰ but from a lack of individuality. He might be any of the anonymous or initialled contributors to the early numbers of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. The style is not the man, but the age. He differs from

¹⁷ *The Soliloquy*, Part 3, sect. 3.

¹⁸ *Enquiry concerning Virtue and Merit*, Book I, Part II, sect. 2.

¹⁹ *The Third Earl of Shaftesbury, Life, Letters and Philosophical Regimen*, p. 338.

²⁰ Charles Lamb describes his style as "lordly" and "inflated": "he seems to have written with his coronet on and his earl's mantle before him," while Fowler hears "affectation" and "a falsetto note." It is only in Germany that his style was appreciated, Hermann Hettner saying of him: "His charms are ever fresh. A new-born Hellenism, or divine cultus of beauty presented itself before his inspired soul," etc.

his contemporaries by a very tedious parade of "wit and humor," in place of the pedantic and scholastic treatment which he deprecates; a parade of the language of the man of fashion and the virtuoso that is reminiscent of the practice of a Roman Catholic Cardinal, who sedulously picked up modern slang to trick out his conversations with the children of this world. Even more uncongenial to us to-day is the impression he gives of writing for a ring of superior people, a dilettante club of amateurs of philosophy, who have all trodden classic ground; and will have nothing to do with the vulgar, from their cool latitudes of contemplative good humour and indifference.²¹ In Shaftesbury there was doubtless a wish to draw to himself a circle of polite readers, but if his set read him the more willingly in the early years of the eighteenth century for his digressions and illustrations, his humor and wit, we are inclined to-day to lose patience with his lack of method. Voltaire, with his incomparable feeling for style, sums up this weakness in his saying that "the English do not know when to hold their tongues; their books are too long. Bolingbroke and Shaftesbury would have taught the world much, if they had not drowned the truth in books which weary readers with the best will in the world; yet they are very useful to us all the same—*cependant il y a beaucoup de profit à faire avec eux.*"²²

²¹ He writes of the "mixed satirical ways of raillery and irony so fashionable in our nation, which can be hardly brought to attend to any writing, or consider anything as witty, able or ingenious which has not this turn." *Third Earl of Shaftesbury. Life, Letters and Philosophical Regimen*, p. 504

²² "Les Anglais sont des bavards; leurs livres sont trop longs. Bolingbroke, Shaftesbury auraient éclairé le genre humain, s'ils n'avaient pas noyé la vérité dans des livres qui lassent la patience des gens les mieux intentionnés; cependant il y a beaucoup de profit à faire avec ceux." *Œuvres*, Vol. 57, p. 661.

THOMAS A KEMPIS AS HYMNOGRAPHER.

BY BERNHARD PICK.

THOMAS à Kempis, or Thomas of Kempen, the reputed author of the *Imitatio Christi*, a work which has immortalized his name, was born in 1379 or 1380 as the son of an artisan named Johann Hemerken, at Kempen, a small town in Rhenish Prussia near the Dutch border. Thomas received holy orders July 26, 1413, and died July 25, 1471. He had the ill fortune that, whereas his hymns were published and translated, his name as author remained unknown. As a rule the original usually appears as if taken from a fourteenth century manuscript, and this error was repeated by translators. This state of affairs continued until the year 1905, when the forty-eighth volume of the *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* edited by Clemens Blume and Guido M. Dreves was published, in which the hymns of Thomas à Kempis are now given (pp. 475-514). Reading these hymns I was struck with their contents, which sounded so familiar that I felt I must have read something like them in the English language. I examined my collection of English hymns made from the Latin, and with the help of the text published in the *Analecta* I have been enabled to trace many translations which were credited to a fourteenth century manuscript to their original source, and to restore Brother Thomas to his place among hymnographers. In the *Analecta* there are thirty-five poems of Thomas, seventeen of which the reader may now find in an English dress, some even in more than one translation. It is worthy of observation that none of the medieval Latin hymnographers sing so much about the glories of the heavenly Jerusalem as our Thomas. Of the 503 hymns published in the forty-eighth volume, seven hymns only are given which sing of the glory of Paradise; one by Peter Damiani, author of the famous *Ad perennis vitae fontem*, and the other six by Thomas à Kempis, four of which fill the pages of the little volume entitled *Hymns on the Joys and*

Glories of Paradise by the late John Mason Neale, who was likewise mistaken with regard to the author of these hymns.

Thomas is the author of the following poems:

1. *O vera summa trinitas* (on the Trinity), translated by S. J. Stone in Kettlewell, *Thomas à Kempis and the Brothers of the Common Life*, Vol. II, p. 291.
2. *En dies est dominica* (for Sunday), translated by Trend in *Lyra Mystica*, p. 371; a cento comprising six out of the twenty-nine stanzas is found in the *Hymnal Noted*, No. 51.
3. *In diebus celebris* (for festive days) englished by H. Trend in *Lyra Mystica*, p. 184. 24 stanzas.
4. *Veni, veni, rex gloriæ* (for the Advent) translated by T. G. Crippen in *Ancient Hymns and Poems*, London, 1868, from the Karlsruhe MS.
5. *Apparuit benignitas* (Christmas hymn). Of this beautiful poem on the Incarnation we have no complete translation, only a cento beginning with the second stanza "O amor quam exstasticus," rendered by Webb in the *Hymnal Noted*, 1854, comprising stanzas 2, 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12 and a doxology added.
6. *O quam glorificum solum sedere* (in tribulation). Neither Duffield, nor Neale, nor J. Gregory Smith in *Lyra Mystica* (p. 191) gives the name of the author. Duffield (*Latin Hymn Writers*) mentions this hymn as belonging to a fifteenth century manuscript. Neale (*Mediaeval Hymns*, 1867, p. 190) calls it a German hymn, probably of the early part of the fifteenth century. Smith mentions it as an ancient Latin poem.
7. *Quisquis valet numerare* (on the glory of the heavenly Jerusalem), translated by Neale in *Hymns Chiefly Mediaeval, on the Joys and Glories of Paradise*, London, 1866, p. 46ff., omitting however stanzas 6, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16.
8. *In domo Patris summae majestatis* (on the heavenly Jerusalem). The text is also given by Mone (*Lateinische Lieder des Mittelalters*, No. 302) from a fifteenth century manuscript at Karlsruhe, and with the title "A Hymn of the Various Mansions and Rewards of the Elect in the Heavenly Jerusalem." A translation, less complete, by Neale, is found in the *People's Hymnal*; another in *Lyra Mystica*, (signed H. R. B.) p. 254, with the same heading as given by Mone, has all the twenty-seven stanzas.

9. *Angelorum si haberem. . . .*
 10. *Creaturarum omnium merita.*
 11. *O quid laudis, quid honoris.* } on the benefits of God.

The first translated by C. B. Cayley in *Lyra Mystica*, p. 456; the second and third by J. M. H., *ibid.*, p. 109 and p. 106.

12. *Jerusalem luminosa* (on the glory of the heavenly Jerusalem), was first published by Mone, No. 304, from a fifteenth century MS. at Karlsruhe, where it is entitled "On the glory of the heavenly Jerusalem, as concerning the endowments of the glorified body." Of this and cognate hymns of this manuscript Neale says: "The language and general ideas prove the writer (unknown, but apparently of the fifteenth century) to have been subject to the influence of the school of Geert Groet and Thomas à Kempis." Neale's translation is found in *Hymns on the Joys and Glories of Paradise*, p. 54.
13. *Nec quisquam oculis vidit* (also on the heavenly Jerusalem), also translated by Neale, *loc. cit.*, p. 62, but only seven out of fourteen stanzas.
14. *Vitam Jesu Christi stude* (in praise of Christ), translated by S. J. Stone.
15. *O dulcissime Jesu* (also in praise of Jesus), translated by S. J. Stone.
16. *Adversa mundi tolera* (in tribulation). The text is also given by Daniel, II, p. 379, where it is headed "A Hymn by Thomas à Kempis concerning Christian Patience." In the *Analecta* it is headed "Consolatio ad sufferendum tribulationes." Of this beautiful hymn which goes under the author's name, we have a translation by Stone in Kettlewell's work, II, p. 292; by E. Caswall in *Hymns and Poems*, 2d ed., London, 1873, p. 222, and by D. J. Donahoe in *Early Christian Hymns*, New York, 1908, p. 203.
17. *O qualis quantaque laetitia* (on the celestial glory), better known because of the general omission of the first verse as the "Adstant angelorum chori," the only poem of à Kempis given by Trench (*Sacred Latin Poetry*, p. 327) and of which he says that the whole of our author's poetry will not yield a second passage at all to be compared in beauty with this. The text of Trench is also found in *Songs of the Christian*

Creed and Life (London, 1879), by MacGill; also in *The Hymns of Hildebert and Other Mediaeval Hymns* with translations by Erastus C. Benedict, New York, 1867. An excellent translation is that of Mrs. Elizabeth Charles in her *The Voice of the Christian Life in Song* (New York, 1859); a second was made by Benedict (*op. cit.*); a third by MacGill. All these translators, because following the text of Trench, omit not only the first stanza but also stanzas 5, 6, 9. The only complete version is that of Stone in Kettlewell's *Thomas à Kempis*, p. 293.

MISCELLANEOUS.

AN INTERVIEW WITH MR. EDISON.

Judge Charles H. Chase, of Lansing, Michigan, in his article on "The Survival of Personality," published in the current number, refers to Thomas A. Edison's comments on immortality which some time ago passed through the columns of our daily press, and since the details have probably been forgotten by this time we reproduce here a portion of the interview he had with Mr. Edward Marshall as reported in the *New York Times*.

Mr. Edison said:

"It is absurd to talk of the 'mercy, kindness, or love' of God. Perhaps matter is getting to be more progressive. That may be it. But—God—the Almighty? No! Nature is what we know. We do not know the gods of the religions. And nature is not kind or merciful, or loving. If God made me—the fabled God of three qualities of which I spoke: mercy, kindness, love—He also made the fish I catch and eat. And where do His mercy, kindness, and love for the fish come in? No; nature made us—nature did it all—not the gods of the religions. And nature did it mercilessly; she had no thought of mercy or against it. She did it impersonally, what we call cruelly."

When questioned by Mr. Marshall as to his belief in immortality, Edison replied: "Heaven? Shall I, if I am good and earn reward, go to heaven when I die? No—no. I am not I—I am not an individual—I am an aggregate of cells, as, for instance, New York City is an aggregate of individuals. Will New York City go to heaven?" He went on slowly: "I do not think we are individuals any more than a great city is an individual. If you cut your finger and it bleeds, you lose cells. They are the individuals. You don't know your cells any more than New York City knows its five millions of individuals. You don't know who they are. No; all this talk of an existence for us, as individuals, beyond the grave, is wrong. It is born of our tenacity of life—our desire to go on living—our dread of coming to an end as individuals. I do not dread it, though. Personally I cannot see any use of a future life."

"But the soul!" Mr. Marshall protested, "The soul—"

"Soul? soul? What do you mean by the soul? The brain?"

"Well, for the sake of argument," said Mr. Marshall, "call it the brain, or what is in the brain—the human mind?"

"Absolutely, no," Edison replied with emphasis. "There is no more reason to believe that my human brain will be immortal than there is to think that one of my phonographic cylinders will be immortal. My phonographic cylinders are mere records of sounds which have been impressed upon them."

Under given conditions, some of which we do not at all understand, any more than we understand some of the conditions of the brain, the phonographic cylinders give off these sounds again. For the time being we have perfect speech, or music, practically as perfect as is given off by the tongue when the necessary forces are set in motion by the brain. Yet no one thinks of claiming immortality for the cylinders or the phonograph. Then why claim it for the brain mechanism or the power that drives it? Because we don't know what this power is, shall we call it immortal? As well call electricity immortal because we do not know what it is. If a man has a strong will, he can force his brain to do this thing or that—make this effort, abstain from making one."

"Is the will a part of the brain?" Mr. Marshall inquired.

"I do not know," was the answer. "It may be or it may not be. The will may be a form of electricity, or it may be a form of some other power of which we as yet know nothing. But whatever it is, it is material; on that we may depend. After death the force, or power, we call will undoubtedly endures; but it endures in this world, and not in the next. And so with the thing we call life, or the soul—mere speculative terms for a material thing which, under given conditions, drives this way or that. It, too, endures in this world, not the other."

At the time when this report was current we discussed Mr. Edison's views in *The Open Court* as follows (Vol. XXV, p. 2):

"Mr. Edison says that he expects to live on merely in the ticks and clicks of telegraphs and in telephones and his various other inventions. But no 'merely' is needed! That immortality is big enough for any one of us. In addition he will live also in the brain of other inventors who will carry his work to further accomplishment.

"Wherever any one of Mr. Edison's inventions is used there is part of his thought, of his mind, of his soul, and that is the true Edison. Will he deny it? Scarcely. Mr. Edison's personal friends and the members of his family may love Mr. Edison himself—his person, his character, the twinkle in his eye and the smile on his lip, the human in him—better than his thoughts; or presumably they love his personality and admire his genius. But the recording angel of history, the destiny of mankind that doles out our rewards in immortality, cares naught for the former and weighs the soul only, and this soul of man, according to its merits, will take part in the life after death, in what is commonly called immortality."

AN ETERNITY LIMITED IN ONE DIRECTION.

BY EWING SUMMERS.

How can that be? for

1. Whatever has an end of existence must in the nature of things have had a beginning;
2. Whatever has a beginning must have an end.

The above postulates seem to me to be intuitive or axiomatic.

I believe it was the "school-men" who invented the technical terms *eternitas a parte ante* and *eternitas a parte post*; but I think these phrases were dropped a century ago or earlier as unscientific or otherwise too absurd for use.

If the above "postulates" are correct there can be no "immortality" for human consciousness.

Even all worlds are temporary, subject to redissolution by collision, as we see in those stellar phenomena called *novae*,—new or temporary stars.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

PSALMS OF THE EARLY BUDDHISTS. II. Psalms of the Brethren. By Mrs. Rhys Davids. London: Frowde, 1913. Pp. 446. Price 10s. net.

We are glad to see the second volume of Mrs Rhys Davids's sympathetic translation of Buddhist psalms. It is natural that this volume of the Brethren should be twice as large as that of the *Psalms of the Sisters* published in 1909. At a cursory reading these psalms seem to be more uniform in thought and expression, the minds represented to run more nearly in one mould, than is the case with those of the Sisters. The latter have the feminine personal quality which speaks from the point of view of the individual in contrast to their brothers' tendency to more abstract generalizations. But Mrs. Rhys Davids has formulated the aspects under which the supreme goal of salvation is viewed by the brethren, and her tabulation shows a wide variety of points of view. One evidence of uniformity is the tendency to refrain. A frequent one is:

"The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
And all the Buddha bids us do is done."

and sometimes as much as eight lines are duplicated. The keynote of the volume is that of victory, of triumph, "the lion's roar," a frequent figure which introduces the collection thus:

"As to the call of distant lions' roar
Resounding from the hollow of the hills,
List to the psalms of them whose selves were trained,
Telling us messages anent themselves:
How they were named, and what their kin, and how
They kept the Faith, and how they found Release."

One Brother, Kassapa the Great, thus gives forth the lion's roar of victory in his own behalf with Pharisaic sincerity:

"In the whole field of Buddha's following,
Saving alone the mighty Master's self,
I stand the foremost in ascetic ways;
No man doth practise them so far as I.
The Master hath my fealty and love,
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done.
Low have I laid the heavy load I bore.
Cause for rebirth is found in me no more."

The story of Kassapa's life, as of many of the brethren, is of romantic human interest. He promised his parents that he would care for them during their lives and afterwards renounce the world. To appease his mother he had a statue made of an ideally beautiful maiden, telling her that if he found one who resembled it he would marry. The mother sent out messengers with the statue, and once when they left it standing by the river's edge the

nurse of the beautiful Bhadda Kapilani discovered it and mistaking it for her charge, slapped its face in wrath at the young lady's ill breeding. The messengers asked her about her mistress, and when they saw her sent word to their master that they had found the maid he was to marry. But she too was unwilling, so each wrote to the other expressing the same intention to renounce the world. The messengers met, read the letters, thought them foolish and substituted others, so that the marriage took place. After the parents' death they decided to renounce the world and started out together with shorn heads and yellow raiment, but it occurred to the young man that the world would judge that though renouncing the world they could not give up each other, and so they parted at the crossroads, he going to the right and she to the left. "Then the earth trembled at the weight of such virtue" and Kassapa was duly ordained. His psalms are admonitions to his brethren founded on his own experiences. The first reads:

"Walk not where many folk would make thee chief.
 Dizzy the mind becomes, and hard to win
 Is concentrated thought. And he who knows:
 'Till bodes the company of many folk,
 Will keep himself aloof from haunt of crowds.
 Go not, O sage, to hearths of citizens.
 Who greedy seeks to taste life's feast entire,
 Neglects the good that brings true happiness.
 A treacherous bog it is, this patronage
 Of bows and gifts and treats from wealthy folk.
 'Tis like a fine dart, bedded in the flesh,
 For erring human hard to extricate."

As a whole the psalms teach the peace and content that comes from the pursuit of a simple, sincere, benevolent life. p

THE ANATOMY OF THE BRAIN. A Manual for Students and Practitioners of Medicine. By J. F. Burkholder, M.D. Pages 206.

It is well known that the construction of a sheep's brain strongly resembles the human brain and is therefore of much practical value for classes in anatomy because of its availability for laboratory purposes. Dr. Burkholder, professor of ophthalmology in the school of medicine at Loyola University, here publishes a manual for students and practitioners of medicine explaining in detail by the aid of forty full-page plates, the anatomy of the sheep's brain, emphasizing the respects in which it deviates from the human brain as well as the similarities between them. p

WHY ARE WE HERE? By Edwin A. Rice. Chicago: P. F. Pettibone & Co., 1913. Pp. 135.

Of his own work the author says: "I have gathered and combined from many sources, and present this outline of my philosophy of life for the benefit of those who may be eagerly groping for truth without the unusual advantages of associations which it has been my great privilege to enjoy. As an hypothesis it will be judged by its efficiency in solving the problems of life. To me it is logical, consistent and satisfying, and I hope it may be useful and uplifting to others as it has been to me." The author's philosophy is spiritualistic but he opposes the common mediumship in most rigorous terms as "the

great psychological crime" (p. 110) and urges independent self-reliance and self-control. He declares that "there will always remain unsolved problems and unanswered questions, but the teachings outlined herein and further elaborated and defined in the works referred to, will furnish a key to right living, a reason for human existence and a glimpse of the infinite beneficence of the divine plan." From the standpoint of spiritualism the book is wholesome, but we ought to add that we take a different view. In our opinion the question "Why are we here?" is not correctly formulated. We are faced by the fact that we are here, and the question is what shall we make of it. *

The third *Jahrbuch der Schopenhauer-Gesellschaft* contains a number of interesting contributions. Illés Antal of Budapest investigates the claim of Dr. Günther Jacoby Concerning Bergson's dependence on Schopenhauer, as set forth in *The Monist*, October 1912, and Lucia Franz furnishes us with information with regard to Schopenhauer's home life. Franz Mockrauer of Kiel publishes some passages from Schopenhauer's lectures while he was *privat docent* at the University of Berlin. The scope of the volume is international as other articles are written in English (Alfred Forman), Italian (Alessandro Costa) and French (André Fauconnet).

There are two facsimiles of Schopenhauer's handwriting, one letter to his mother, a pessimistic contemplation of the misery entailed by the Napoleonic invasion, and a special rarity, a love poem of the great woman hater. It is addressed to the actress Karoline Jagemann, a contemporary of Goethe who had been ennobled by the duke of Weimar under the title of Frau von Heygendorf. The case is interesting because Frau von Heygendorf is the only woman who might have induced Schopenhauer to forget his prejudice against marriage. Wilhelm von Gwinner as quoted by Paul Deussen writes on the subject as follows:

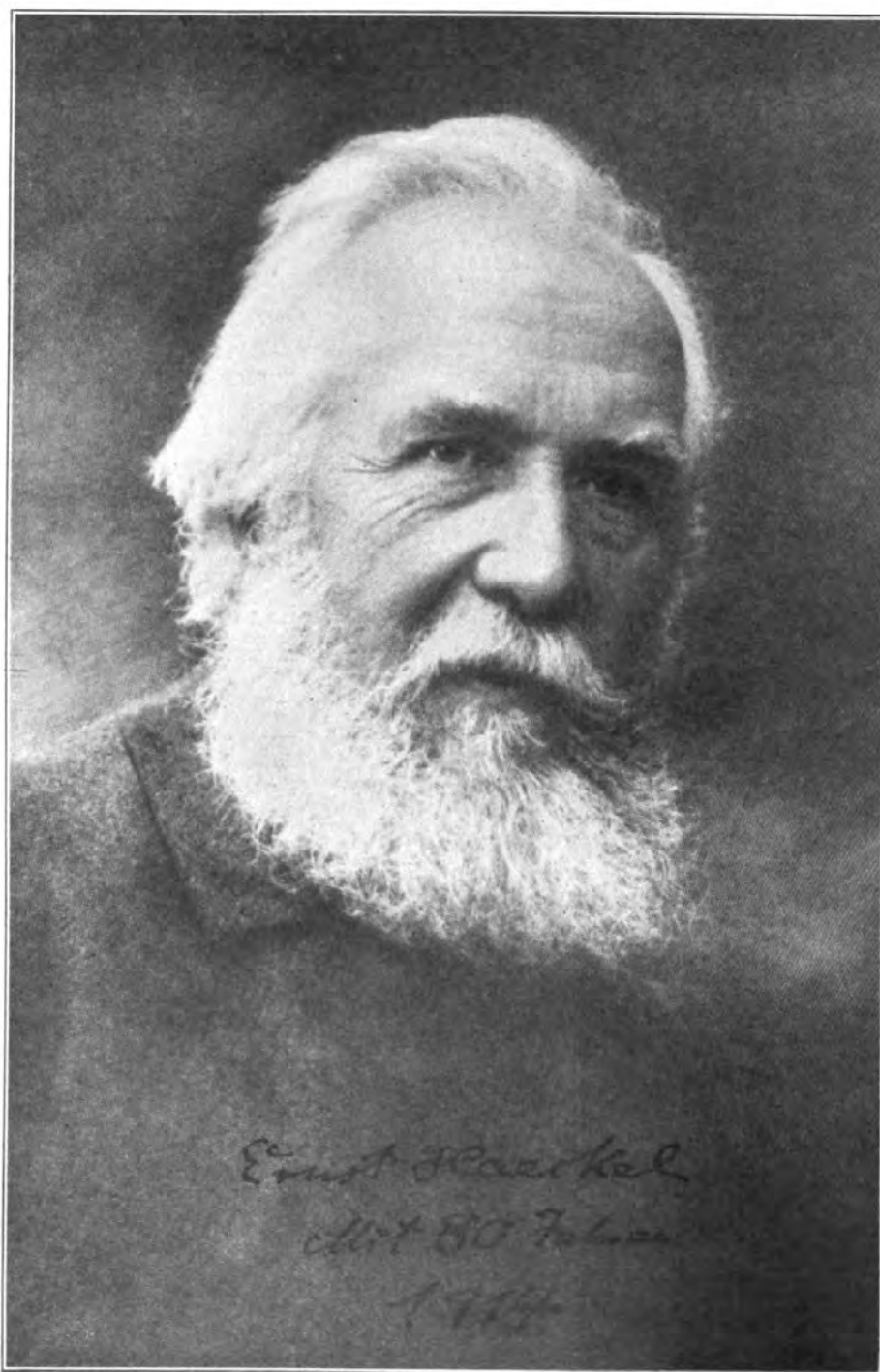
"He (Schopenhauer) felt personally drawn to only one person, the actress Karoline Jagemann. 'This woman,' he owned once to his mother, '.....I would make my wife (*heimeführen*) even if I had picked her up breaking stones on the highway.' By the bye she was ten years his senior. His only love poem, written in the winter of 1809, was inspired by her. She visited him in Frankfort as Frau von Heygendorf, on which occasion he had read to her his parable of the company of porcupines just written at that time (*Parerga* II, 396) which she had greatly enjoyed."

The poem describes a chorus of singers who went out to serenade the actress on a murky day. The philosopher joins them and is disappointed that she does not appear at the window. The versification is poor, and the sentiment expressed almost trivial. The last stanza reads as follows:

"Der Chor zieht durch die Gassen,
Vergebens weilt mein Blick,
Die Sonne hüllt der Vorhang—
Bewölkt ist mein Geschick."

It may be rendered into English thus:

"The chorus goes parading;
Linger in vain mine eyes.
The sun is veiled by curtains,
My fate beclouded lies." *



Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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GOD-NATURE.

A DISCUSSION OF HAECKEL'S RELIGION.

BY THE EDITOR.

PROFESSOR Ernst Haeckel's celebration of his 80th birthday, noted in *The Open Court* of last February, has been a triumph for the undaunted leader of the monistic movement. He has received over 1600 congratulations, among them 600 telegrams, 800 letters and 200 presents and congratulatory addresses from societies all over the world. Among the books, magazine articles and brochures which have been published on this occasion we note a work of two stately volumes, entitled *Was wir Ernst Haeckel verdanken*, edited at the request of the German *Monistenbund* by Heinrich Schmidt of Jena. It contains twelve elegant illustrations, a poetic prologue by Carl Brauckmann, an introduction by the editor, who passes in review the labors of Haeckel in scientific and artistic fields, and contributions of over fifty men of prominence in the world of science and literature. We mention Professor Ostwald, Dr. Breitenbach, Dr. Richard Semon, Professor Forel, Mr. James Morton, Professor Ortmann of the Carnegie Museum of Pittsburg, Pa., Dr. Davidoff of the Russian Laboratory at Villefranche-Sur-Mer, Dr. Ihering of Brazil, and there are many other men of international repute.

Another interesting little volume is entitled *Ernst Haeckel im Bilde*, which besides a short introduction contains one silhouette, a series of photographs, pencil sketches, and reproductions of oil paintings in all phases of Haeckel's life; first, as a student, with

his parents, as a docent, as a young professor, as a traveler in the Orient, on ship-board in his later years, and finally in his old age.

We learn from a postcard that the great grandfather of the professor, a certain Gottlob Haeckel, by trade a yarn-bleacher, was one of the 30,000 Protestants driven out of Salzburg by Count Firmian. This ancestor of the Haeckel family settled down in Prussia where Frederick the Great offered the refugees an asylum in Hirschberg, Silesia.



VILLA MEDUSA IN ERNST HAECKEL STREET, JENA.

The two volumes above mentioned characterize and eulogize Haeckel for his versatile activity in the service of science. He studied zoology and medicine, and gained his first laurels by laying down the principle of morphological method. He carried on successful investigations in the field of tiny life such as Radiolaria, sponges, Medusas and siphonophores. But his interests even then were not limited to the inhabitants of the ocean; we see him dressed as a butterfly hunter in a photograph taken on Lanzarote,

one of the Canary Islands. His attention was centered on the soul, and so he watched with pleasure the development of several souls into a community of souls like the siphonophore. He wrote on *Cell-souls and Soul-Cells*, and when he built himself a home in Jena in the Ernst Haeckel Strasse he called it "Medusa."

Haeckel's fame, however, does not rest upon his several labors in specialized domains of natural science, but upon his rare faculty of seeing the whole in the part and the universal in the particular. He is an ardent advocate of the evolution theory and was one of the first supporters of Darwin. His works *The Natural History of Creation* and his *Anthropogenesis* created quite a stir in the intellectual world, not only of Germany but also in other European countries. In these books he applied the lesson he had learned in his specialized investigations to the whole field of zoology.

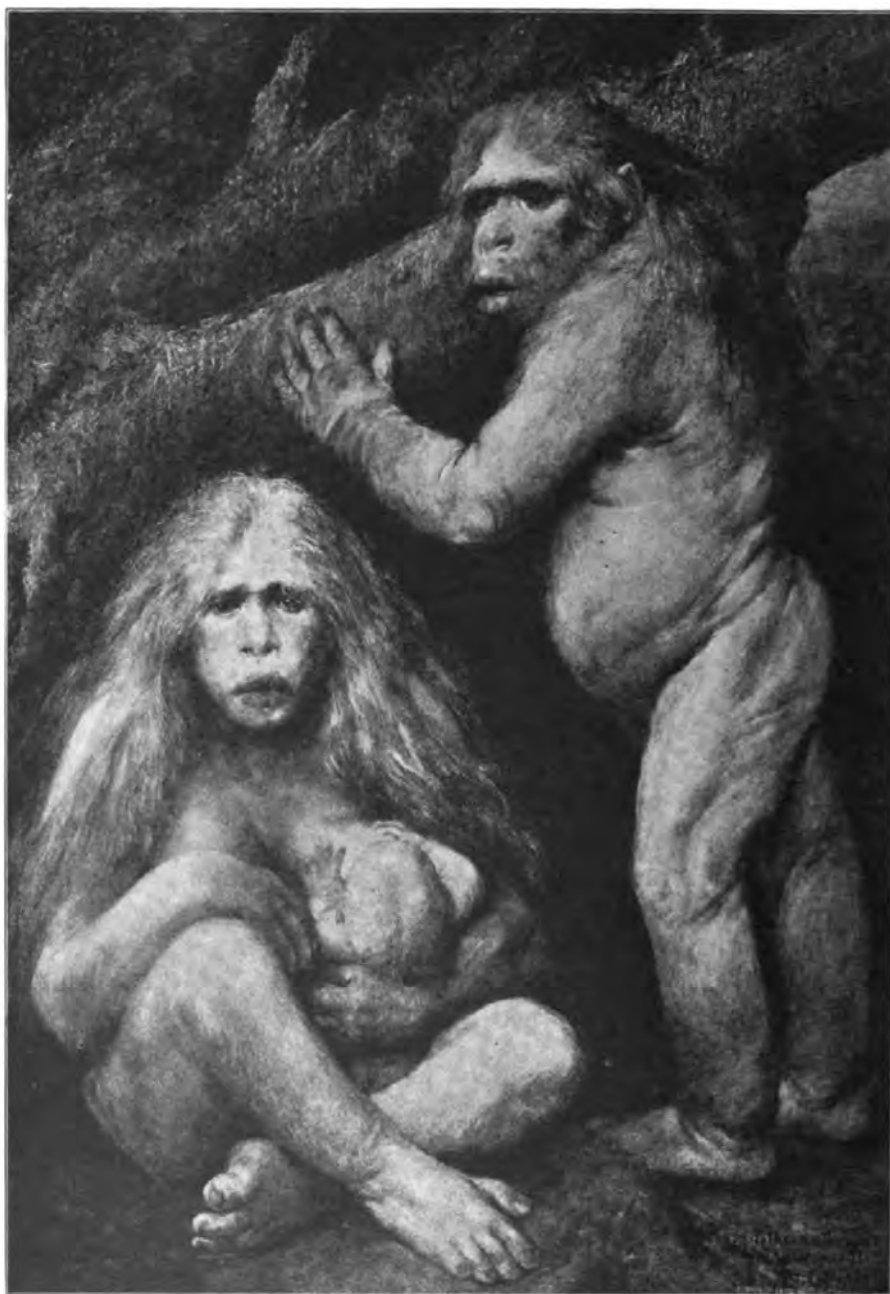
Haeckel is not only a scientist; he is also an artist, and with an artist's eye he sees the beauty of nature's work. Like Goethe, he is a man endowed with all the noble qualities of human advantages. It is natural that his fascinating presence, his noble features with broad forehead and clear blue eyes, invited artists of high repute to paint this remarkable man who had become a leader in the struggle of opposing world-conceptions, and so we find among them many great names and no less a one than Lenbach.

Gabriel Max took such a great interest in Haeckel's anthropogenesis, viz., the theory of the descent of man according to natural science, that he attempted to make a sketch of the missing link between ape and man, called *homo alalus*, that already bore human features but had not yet reached the height of *homo sapiens*.

Not the least valuable publication which has come out since the celebration of Haeckel's 80th birthday is a little book of only 72 pages, written by Haeckel himself and dedicated to his readers as his last message at the completion of his eightieth year. The title is *Gott-Natur* or *Theophysis*, and has reference to Goethe's use of the word, quoted by Haeckel, when the German poet in his pantheistic enthusiasm identifies God with nature as follows:

"Was kann der Mensch im Leben mehr gewinnen,
 Als dass sich Gott-Natur ihm offenbare?
 Wie sie das Feste lässt zu Geist verrinnen,
 Wie sie das Geisterzeugte fest bewahre!"
 [What greater boon can man in life attain
 Than that God-Nature be to him revealed
 To see how rigid stuff will spirit yield,
 How what's begot by spirit will remain.]

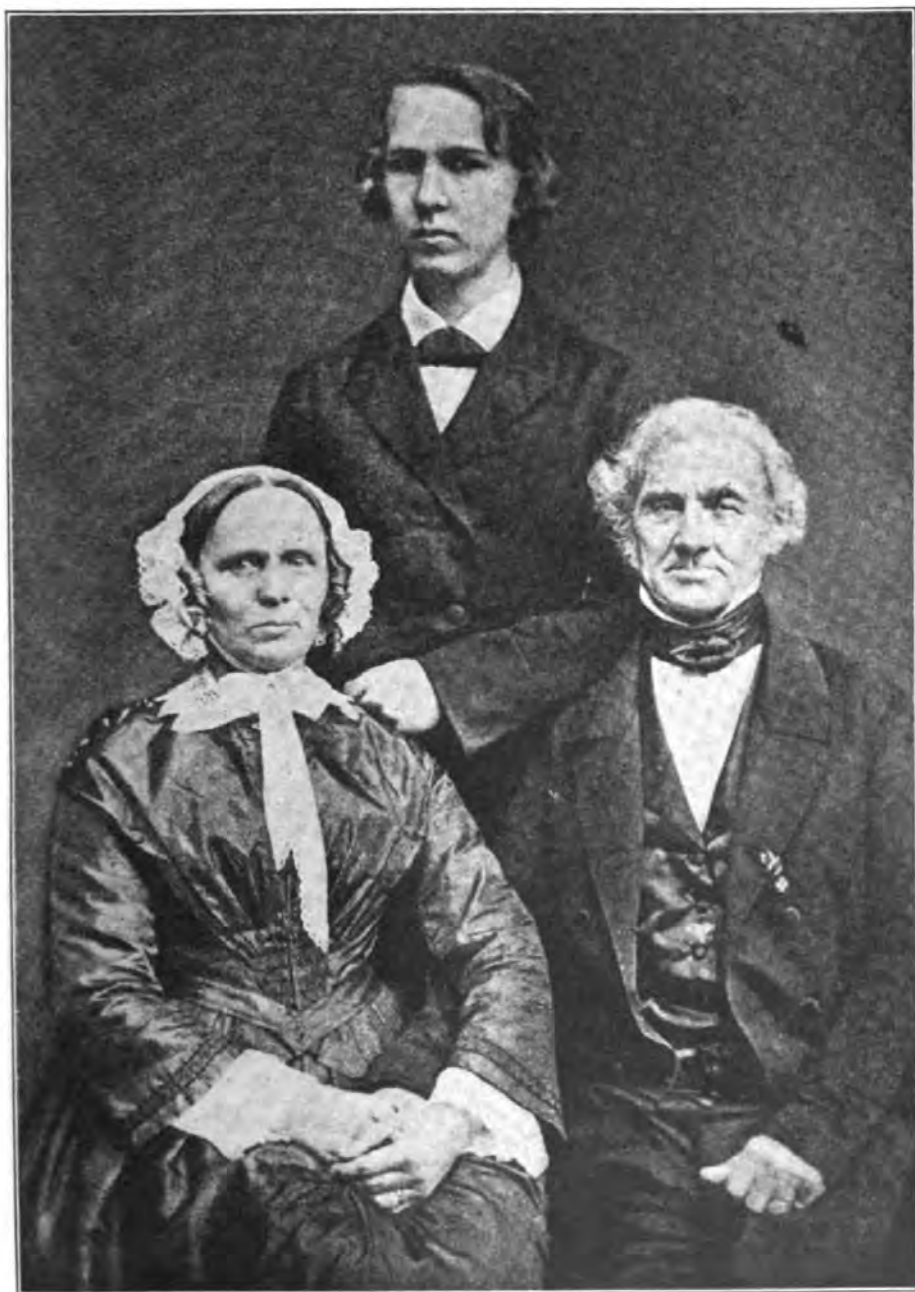
Haeckel claims as his patron saints Goethe, Lamarck and



THE MISSING LINK.

Presented by the artist, Gabriel Max, to Professor Haeckel.

Darwin, and in the spirit of these three great thinkers, he concludes the little book with another quotation from Goethe, thus: "Certainly



HAECKEL AND HIS PARENTS (1852).

there is no more beautiful worship of God than that which wells up in our bosom from a conversation we hold with nature."

An appendix to the book contains schedules in which Haeckel has systematized his views in tabular form.

The main contents of what we might call Haeckel's philosophy is contained on pages 36-37 in a little chapter entitled "Trinity of Substance," which reads as follows:

"If we recognize the equal validity of the above-mentioned three laws of constancy [the conservation of matter, of energy, and of the psychoma], and if we regard the three attributes of substance, namely (1) matter, (2) energy, (3) psychoma, as inseparably connected throughout the universe, we arrive at a simple comprehension of the universal concept of substance which brings into harmony the old and yet ever present controversies between materialism, energetics, and panpsychism. The principal error of these three opposed views of nature-philosophy lies in the fact that each of them emphasizes one fundamental principle and deduces the two others from this first one as subordinate principles. Thus the old materialism or the more recent mechanicalism regards matter as the only primitive principle and subordinates to it both energy and feeling. The modern energetics tries to deduce all phenomena from energy (*karma* in Buddhism). Psychomatics or panpsychism (also in a certain sense psychomonism) regards the *psyche* or spirit as the one universal principle and subordinates both matter and energy to this as the first and supreme principle (like the *atman* in the Veda). From this exclusive one-sidedness of the three conceptions of substance originates the eternal conflict for the supreme authority of one of these three fundamental laws.

"Our naturalistic monism (or cosmic hylozoism) avoids this onesidedness by regarding the three fundamental attributes of all substance as inseparably connected, as universally valid (throughout all space) and as indestructible (for all time). Hence it is neither pure materialism, nor absolute energetics, nor unconditioned psychomatics; much rather does it unite these three views into one perfect unity. Thus we attain a clear conception of all phenomena, and this is of supreme importance for the comprehension of their nature. The first cause of all being, of all becoming and passing away, we therefore see in the universal substance, the supreme being of our monistic religion, the All-God or Pantheos. This universal God is eternal and imperishable, infinite in space and time; he is impersonal and unconscious; he rules the world by his 'eternal unyielding great laws.' Devotional minds can find in the adoration and veneration of this universal God as much

satisfaction as does pure reason in a clear comprehension of his nature and operations."

Here is the place where we might briefly outline our criticism



ON THE CANARY ISLANDS WITH MIKLUCHO MAKLAY 1867).
of Haeckel's philosophy, and we must be excused for repeating
ourselves:

Without denying the truth of the trinity of substance as matter

and energy and psychoma we understand the situation differently, and must insist that Haeckel has forgotten in this important system that feature of existence which is most prominent of all. It is form.

In order to set forth my views plainly, I must make a few comments on the emptiness of the terms matter and energy. Matter and energy are so often supposed to contain all the riddles of the universe. There are many people who think: "Ah, if we could but know what matter is we would possess a key to all the problems of the world." That is a mistake, for matter is incapable of explaining anything and so is energy.

It is indispensable to make a few introductory remarks on matter and energy; they seem trivial but are important. According to our view existence is an enormous system of activity, and in this activity the thinking person has developed into a sentient and rational being. In philosophical language the thinking activity of a person is called "subject." This subject feels itself to be a body opposed by bodies moving about it. We call them objects. The thinker's own body is also felt to be objective, for one limb touches the other and experiences the same resistance as when touching other objects. The subject consists of sentiments or feelings or sensations or ideas, or longings. It is what Spinoza calls "thought." The objects that surround us are bodily things and their most characteristic feature is resistance.

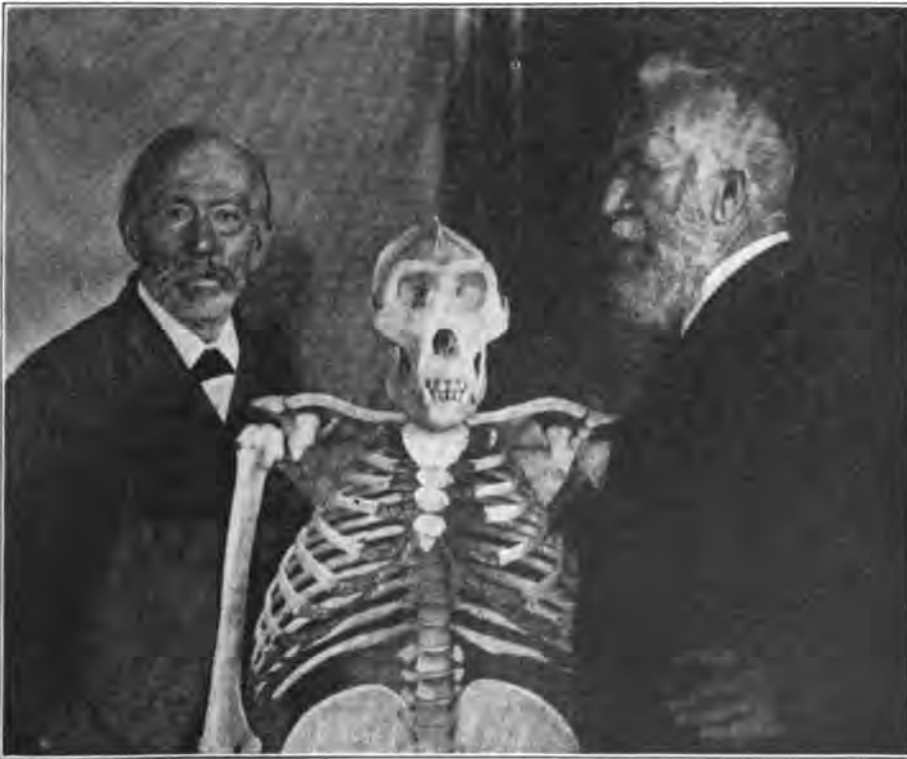
The most appropriate characteristic name for objects is reality, i. e., thingishness, or *Wirklichkeit*, which means activity or something that works. It is possessed of two qualities which are not identical, yet closely interconnected. One of them is objective existence, the other is activity.

The common name for the quality of objectivity is "matter." The word matter simply denotes that there is something other than the subject, that that something exists independently of our will, and that it opposes us. It is something that resists us, something that objects itself to us; hence we call material things "objects."

"Energy" on the other hand is the general name for everything that moves or changes its place, or changes the relation of its parts. Energy in itself is nothing unless it is a quality of some objects. A mere nothing can not change its place. On the other hand objective existence can not be real (*wirklich*) without manifesting itself in one way or another, and any kind of manifestation is motion. It must move or do something or act to be actual. The two features of existence accordingly are not identical, yet inseparable. They are not identical because energy can be transferred

from one body upon another, but they are inseparable in the sense that neither matter nor energy can exist in itself in a separate state. If they were identical we would not need to distinguish them and materialism and energeticism would mean the same.

There are thinkers who propose to explain the world either as mere energy or as mere matter, making energy an incidental feature of matter or *vice versa*. But the concept "matter" is a mere empty word, simply denoting existence in general, while energy means only the fact of actuality; it means that existence acts some-



GORILLA GIGAS (1898).

how, that it manifests itself. If we consider the meaning of matter and energy, we will understand that neither matter nor energy can explain anything. These two words denote simply that we deal with facts; they mean, the former that something exists, and the latter that something acts. That facts are facts cannot be explained; their existence can only be stated.

Explanations are *always* questions of form. To explain facts does not mean to explain why facts exist as facts, why matter or energy exists, but why these definite facts have arisen from other

facts; why they have assumed their special shape. Thus to explain facts means to describe them and trace their forms from prior forms.

All the problems of science consist in tracing the changes that take place in the sum total of existence, i. e., matter and energy, which on *a priori* grounds can neither increase nor decrease. The sum total of all substance and the sum total of all energy, or in one word the sum total of any kind of existence, remains the same for ever and aye. It has never originated nor can ever be destroyed. This is in Kantian terminology an *a priori* law, because the human mind is incapable of thinking that anything originates from nothing or that anything can turn into nothing. In other words: All the happenings in this world are changes of existing things, and here comes in the salient point through which we learn to appreciate the paramount significance of form.

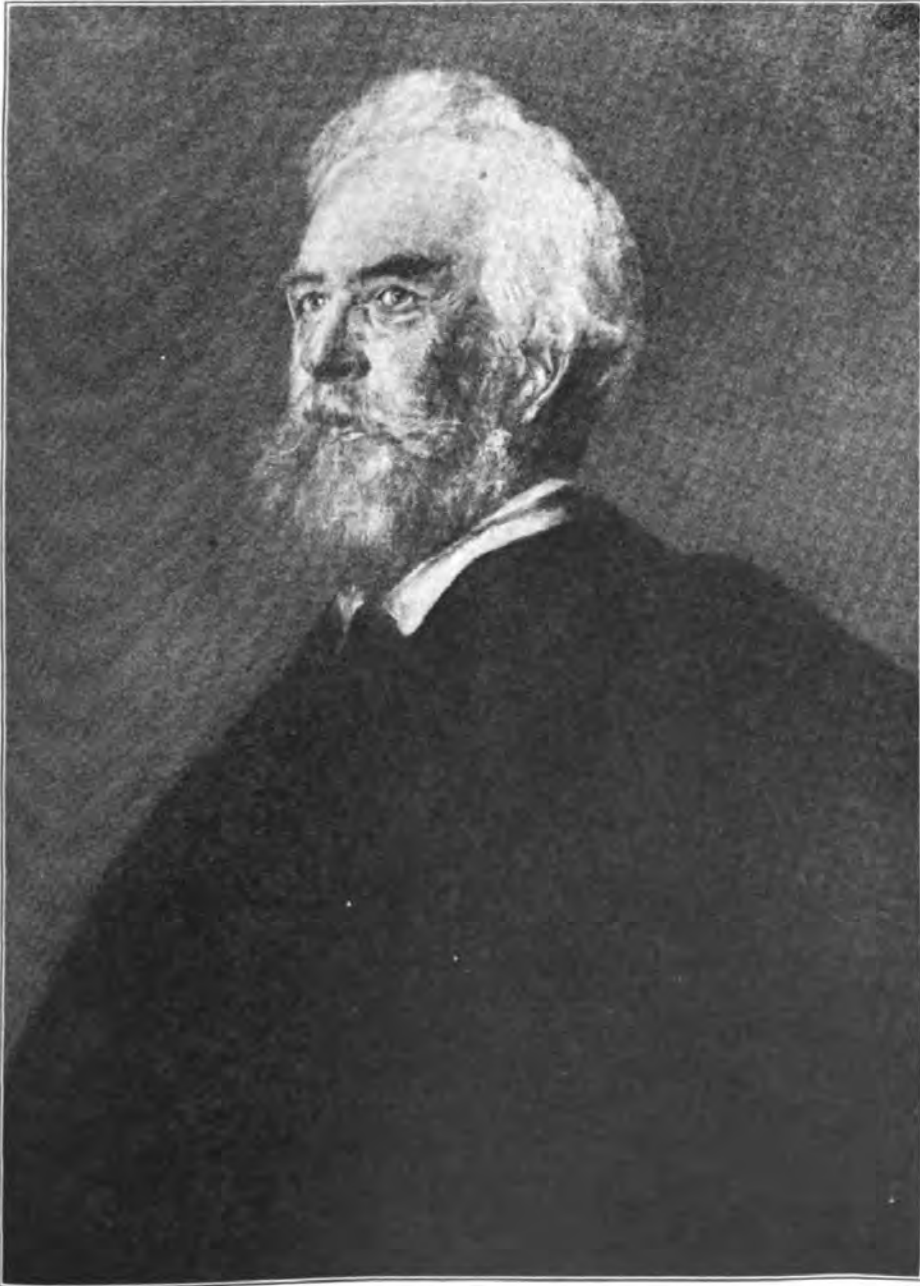
Here lies the wonder of existence; it is the intrinsic and necessary and definite character of form. From the standpoint of the materialist and also of the energeticist form is a mere nonentity and it becomes real only in so far as it consists of matter or as it determines the nature of energy, as it prescribes to energy its course, or form of motion. But the wonder and indeed the only wonder is this, that there are definite laws of form and these laws of form determine the uniformity of nature.

The term "uniformities" is the really correct designation for what commonly in loose and incorrect language is called laws of nature. Given definite conditions, the laws of form shape the course of nature in a definite way and will result in the formation of other forms predetermined by the laws of form.

The strange thing is that a rational being, a being that can think in pure forms, can excogitate the determinant features of forms by pure reflection, without having recourse to sense-experience. A thinker can isolate the notion of pure form through abstraction; he can think away matter and energy; he can build up systems of pure form such as logic, arithmetic, geometry and all other branches of pure thought, and these systems of pure thought do not describe particular conditions of material forms, but lay down merely the interrelations of forms for any kind of conditions, and the anyness of the purely formal sciences serves as a key for systematizing our experience and tracing the uniformities with which we are confronted in nature.

Form accordingly is the most important feature of the objective world, not matter and energy; and the sciences of pure form can be constructed by the thinking subject to the exclusion of the domain

of matter and energy. In this way the subject becomes possessed of the key to understand objective nature. Form and the laws



PORTRAIT BY LENBACH (1899)

of form furnish us with the explanation that is needed to adjust ourselves in this immeasurable domain of existence of which the

single individual and even the totality of all humankind is but a drop in the bucket.

Incidentally we will make here the following remarks to explain that a true monism can be worked out consistently only through a consideration of the nature of form. Form and the laws of form possess the key for comprehending the unity of all existence. Monism is to me not the supremacy of matter, nor of energy nor of the *psychoma* or the spiritual, the psychical or the subjective aspect of nature, nor of all these three in one, but it is the oneness of law which implies the oneness of truth and also the oneness of all existence. This oneness of truth is essential in constituting the oneness of existence which is declared by monism.

The law of the conservation of matter and energy does not mean, as monists sometimes assure us, that the chemical atom is eternal and can never be lost.¹ On the contrary, so far as we must expect *a priori*, we are inclined to believe that the atom is the product of a formation according to some purely formal law. The time may come when the nature of the atom will be explained from its geometrical form by mathematics. Everything that is explicable can be explained only by laws of form. From *a priori* considerations, we must assume that the atom has originated from the primitive universal substance by some strain or force, and that after the unmeasured span of a cosmic period it may disperse again into its original diffusion of the primitive world-stuff, possibly the ether, though its ultimate constituents will retain their intrinsic possibility of a new formation. We may assume that when a planetary system, possibly also when the whole Milky Way system of worlds in which we live, has been dissolved into pure ether or whatever this world-substance may be, it still possesses its intrinsic power of palingenesis, of a new creation that will build up a world according to the same laws of form that shape this world in the life wherein we now take part.

It is noticeable that forms can be considered as pure forms. Who will deny that mathematics has a particular kind of existence in itself? Not as if there were somewhere in a Utopian heaven a world of mathematical theorems, of logarithms, of triangles, of logical notions; or of types, of things, of potentialities; but after all, these forms can be contemplated by themselves, and we can scarcely look upon them as idle non-existences without any significance. They are possibilities and in so far as they are not mere

¹ We read in Dr. L. Frei's *Katechismus der monistischen Weltanschauung* (1914): "*Kein Atom der Materie geht verloren.*"

visions or haphazard inventions of an idle brain, but the necessary and legitimate results of the laws of thought, we call them truths.



ON BOARD THE "KIAUTSCHAU" (1901). Etching by Emil Orlek. They constitute a kind of super-reality which justifies Plato in his belief in ideas—the so-called Platonic ideas—and explains also what the medieval realists meant when they spoke of ideas as being real.

We need not believe that this ideal world of ideas consists of concrete figures like the moulds of creation, as Plato characterizes them, in which God shapes the real things; but we must recognize them as the determinant conditions which shape the world and make things what they are according to the influence under which things originate. Neither can we regard the determinedness of the laws of pure form as the product of a divine mind, for we understand perfectly well that all laws of form are possessed of an intrinsic necessity. The multiplication table has not been excogitated by the schoolmaster, nor has it been made to be such as it is by a god; it has been constructed according to its own intrinsic conditions and can not be different in its intrinsically necessary character; and the same is true of all form.

The possibility of thinking pure forms in their purity has given rise to dualism. The formative factors, being so efficient, have been materialized and even personified; and noticing that forms of feelings are possessed of the faculty of directing and establishing purpose in life, the notion of a kind of substantial existence of spirit has originated. Considering the paramount significance of spiritual life, there is a truth at the bottom of its reality, but spirit is really part and parcel of the whole of reality. It is the resultant of the order and regularity produced by the laws of form, for this order in the realm of subjectivity produces what we call spirit.

It would lead here too far to enter into the detailed exposition of the origin of mind. We have fully and repeatedly set forth our theory of the origin of feeling from the subconscious irritations in the subjective features of existence, and also the origin of mind.² So we need not enter into these problems here. Further, we have explained causation as the law of change, which proves that the law of cause and effect is practically a reverse of the law of the conservation of matter and energy. It states that matter and energy remain the same in quantity, and every event is merely a new grouping of parts which takes place according to the laws of form.

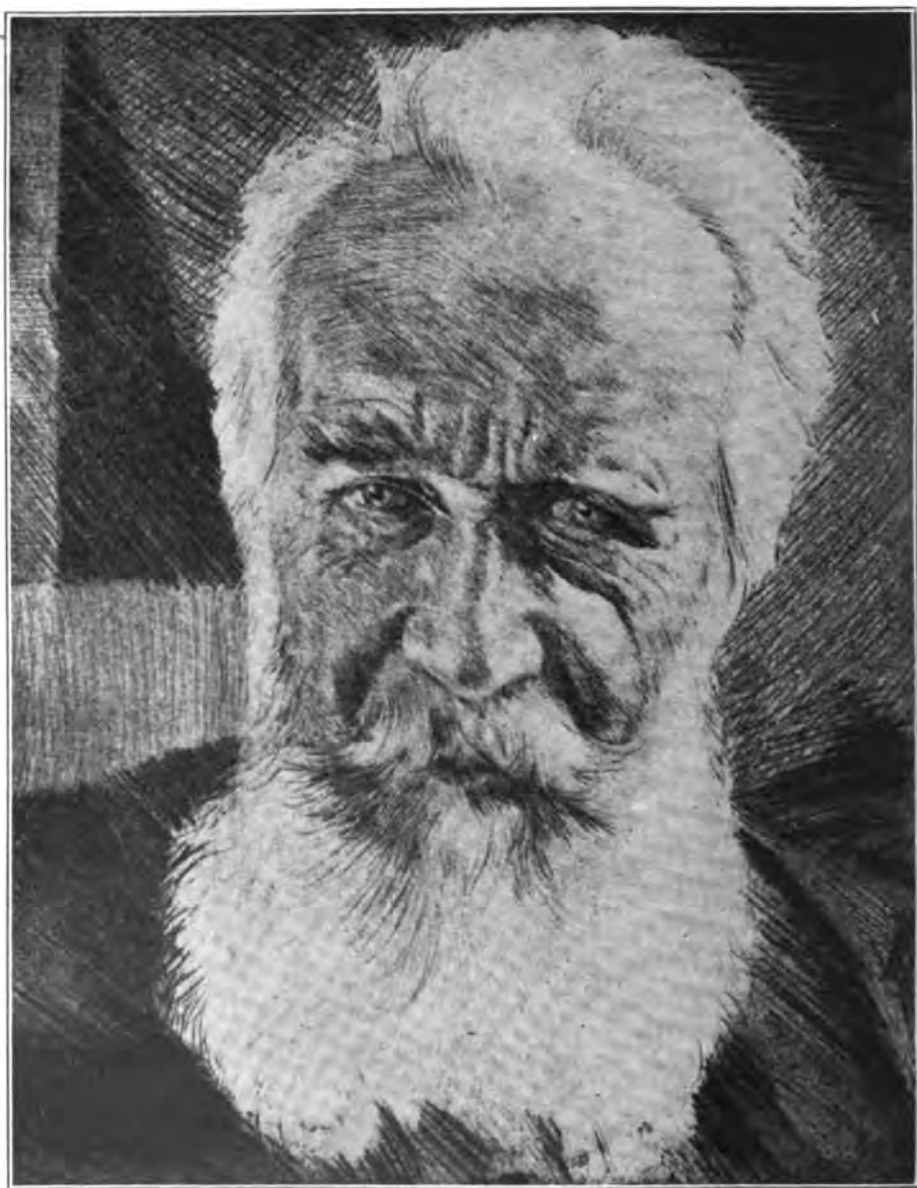
The physical law of uniformities in the inorganic domain has its counterpart in the intellectual and social interrelation of society as well as in the development of individuals, of families and of nations. Definite actions have definite results, and these definite results express themselves as the moral world-order. There is as little chaos in social evolution as in the lower organized and in the

² See especially in *The Soul of Man* the chapters "Feeling and Motion" and "The Origin of Mind," also *The Philosophy of Form*, pp. 20-22.



PORTRAIT BY KARL BAUER.
In the Phylogenetic Museum at Jena (1908).

inorganic domains of cosmic life. Those nations prosper which live in conformity with the laws of nature. There are definite social conditions which produce the best results. The people who obey



ETCHING BY KARL BAUER.

them may have to suffer in the struggle for existence, but in the long run their race will survive and prosper.

For these reasons I do not subscribe to Haeckel's sentence on

page 41, "There is no providence, there is no moral world-order." I would insist that there is a moral world-order, and religious natures have poetically represented it as the providence of a divine being, as the dispensation of God.

Here is another point where I object to the typical monism vigorously represented by Haeckel. It is monistic pantheism. I object to deifying matter and also to deifying energy. Nor can I feel any reverence toward the sum total of matter and energy, be it called Nature or the All or the Pan. Among agnostics it has become customary to capitalize energy and speak of it as the inscrutable Energy in terms of veneration. Energy means to me motion or strain, and what is matter but an amount of mass, viz., volume times weight? There is not the slightest reason why we should bow down in awe before an enormous amount of energy or kneel before a big lump of matter. What we have to revere is the order that shows itself in the cosmic laws forming the Milky Way system in its grandeur with its uncounted suns and planets. We admire the omnipresent order of the universe that at the same time shapes the minute form of an atom and the bulky sphere of a sun, that governs the motion of the motes that hover in the air unnoticed and often unnoticeable to our crude senses and makes comets roam in orderly courses. It is form we admire, and the laws of form reveal to us the secrets of the world.

All we can do is forming and re-forming; we can change the quality of existence, not its quantity. The laws of nature are such not only that order prevails in the inorganic domain, but also that life will pursue a definite course of a predetermined order; and from these conditions devolve on us our highest tasks and duties, which are to change conditions so as to make us rise higher and higher in the scale of evolution.

Our reverence is due not to matter and energy, nor to the sum total of nature, but to the general character of the formative in nature, to the whole system of the determinant factors of the truly creative principle that forms the world as a whole and shapes the destinies of every single human being.

Haeckel repeats his principle that there is no moral world order on page 43 in a somewhat modified form, saying, "There is no general world-reason, nor moral world-order valid throughout."

The formative factors of natural laws are in their totality what we understand by "world reason," and we do not doubt that Haeckel in spite of his own declaration believes in a world-reason in

our sense, nor can we understand how he can deny the existence of a moral world-order, if we understand by it the law that determines the welfare of society, the social law that can not be infringed upon with impunity. This moral world-order is just as true as the multiplication table. In my conception of monism, the moral world-order is just as undeniable as any natural law and is as true as any mathematical, geometrical or arithmetical theorem.



Ernst Haeckel

From this standpoint, rational beings will naturally develop wherever the conditions for organized life prevail, and a society of rational beings will bring forth social and religious institutions, states and churches with different forms of government, with creeds and moral codes. The laws of the development of religious beliefs are just as definite as the stages in the growth of plants, and the approximation of religious truths is just as much predetermined

as the slow progress of scientific inquiry: both pass through errors and both have to grapple with errors many of which are un-



IN RAPALLO (1914).

avoidable stations on the road to truth which reveals itself with ever increasing clearness. Astrology has changed into astronomy

and the time is coming, yea, it is near at hand, when even theology will change into theonomy.

These points which I raise here may seem to many monists to be insignificant differences, but they are not. The intellectual life of man, his religious needs and his moral aspirations are facts. The question is not so much to deny their existence as to explain them from a rigorously monistic standpoint.

It is not true that man's life is ended at death, implying that we have no interest in what will happen to us or what will become of our ideas, or what will be the fate of our accomplishments. Death is not an absolute end, and with these considerations we will discover that the old religions have solved these problems in a pragmatic way by expressing great truths in mythological language. Mankind has directly felt the truth of the responsibility for our conduct and our actions, of the continuance of our life after death, of the general standard of conduct, and above all the reverence we feel toward the All of existence, toward the factors that have developed us and continue to guide our future growth. The allegories under which they have been presented are naturally flavored in a dualistic fashion and it is probably on account of this dualism that Haeckel has been induced not to recognize the truth in religious dogmas, but the fact remains that if we follow Haeckel's negativism we are apt to lose the most important truths in the domain of intellectual and moral life.

There is no need to add that my differences with Professor Haeckel do not diminish my admiration for him nor debar me from recognizing the enormous work which he has done in strict science as well as in a popularization of scientific world-conception and I rejoice at the great success he has gained in fighting superstitions. But with all deference to the great champion of monism, the founder of the *Monistenbund*, I deem it necessary to take exception to some of his doctrines, although I feel convinced that so far as his intentions are concerned our differences are purely verbal. I have expressed them from time to time, but Professor Haeckel has never wavered in his kindness and friendliness, and I will conclude therefore by saying frankly and publicly that I am proud of the personal friendship that exists between the venerable octogenarian and myself, almost twenty years his junior.

All honor to the undaunted champion of truth!

THE PHYSIOLOGUS AND THE CHRISTIAN FISH SYMBOL.¹

BY RICHARD GARBE.

UNDER the title *Φυσιολόγος* a small work on Christian zoology, or rather animal symbolism, was written in Alexandria in the first quarter of the second century. In it are enumerated the properties of a large number of real and fabulous animals and also of some trees and stones, and these are assigned either to Christ or to the devil and held up before the people as examples to be imitated or avoided. This curious little work which contains old nature lore and old nature fables in a Christian setting found a wide circulation in the Christian world. It was translated into Ethiopian, Armenian, Syriac and Arabic, and in Europe was worked over in the Middle Ages in a number of Latin versions which were carried over into the languages of most of the Germanic and Romance nations. The animal symbolism of medieval composition and graphic art which is so singularly delightful to us, had its origin in the *Physiologus*.

In the Greek original of this book the following Indian elements have been discovered, though to be sure the one to be treated first is not quite convincing.

In the second chapter it is specified as the third characteristic of the lion that his young are born dead and are awakened to life on the third day by a roar from their father: thus did God also on the third day awaken his son Jesus Christ from the

¹Translated by Lydia G. Robinson from the author's *Indien und das Christentum* (Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1914). An English translation of the entire book is in preparation with the Open Court Publishing Company. In the bibliographical references the following abbreviations will be observed: ZDMG, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*; SBA, *Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*.

dead. This lion story, as Grünwedel confidently asserts,² is supposed to go back to one of the earliest epithets of Buddha which later has been transferred also to several Bodhisattvas: namely, "the one who calls with the lion's voice," Skt. *simhanâda*, Pâli *sihanâda*. I think that this combination must be understood thus: The foolish statement in the Physiologus has arisen as the result of a misunderstanding from the statement of the Buddhists that "the lion of the house of the Shâkyas," as Buddha is often called, awakens men by his powerful call to the real life, to the knowledge of truth, and has shown them the way to eternal salvation. At least I can not imagine any other connection between the epithet of Buddha and the lion story of the Physiologus. The whole idea is not very plausible in itself but it gains in probability through the observation to which we now proceed.

Very evident is the misunderstanding of a well-known Indian story which has been pointed out independently by two scholars, F. W. K. Müller³ and Lüders,⁴ in Chapter 17 of the Physiologus in the account of the capture of the unicorn. According to that account the very strong and crafty unicorn can be conquered only in one way. A pure virgin must be sent to him. The unicorn approaches her and lays his head confidently in her lap, whereupon the virgin takes the animal, who follows her willingly, and leads it *into the palace to the king*. The concluding sentence furnishes proof that the origin of this fable has been derived from the Indian story of the hermit "Unicorn" (Ekashringa) which is widespread in both Buddhist and Brahman literature, and fragments of its oldest literary version, as Lüders has shown, are preserved in the verses of Jâtaka 526. In the Indian story a princess craftily entices to the capital city *into the palace of her father* the ascetic Unicorn, whose presence is necessary to remove the drought in the land. Hence it is obvious that the information about the capture of the unicorn animal in the Physiologus and its medieval offshoots has arisen through an obvious misunderstanding of the Indian legend.

Equally convincing is the evidence of an Indian derivation for the story of the elephant in Chapter 19 of the Physiologus which Berthold Laufer has given us on the basis of a Chinese source.⁵

² ZDMG, LII, p. 460, note 5; *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei*, Leipsic, 1900, p. 128.

³ Anniversary volume for Adolf Bastian, pp. 531-536, especially 532.

⁴ *Nachr. v. d. K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Phil.-his. Kl.*, 1897, p. 115; 1901, p. 53, note 2.

⁵ *T'oung Pao*, XIV, July 1913, pp. 361f.

In the *Physiologus* we are told the following:⁶ "When the elephant has fallen he cannot rise because his knees have no joints. But how does he happen to fall? When he wants to sleep he leans against a tree and sleeps that way. Now since the Indians know of this peculiarity of the elephant they go about it and saw a little at the tree. The elephant comes to lean against it and as soon as he touches the tree it falls with him to the ground. Now after he has fallen he cannot get up again, therefore he begins to whine and cry. Another elephant hears him and comes to help him but cannot raise the fallen one. Then both cry out and twelve others come, but even these are not able to raise him. Then they all cry. Last of all comes the little elephant who places his trunk around the elephant and lifts him up."

The same thing is told of the rhinoceros in the Chinese account, originating in India, which Laufer has discovered. That this is more original than the account in the *Physiologus*, which of course also refers expressly to India, appears from the fact that the Indians who have always been well acquainted with the elephant could not possibly have represented it as possessing legs without knee joints. Hence in India the fable must have been told of the rhinoceros which is much rarer there than the elephant and is found only in the southern part of the country and on the islands of the Indian archipelago. The *Physiologus* has transferred this story of the rhinoceros, which he does not mention at all, upon the elephant.

Wo Shi-Kao, a Chinese physician from the period of the T'ang dynasty (618-907) who occupied an official position on the coast of Southern China, heard the genuine and original version from the mouth of a ship captain. In the words of Laufer it runs as follows: "The maritime people intent on capturing a rhinoceros proceed by erecting on a mountain path many structures of decayed timber, something like a stable for swine or sheep. The front legs of the rhinoceros being straight without joints, the animal is in the habit of sleeping by leaning against the trunk of a tree. The rotten timber will suddenly break down, and the animal will topple in front without being able for a long time to rise. Then they attack and kill it."

We must fully agree also with the succeeding observations which Laufer adds to this text in order to establish the originality of its subject in spite of its late attestation. The Chinese version relates consistently the capture of the rhinoceros by the craft of the

⁶ According to the German translation of Emil Peters, Berlin, 1898, p. 39.

huntsmen which is based on the animal's alleged anatomical character and manner of life; whereas the Physiologus merely tells of the cunning preparation for the capture, but then entirely forgets the huntsmen who are lying in wait. It treats only of the wonderful rescue of the fallen elephant which accords with the religious purpose of the book in giving occasion for its symbolical interpretation. The fallen elephant is Adam; the first who comes to his rescue is the law; the twelve who come afterwards but who are no more successful are the prophets; and the tiny elephant who finally brings deliverance is Christ who has humbled himself.

The Chinese text does not name India expressly but speaks of the "maritime people," by which must be meant in an indefinite way the inhabitants of the coast lands of farther India or of the islands of the archipelago, at any rate tribes that were under the influence of Indian civilization. Our story must have circulated in India proper (as the version of the Physiologus shows) long before the time when the ship captain mentioned by the Chinese physician had brought it to China. It reached the western part of the old world somewhat before the Greek Physiologus was written; for Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, VIII, 39) and Cæsar (*De bello Gallico*, VI, 27) tell the same story of the elk who had no joints in his legs and therefore slept leaning against a tree, which the hunters sawed into in order to capture the animal. The derivation of this story from India and its connection with the fable of the elephant in the Physiologus and the fable of the rhinoceros in the Chinese account is as obvious as the necessity of the assumption that the last named version represents the original form of this strange bit of folklore.

Dependence on India is also perfectly clear in one other passage of the Physiologus. The bird *χαπαδρῖος* is mentioned in Chapter 38 as carrying away to the sun the illness of a man near whom it is brought, and there being consumed. This can be nothing else but the Indian bird *hâridravâ*,⁷ to which (Rigveda I, 50, 12 and Atharvaveda I, 22, 4) jaundice is transmitted and in the latter passage in verse 1 the disease is wished away to the sun.

These loans from India which we find in the Physiologus might seem in themselves to be of but little consequence for the purpose of this book, but still they are of great essential importance. The Gospel of John originated at the same time and in the same cycles of belief and thought as the Physiologus; therefore Indian material could find entrance into the former as well as the latter. I em-

⁷ Ernst Kuhn in an epilogue to Van den Bergh's *Indische Einflüsse*, 2d ed., p. 118, note 1, where the earlier literature on this coincidence is also given.

phasize this possibility with the greater positiveness because personally I have not been able to convince myself of the presence of Buddhist elements in the Gospel of John after careful investigation of the details under consideration.⁸ But even the infiltration of Buddhist elements in other New Testament writings seems more comprehensible in the light of the Indian stories in the Physiologus.

* * *

The Christian fish-symbol is not mentioned in the Physiologus, and since it fits in so excellently into this thought-cycle we may in this case ascribe its full demonstrative force to the *argumentum e silentio*, and maintain that the fish-symbol had not yet found any application in Christianity at the time the Physiologus was written. The first evidence of it is in Tertullian at the end of the second century.

Pischel⁹ believes that he has established the loan of this symbol from northern Buddhism and that he has found its historical foundation in the mingling of religions recently brought to light in Turkestan. This thesis of Pischel's aroused a vigorous investigation of the problem but may now be finally characterized as untenable. The fish-symbol as denoting the Saviour arose in Christianity independently of Buddhism and must be referred to other sources.

From a scholarly essay of J. Scheftelowitz¹⁰ which is based on a large mass of material, it appears first that the conception of the fish as a symbol of the Christian originated in Judaism, which was familiar with the fish as the symbol of the Israelite; secondly and chiefly, that the idea of the fish as a symbol of protection against demonic influences and as a sign of good luck was astonishingly wide spread,¹¹ and with this is connected the equally wide-spread notion of the fish as the seat of departed human souls and also as the symbol of fertility. The fish-symbol denoting Christ as the Saviour has its root (like the same symbol for saviour gods and for Buddha in India, like the Babylonian legend of the pious Parnapishtim who was rescued from the deluge by the fish-god Ea, and many similar stories) in ancient popular ideas for whose origin we must go back to the beginnings of mankind, to the times when man regarded many animals which were superior to him in strength

⁸ See *Indien und das Christentum*, pp. 34, 35, 39-41.

⁹ "Der Ursprung des christlichen Fischsymbols," SBA, 1905, pp. 506ff.

¹⁰ "Das Fischsymbol im Judentum und Christentum," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XIV, 1911, pp. 1ff, 321ff.

¹¹ Pp. 343ff.

and skill as higher beings which he therefore deified. The fish belongs to the oldest totem animals, and while man was still in the state of savagery it aroused his admiration on account of its ability to swim and live beneath the water.¹²

The *direct* derivation of the Christian fish-symbol as denoting the Saviour must be sought in the application which the fish has found in the symbolism of classical antiquity and with other Mediterranean nations.

This also sets aside the conception of Oldenberg¹³ that the origin of the Christian fish-symbol can be explained in a perfectly satisfactory manner from the familiar acrostic¹⁴ without the aid of foreign influences.

The objections which Van den Bergh¹⁵ has raised to this view go to show that the Christian use of the word *ἰχθύς* cannot have originated in that acrostic. When Van den Bergh proves that the close succession of these five words was not in the least customary in ordinary speech and in fact is not to be found at all in earlier times, and further that the combination of these letters in an acrostic was not suggested by any particular size of the initials in epigraphical use, it follows that the word *ἰχθύς* cannot originally have been referred to Christ. Van den Bergh¹⁶ says: "Through the interpretation of its letters the Ichthys became serviceable to the Christians and entirely lost its pagan aspect." I would like to change this explanation slightly; for I think that the religious and symbolic meaning of the fish then current in pagan lands in the sense of protection, salvation, good fortune, health and fertility caused the Christian interpretation of the letters in the word.

To the best known writings of the literature of northern Buddhism belong the "Lotus of the Good Law" and the biographies of Buddha called *Lalitavistara* and *Mahāvastu*, none of which can be placed before 200 A. D. Most of the parallels with the Gospel stories which have been met with in Buddhist literature are found in these three works.¹⁷ Unfortunately nothing more can now be said about these parallels except that it is not impossible that they were borrowed from Christianity. When in the later

¹² Compare the useful compilations of Paul Carus in "Animal Symbolism," *The Open Court*, February 1911, pp. 79ff.

¹³ ZDMG, LIX, pp. 625ff.

¹⁴ *ἰχθύς* = Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ υἱὸς σωτήρ.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, LX, pp. 210ff.

¹⁶ *Loc cit.*, p. 212.

¹⁷ *The Monist*, XXI, October 1911, p. 520.

Mahâyâna writings mention is made of Buddha as a fisherman who catches men like fishes, and this comparison has passed over into Chinese art in which Buddha is represented as a fisherman with rod and hook,¹⁸ we cannot fail to recognize here a transference of the Christian symbol into the Buddhist world, because the catching of fish is an entirely un-Buddhistic act.

¹⁸ Paul Carus, *The Open Court*, June 1911, p. 357. See the illustration on the cover of this issue.

THE SATIRES OF MR. MACHINE.¹

BY ERNST BERGMANN.

[An account of the beginning of the La Mettrie-Haller controversy as recorded by Dr. Bergmann in his book *Die Satiren des Herrn Maschine*, was published in *The Open Court* of July 1913, together with other material of interest in connection with La Mettrie and his principal work, *L'homme machine* (English translation with French text, *Man a Machine*, Chicago, Open Court Publishing Company, 1912). In this article we have the next phase of this controversy as reported by Dr. Bergmann in his interesting book.—Ed.]

HALLER had sufficient occasion to continue in the year 1748 the fight he had entered upon against La Mettrie, especially as the dangerous innovator, responding to a summons from Frederick the Great, removed to Potsdam on February 7 of this year, thus drawing closer to his opponent in distance.² As early as November 30, 1747, Haller had reviewed most unfavorably *La faculté vengée*, a satirical comedy directed against the charlatan Astruc and the medical faculty of Paris, at the same time naming the true author and mentioning all the attendant circumstances.³ He declared that La Mettrie insulted his own relatives because they did not stand by him, that by this violent and offensive pamphlet he had lost the respect of all sensible people, which is the last possession of an

¹ Translated from the German by Lydia G. Robinson.

² The date of La Mettrie's arrival is given wrongly in almost every case. Compare the *Vossische Zeitung* of February 8, 1748: "The famous Doctor de la Mettrie whom his majesty has summoned from Holland arrived here yesterday." (*Der berühmte Herr Doctor de la Mettrie, welchen Se. Majestät aus Holland anhero berufen lassen, ist gestern allhier angekommen*).

³ This composition belongs to the most brilliant creations of La Mettrie, the satirist. With a wit worthy of Aristophanes it describes how the Paris faculty deliberates over the banishment of the brawler "Chat-Huant" (Screech-owl), i. e., La Mettrie. The members of the faculty are concealed under such names as "Savantasse" = "Learned Swindler" (Astruc), "Muscadin" = "a dude" (Sidobre) etc. The true names of those ridiculed are added in a key. Unfortunately we must refrain from entering into this "*bitterböse Stachel-schrift*" (Haller). It was burned by decree of Parliament July 9, 1746, together with the rest of La Mettrie's writings, in the Place de Grève at Paris by the public executioner. (Copy in the author's possession).

unfortunate man. It is deplorable to see that the physician Haller did not in the least know how to appreciate the righteous battle La Mettrie was waging against the charlatanry which was flourishing so luxuriantly in the medical profession at that time.

In the meantime the signal for battle now comes from another quarter. On March 31, 1748, Samuel Christian Hollmann (1696-1787), professor of philosophy and natural theology in the University of Göttingen, a confessed Wolffian and a most intimate friend of Haller, had written a letter on *L'homme machine*, (*Brief über l'Homme machine*), probably at the instigation of his colleague Haller, which Haller published in the *Göttinger Gelehrten Zeitungen* on May 6 and 7 of the same year, with a commendatory introduction as if it had been sent in anonymously.⁴

Hollmann charged La Mettrie with carelessness in loose thinking; said that all of *L'homme machine* was stolen and was nothing more than a "free translation" of the "confidential correspondence between two good friends on the nature of the soul;"⁵ that this "automatic sage" disproves himself by his own machine theory which still uses thought in attempting to establish truth. He forgets entirely that he is merely a machine writing there. Is it really true that plain organized matter can produce thought and consciousness? No more than "a paper- or grist-mill can make shoes." The soul has a higher origin. La Mettrie's theory itself shows that he is more than a mere machine, namely a thinking machine, although to be sure one "of the lowest kind, or perhaps something still more trifling." Indeed how can he help it if his machine thinks thus and not otherwise? This machine may well appeal to Descartes, but if Descartes could read *L'homme machine* he would place its author among the *petit philosophes*.

Finally the writer of the letter discovers in La Mettrie a Spinozist in disguise who regards "a wise nature as the mother of all things." And now the good man's gall runs over: "A Spinozist is in my eyes a wretch whom one must pity, and to whose assistance if he can be helped one must try to come with a few notes from the doctrine of reason and a few clear explanations of what sort of a thing a substance is." People who have clear ideas on these subjects "would be ashamed to be disquieted for even a quarter of an hour by the distracted thoughts of a Spinozist."

Yet this silly nonsense of an arrogantly pious man was received with murmurs of approval in the camp of the German

⁴ It was Zimmermann who made known the true author, p. 229.

⁵ The Hague, 1713. The accusation is unfounded.

spiritualists as the first defensive measure from that side. In the course of the same year, 1748, there appeared a separate print of the Hollmann letter in a French translation apparently made expressly for La Mettrie under the title "Lettre d'un Anonyme pour servir de critique ou de réfutation au livre intitulé l'Homme machine,"⁶ in which form the letter then passed through German and French revisions.⁷ At first La Mettrie regarded as his opponent the Berlin ecclesiastical commissioner (*Konsistorialrat*) Sack who was known to be hostile to freethought,⁸ but soon he came to the conclusion that Haller himself was the anonymous author.⁹ His reply is the remarkable *Épître à mon esprit ou l'Anonyme persiflé*, a duodecimo pamphlet of 22 pages without place or date, which according to our calculation must have appeared in Berlin about March 1749,¹⁰ and from which Poritzky has already communicated some passages.¹¹

In a soliloquy with his own spirit La Mettrie, as we are already informed by the title, castigates the anonymous author of the letter on *L'homme machine*, whom he now assumes to be

⁶ Without place (Berlin) and date (1749?). 4°, 24 pages. We have not been able to find a copy of this translation anywhere.

⁷ The *Berlinische Bibliothek* was the first to reproduce an abstract. (End of) 1748, II., pp. 798-800. Entered in the *Göttinger Gelehrten Zeitungen* under date of April 17, 1749.

⁸ Thus Zimmermann reports, p. 229. Cf. also a note in Haller's *Tagebuch der medizinischen Literatur*. Berne, 1791. III, p. 537.

⁹ Remark in Zimmermann, p. 229. This also appears from a passage in La Mettrie's *Supplément à l'ouvrage de Pénélope etc.* Berlin, 1750, p. 358. "Il me traitait aussi cavalièrement, qu'un autre Anonyme vient (!) de traiter l'Homme machine." At "*autre*" La Mettrie makes this note: "Haller, dit-on; je n'en serais point surpris. Il a encore tous les préjugés de l'enfance, quoique médecin. En ce sens je permets qu'on le regarde comme un phénomène de l'art." According to a date on page 43 the passage was probably written in the beginning of 1749.

¹⁰ Of this original edition two copies were preserved in the Library of the Ducal House at Gotha (under Phil. 8. 329) of which one is now in the author's possession. With this exception I can learn of no other copy in a public library (Communication of the information bureau of German libraries in Berlin, July 16, 1912). A reprint appeared in Paris (Valade) 1774.

¹¹ P. 210f. The *Épître à mon esprit* is included in the *Œuvres philosophiques*, Berlin, 1764, II, 245-262; and Berlin, 1796, II. Scholarly journals reproduced extracts in great number: for instance, the *Nachrichten von einer Hallischen Bibl.*, 1749, III, 179-186; the *Zürcher Freimüt. Urt. u. Nachr.* v. 14 Okt. 1751; the *Berlinische Bibliothek*, 1749, III, p. 118f; also Windheim's *Philosophische Bibliothek*, Hannover, 1749, I, 247-254; the *Acta hist.-ecclesiastica*, Weimar, 1749, XIII, 470, etc. There is a distorted German translation on pp. 49-69 of "Die zu Boden gestürzte Maschine oder glaubwürdige Nachrichten vom Leben und sonderbaren Ende des berühmten Arztes de Lamettrie. Difficile est, satiram non scribere." Frankfurt and Leipsic, 1750, 8°, 70 pages. Referred to in the *Gött. Gel. Zeit.* of Nov. 9, 1750.) Two copies of this queer little document have also been preserved, one (under As. 10341a) in the Berlin Royal Library, and the other in the author's possession.

Haller and again some orthodox man from Berlin. With pretended contrition he deplores the flightiness of which he has been accused and the levity of his pen (page 3). Entire sentences are quoted from Hollmann's letter (6f.) and enlarged upon ironically. Verily, how can you help it, my spirit, if your machine operates so poorly? But what a miserable philosopher you are! what hazy ideas of substance you have(7)! And you do not even consider it necessary to ask advice of the theologians! And what a bewildering labyrinth of atheism you have constructed, my spirit! Blind imitator of Spinoza, you might do me harm (18f). And how would it fare with you if Mr. Descartes were to arise from his grave? How this timid philosopher would censure you for all your clumsy frankness! Man and beast, "these two kinds of creatures from the animal kingdom," are organized exactly alike. To be sure! certainly! But be quiet about it. Why say it so loud? Keep this secret, my spirit, so that you can point out with the greater confidence that animals are merely machines. The philosophers will understand you as they have understood the artful Descartes, and draw their own conclusions with respect to man as well. In the meantime you can pass with the theologians for a good orthodox (18f).

The discernment of his reckless and inconsiderate mode of confession is the meaning of this irony, as the entire satire represents in general a *γνώθι σαυρόν*. The polemic element remains in the background, the opponent is too insignificant. La Mettrie speaks, to be sure, of the insipid attacks of those who honor him with their pious hatred (13), of the "first pedant at a certain university" (7); he has much evil to say of the teachers of the gospel, of those Tuffes who play their part under the mask of religion and whose supreme divinity is self-love (20). But the interesting thing about this dialogue with his spirit is the excellent portrait of himself which his irony incidentally discloses. A deeper reflection upon the reasons for the stormy opposition which arose against him from all sides seems to have preceded the actual writing and to have interrupted temporarily the usually cheerful mood of his spirit. Pronounce an impartial judgment upon yourself, my spirit! You are too lively, my friend." Every one says that you have a more than too fertile imagination. "You have a hot head in which everything is calcined and nothing reaches its proper maturity. There is no sequence to your ideas, no keen reflection. You do not take regular steps, so to speak, but cut actual capers. You might be compared to a piece of land which bears early fruit, to be sure, but

wild and unripe, fruit which though new and rare is unhealthful and injurious" (4f). And again: "I love you, my spirit; I would rather go to the Bastille with you than be praised by a theologian. *Doux charme de ma vie*, my only refuge! How painful it is to me that instead of in my head you are dwelling in I know not what sort of a fiery vessel, in which the mercury and the salts that compose your being can not be brought into any stability" (12)! La Mettrie could not be characterized more strikingly. You are a dreamer and enthusiast, a visionary, *un cerveau illuminé*. You think as quickly as you write.¹² The power of your imagination is as uncertain as your finger. You are fickle! Reform, O my spirit. Accustom yourself to some of the bad qualities of your opponents. It will bring blessings to you. Learn to believe what your pastor tries to make you believe, write a fine inspiring treatise on the immortality of the soul, and above all do not take everything so tragically. "*Croyez que la bonne plaisanterie est la pierre de touche de la plus fine raison*" (22). "Believe that good humor is the touchstone of the finest reason."

* * *

Haller made a brief mention of the *Épître à mon esprit* in his journal of March 17, 1749, without, however, ascribing any particular significance to it. A few months later, on September 4, he received a second satire directed more particularly against himself, *La machine terrassée*, which is one of the most original things La Mettrie ever wrote. The joke about it is that Haller did not recognize his opponent. "It is," he writes, "a small satire against La Mettrie in which he is reproached in our learned journals with the many mistakes which he has committed against scholarship and the intellect. He is accused of plagiarizing with regard to Boerhaave's commentary and is reproached for the really exceedingly improper swaggering which he has carried on in his latest writings." Haller states that the paper would not be worth a review, "if it were not for its connection with ourselves."

The course of history preceding this second satire is in brief as follows:

On January 1, 1748, Haller had acquitted his prolific opponent

¹² The German translator comments in the following neat Alexandrines:

"Auch seine Feder ist mechanisch abgerichtet,
Sie schreibt von sich selbst, er aber denkt nicht,"

which may be rendered into English,

"Machine-like, e'en his pen is trained to spread the ink,
It writes quite of itself; he doesn't have to think."

of the generally prevalent suspicion that he had written Diderot's *Pensées philosophiques*. Nevertheless, following a correct instinct, he had charged him to his face on May 30 of the same year with being the author of the refutation entitled *L'Homme plus que machine*,¹³ which was then passing around among the editorial offices of the deluded adversaries of the La Mettrie muse as a wholesome antidote against the materialistic atheistic machine theory.¹⁴ The book indeed seemed to be directed against the "bold author," the "machine teacher" or "machine master" and his "shameless, blasphemous statements" which strive to contend against the spiritual nature of the human soul. According to reliable accounts La Mettrie himself was really the author. Haller was not in the least justified in seeing in *L'homme plante*, which La Mettrie openly acknowledged, scarcely more than the "sport of a mere joker" in which it were folly to look for anything serious or reasonable.¹⁵ So his constantly increasing spite against the scintillating Frenchman exploded the more violently in his review of La Mettrie's cynical "*Ouvrage de Pénélope, ou le Machiavélisme en médecine*, par Alethejus Demetrius,"¹⁶ a destructive satire in brilliant style on the charlatanry of the medical profession. In it La Mettrie imparts to young physicians the same Mephistophelian counsel which we find in the scene with the young bachelor in Goethe's *Faust*.¹⁷ The embittered Haller lacked the vision for what was really sublime and entirely legitimate in this historically memorable satire which is brimful of puzzles requiring elucidation. Haller takes the "Machiavelism" (first part) on its face value and then stands in perplexity when in "Anti-Machiavelism" (second part) La Mettrie casts aside the helmet of irony and sketches an imposing description of Boerhaave, the great reformer of medicine.¹⁸ Under the pseudonym Alethejus Demetrius, Haller writes, is hidden "the notorious (!) La Mettrie." "His immoderate zeal against God, chastity and the doctors," betrayed him sufficiently, and also "the indecent expressions," "the unbridled effrontery,"

¹³ It was long thought that the author of *L'Homme plus que machine* was Elie Luzac, of Leyden, the publisher of *L'Homme machine*. See his preface as translated in *The Open Court*, July 1913, p. 426.

¹⁴ Cf. Windheim's *Philosophische Bibliothek*, Hannover, 1749, I, 198-216, and *Neuer Büchersaal d. schön. Wiss. u. fr. Künste*, Leipzig, 1748, VI, 500-515.

¹⁵ *Gött. Gel. Zeit.* of May 20, 1748. Poritzky (pp. 228-243) has rightly called express attention to the significance of this document. La Mettrie here anticipates the Goethe-Darwin theory of primitive plant life.

¹⁶ Geneva, 1748. 2 volumes. Haller's review appeared August 1, 1748.

¹⁷ The headings to the chapters read: "On the Superfluity of Anatomy, Physics, Surgery"; "On the Necessity of Literature, Painting, Music, etc."

¹⁸ II, 281ff.

with which he slandered the Paris physicians. One can hardly believe his eyes when he sees with what satisfaction Haller records La Mettrie's unprecedentedly audacious avowal in "Machiavelism" that he had for the most part copied his medical books, "that he had spent a hundred thousand pounds in dissipation and debauchery before he became doctor, and had bought this title at Rheims without having the slightest knowledge of the science of medicine." To this *irrisor deorum hominumque* nothing is sacred, not even his own person. In conclusion Haller calls attention with pedantic exactitude to a few comical slips of his adversary who, there is no doubt, was careless. La Mettrie writes that Aldrovandus had borrowed his ornithology from Willoughby. Unfortunately Aldrovandus died before Willoughby was born. The *Giornali di Letterati* appear in La Mettrie as a certain "Monsieur Giorno." "But what can one expect of a copyist who has published the whole commentary of our Mr. Haller under his own name!" In this manner Haller proceeds in his review of the last three parts of the *Institutions de médecine* which differ from the first only by the greater carelessness with which La Mettrie has here done his copying.¹⁹ The city of Breslau figures as a scholar with this Frenchman who is little acquainted with the geography of Germany. La Mettrie has not even considered it necessary to give heed to the list of errata and there are more similar evidences of slovenliness.

At this point the hostilities have reached their climax, but whoever may think that La Mettrie has taken offense is sadly mistaken. He shows not the slightest trace of any kind of resentment. On the contrary, his *bonne plaisanterie* never sat so lightly upon him as now. His answer is the *Épître à Mlle. A. C. P. ou la machine terrassée*, another duodecimo of twenty-three pages which was printed in Berlin in July or August without mention of place but with the date 1749.²⁰ The identity of the writing is beyond doubt. In the first place it is directed against Haller. His two critiques of August 1 and October 31, 1748, are paraphrased in a not unwitty fashion. Messrs. Aldrovandus and Willoughby bring their affair to an end (p. 9), the author Giorno makes his appearance, the learned physician Breslau, the uncorrected list of errata, the civet-cat and the "dissolved eggs" (p. 8). These and other similar slips are merely the small jests of Mr. Machine. The dissipation at Rheims and the purchased degree are not forgotten (p. 14).

¹⁹ *Gött. Gel. Zeit.* of October, 31, 1748.

²⁰ No copy of this satire can be found in the collective catalogue of the libraries. (Report of the information bureau, July 16, 1912). We quote from

But the point of the whole is as follows: The anonymous satirist (La Mettrie) gives a fictitious Parisienne an impartial account of an artificial human machine *à la* Vaucanson which in our days created a great sensation and finally came to a curious end.²¹ This machine which is living but not endowed with a soul has fallen to the ground (*terrassée*) and been delivered over to Pluto's Bastille. "It was in constant motion and rolled around so long that it finally broke its neck. By its cries, by its cunning strokes, by its calumnies, and by the writing of many books it sought to outstrip ordinary machines" (4). Now it is dead. *Pauvre machine!*

I will tell you its story. The crude and cumbersome matter of Mr. Machine, "for this is his *nomen et omen*," was prepared in I know not what retort. The cynic Caeleno(?) set it in order when lo, and behold! Mr. Machine moves like the (automatic) ducks of Mr. Vaucanson in Paris. Like them he is without a soul, without understanding, reason, or cognition, without politeness and manners. His whole being is nothing but matter. He is the "man-machine" (*L'homme machine*), the "man-plant" (*L'homme plante*), the "super-machine." These are the titles in which he glories (*Ce sont les titres, dont il fait gloire*, page 6).

There is not much to say about the education of Mr. Machine.²² The machine was set up and moved away. It directed its movements to Paris and Leyden, to Rheims. It was even graduated, honor enough for a machine! Soon it began to plunder the republic of scholars in a perfectly mechanical way. You are acquainted, Mademoiselle, with the pretty conceits which Mr. Machine published under the title *Les institutions de médecine*! Read these jokes! You will then sufficiently admire the creative wit of Mr. Machine (9f).

At times Mr. Machine forgot that he was only a machine. He considered himself more terrible than he was. He thought that

the only copy known to be extant which is in our own possession. A reproduction appeared first in the *Œuvres philosophiques*, Berlin, 1764, II, 227-244; then in *Œuvres*, Berlin, 1774, 1796, etc. In the complete editions of the fifties none of the three satires of Mr. Machine was included. A review of the *Machine terrassée* may be found in the *Nachr. von einer Hallischen Bibl.*, 1749, III, 469f, and a German translation in the above mentioned work, *Die zu Boden gestürzte Maschine*, pp. 6-21.

²¹ By this machine of course is to be understood the author of *L'homme machine*.

²² It is possible that La Mettrie came upon the idea of his machine fable through the following passage of a criticism of the *Épître à mon esprit*: "The crudity, the rude behaviour towards deserving men, the vulgar words of abuse make it as clear as daylight that the entire machine of the author and particularly the driving wheels of his brain, have not been polished by any proper education." *Berliner Bibliothek*, 1749, p. 118.

by his aid all apes, and hence yours also Mademoiselle, would in time learn to read. He considered himself the pillar of the republic of scholars, the Hercules of our century. He raved against the parsons, the arrogant brutes (12)! "On the day when my system appeared," he exclaimed, "the foundations of most sacred theology were shaken and the broad and flat hats of all of those clowns and buffoons which the ordinary man reveres became more disarranged than ever."²³

Now he is dead, poor Mr. Machine! Shortly before the end he wrote another letter to his spirit and openly confessed that he was a fool, whereupon there came over him a longing for the paradise of machines, an eternal standstill. He took an overdose of ratsbane and plunged into blessed darkness²⁴ (p. 5). What? A piece of foolishness? But consider, Mademoiselle, "a machine does not do what it wishes but what it must."

Now he lies his full length on the banks of the Acheron. His soul, or rather his matter, is like a loosened string of a bass viol. Pluto sends Charon across the gloomy river to bring in recruits. And behold, at the terrifying roar of the classical ferryman, Mr. Machine awakens from his blessed repose. He becomes aware with horror that he has an immortal soul which he had always contended against when alive (p. 17).

What does it avail him now that he anxiously protests in trembling tones, "I am a dead body, I am simply matter, I am a machine, I am like the flowers which bloom to-day and are withered to-morrow." "Hold your tongue," answers Charon, and rows him across the silent stream (18).

They land and draw near to his dwelling place. It is the abode of charlatans, clowns and buffoons. They are just making noisy preparation to have a picnic. Delighted to find himself in the pleasant company of materialists Mr. Machine draws nearer. "My name is Machine!" Hardly had he pronounced the fatal word when a pedant from a certain university (?) fell upon him. "Wretched scoundrel, do you consider it honest to have attacked my honor in such an infamous fashion? It is true I sold you your doctor's degree, but are you aware that up to this very hour you still owe me the money for it (20)?"

He seized Mr. Machine by the throat and choked him. There lay the machine on the ground. But the charlatans, clowns and

²³ Quotation from *Epître à mon esprit*, p. 11, which seems to strengthen the probability that a controversy had been raised against La Mettrie.

²⁴ A remarkable anticipation of his own fate. He died at the age of 42 from ptomaine poisoning.

buffoons instantly drew off its skin over its ears and after considerable altercation made a bagpipe out of it. They longed to have some good music. Now this is the second existence of Mr. Machine. He is now a bagpipe. "Cheer up, Mr. Bagpipe, pipe away and do your best to entice and wheedle!"

"*C'est la carrière du feu, Mr. Machine.*"

* * *

La Mettrie preserved his *incognito* very well, and was now to discover how the journalists Haller, Windheim, etc. proclaimed with great complacency his literary destruction, without surmising in the least that this somewhat coarse but doubtless original and witty satire on materialism flowed from the very pen of Mr. Machine himself. In the meantime this bold auto-persiflage was of course written only to be at once disproved. Close upon its heels followed the *Réponse à l'auteur de la machine terrassée*, without place [Berlin] 1749, 12°, 24 pp., which was slightly disposed of by Haller September 4, 1749, as "mere twaddle" and announced in the *Berliner wöchentl. Ber.* of July 21, 1749. This document belongs to the greatest rarities of Lamettriana.²⁵ The original was entirely lost sight of soon after its appearance, and this may have been due in part to the tiny form in which the libel appeared. Whereas the first two satires were included in the *Œuvres* in 1764, no reprint of the *Réponse* is to be found in any of the numerous eighteenth century editions of La Mettrie. The existence and contents of this satire are known only from the above mentioned reviews and from a badly distorted translation in the collection we have already referred to, *Die zu Boden gestürzte Maschine*.²⁶ We have now had the good fortune by searching in the right place to discover a well preserved copy of the French original of this third satire also and so to make it accessible to investigation.²⁷

Our hopes for a brilliant and well-prepared defense of the

²⁵ Nérée Quépat characterizes it as *fort rare*, p. 190.

²⁶ Pp. 22-48. The translator who is prejudiced against La Mettrie proceeds in an extremely arbitrary fashion, suppresses entire sentences and adds stronger phrases according to his own will. Poritzky who utilizes this translation (following the Berlin copy) in the absence of the original has firmly established this fact probably on the basis of a contemporary criticism (p 221). He can not possibly have compared the texts because he does not even know the exact title of the satires. We also look in vain for any reference to a source in this passage in Poritzky.

²⁷ The library of the University of Göttingen claims to possess a copy with a different title, according to a communication from the bureau of information in Berlin. (8. *Theol. thet.*, I, 124).

feigned attack remain unfulfilled. The wit of Mr. Machine seems for the time being to be exhausted in this field. His *Réponse* is pretty confused²⁸ and makes up in obscenities what it lacks in substance.

La Mettrie pretends that another man than himself had really written the machine satire. In this other person John Partridge of Swiftian memory comes again to life.²⁹ "Swift may say what he pleases," the satire begins, "Partridge is not dead. He lives in you and through you whose prophetic eloquence draws to it so large a crowd of adherents." Consequently La Mettrie addresses his opponent throughout the entire writing as "M. P." (Mr. Partridge). At first M. P. is to him only the imaginary author of the machine satire. "Through you, mighty Echo, the voice of the Göttingen journals, that hitherto—*vox clamantis in deserto*—has been heard only in the wilderness, is now spread abroad also in the cities" (p. 11). The author "Giorno," Aldrovandus, etc., appear once more. But now it is interesting to see Partridge and Haller melt together under his pen in the further course of the satire which is obviously carelessly thrown together. "Do you know," he begins, "that you exceed that calendar-maker whose memory has been perpetuated by Swift? How delicate, how natural is your satire, how well you contrive to conceal your footsteps!" A rare gift indeed! It might be said that you reap where others find nothing even to glean.³⁰ I have been on many military expeditions but your list of wars astonishes me. Devil take it, I would never in my life have considered you so dangerous. You have disclosed the sources of my thievery, you have decried me as a copyist (p. 15). Any attempts to reply would be superfluous. A man of your prestige is taken at his word. But it does you no good to get into

²⁸ Poritzky to be sure is of a different opinion, P. 210.

²⁹ John Partridge was a charlatan in London, a shoemaker by trade, who under William III and Anne (1702-1714) in order to obtain a better livelihood deceived the public with invented predictions as an astrologer and "Philomath" in calendars, under the name of "Merlinus Liberatus," etc. Swift handled this dishonorable calendar-maker and his astrological nonsense severely in a famous satire *Predictions for the Year 1708*, which appeared at the end of 1707 under the pseudonym of Isaak Bickerstaff Esqu. and in which Swift in serious guise published the results of his own astrological experiments. According to this, some well-known personages were to die on definite days of the year 1708, among others also John Partridge on March 29. The point of this amusing story is that John Partridge, seized by pangs of conscience, confessed the whole dishonesty of his actions on March 29 on his supposed deathbed, but must have become a shoemaker again after his fortunate survival of this *dies ater*, since no one ever heard again of his calendar. (Henry Craik, *The Life of Jonathan Swift*, London, 1882, pp. 170ff.).

³⁰ This expression occurs again later.

a passion. The attacks you make upon me are as futile as the efforts of a hopping turtle (p. 13).

And then! I confess that your little pamphlet is bewitching. You may pass judgment, you may draw conclusions, you may use the salt of criticism or wield the lash of satire—at all times you are wholly a man, M. P.! How inimitably you can string the pearls of learning! Under your hands copper is turned to gold. Happy the man who possesses such weapons! And your very eagle's glance! But I wager that you are no more able to look at the sun than I am to read your writings without causing my eyes to overflow from laughing (10).

And finally! How unexceptional is the attachment you profess for me. I swear to you, M. P., that as soon as I learn your correct name and dwelling place I will invite myself to dinner at your home, *sans façons à la française*. Does that strike you as strange? Tell me who you are, let us drink down our dispute in a glass of wine. We will not have those clowns for company for I cannot see them without laughing (p. 7). A pretty girl, my noble Amphitryon, delights the eye far more than a poor repartee. One speaks with the eyes, the heart becomes tender, finally—.

Besides at Haller La Mettrie once more takes aim also at Hollmann and ridicules him in quite an unworthy fashion as "*adroit septième de Leibniz*." "Merciless *raisonneur*, monadist stuffed full of adequate causes, metaphysician crammed with *principia contradictionis*, harmonist without harmony, *déclamateur*, *prêcheur emphatique*, *pousseur de syllogismes et d'ergo*, etc." Yet all this seems rather to point to Haller.

La Mettrie first takes up the fable of the machine in a clumsy fashion. With your permission, Mr. P., I make my appearance again in the world in order to congratulate you upon your satire. What a dirty trick to poison me with ratsbane! But the rest I can easily understand.* "*Je suis si sujet ou dévoïement*, M. P., that I am not at all surprised *que vous ayez fait sortir mon âme par où les apothicaires viennent très-humblement à son secours*. But why did your good pleasure take just this way? *Dites, St. Homme, le luisant Pod... serait il votre conduite favori?*" (4f).

There is no need of entering further into the contents of the satire. The esthetic qualities are not sufficiently attractive to justify the exaggerated cynicisms. La Mettrie frequently departs from Mr. Partridge but always takes up the pen again until upon the last page he himself is finally aware that he has been wasting "on a neat's tongue salt which has lost it savor" (p. 24).

A CHINESE ST. PATRICK.

HISTORY OR MYTH?

BY JOHN STEELE.

IN the reconstruction of ancient history the myth hypothesis has been freely adopted as the universal solvent. No difficulty, however intractable to other treatment, has been known to resist this agent, corrosive often to a degree. This method in criticism is not the exclusive property of the last two centuries. The Greeks used it and disposed of many awkward theological difficulties by its means.

In the absence of direct proof myth, other things being equal, may be as good a working hypothesis as any; but the crux of the problem is in the establishment of the equivalency of the assumptions that justify the different hypotheses. In the treatment of the ancient histories of the middle East this equivalency is most difficult to secure. Whole hosts of contemporary facts have disappeared. Customs are known to us only by chance allusion. Modes of thought are lost. Most difficult of all, the atmosphere of past time has become so attenuated that we find it difficult, if not impossible, to breathe it in quantity sufficient to saturate our reasoning faculty. As a result we have a free use of the myth solvent.

Now this method of solution is open to some objections that lie on the surface. It is easy, it has a suspicious history, and it is opposed to the common-sense humanistic thinking of the simpler East. It is easier to cut the knot than to undo it, but in other departments of criticism the obvious solution is suspect. It requires courage to accept an antinomy and wait for the further light that will bring the higher resolution. It requires courage also to sit down in front of an historical difficulty, and wait and work for

its solution without resorting, *currente calamo* to myth as the obvious and therefore the only reasonable explanation.

Again, the myth as a solvent has ever been the child and not the parent of scepticism. This holds good whether the scepticism be philosophic or religious and whether the interest behind it be destructive or conservative. The fact is sufficient to suggest extreme caution both in the application of the method and in the acceptance of its results.

And finally the ancient histories, when approached from the eastern side, so to speak, are so replete with human interest that to sublimate them is to do violence to the basal instincts of humanity. No amount of study lore can in such a case outweigh the humanism that underlies the thinking of the centuries.

An incident recorded in a Chinese local history seems to bring us to the very cradle of a myth, and at the same time to show that the easy and obvious mythical explanation is not the most credible one.

At the beginning of the ninth Christian century the T'ang dynasty was served by the ardent Confucianist and able administrator, Han Yü. Too well served indeed for his own interest, for when the emperor, a devotee of Buddhism, welcomed with extravagant honors the arrival at the capital of a bone of the Indian saint, Han Yü protested in a memorial which remains to the present day a monument to his patriotism. The reward of this temerity was banishment to Ch'ao-chou, a prefecture on the southeastern border of the empire, scarcely reclaimed and but for a few scholars sunk in barbaric ignorance. The district retains the name to-day, with Ch'ao-chou fu as its administrative center and Swatow as its trading port.

The administration of Han Yü lasted a bare nine months, but in that time he contrived to establish civilization on a sure basis, and he is worshiped to this day as the patron saint of the region under the posthumous title of Wên-kung, "Literary Duke." The means he employed was the development of the village school system. Enlisting the services of a noted scholar of the region, who now occupies the place of honor next him in the temples, he popularized education to such a degree that at the close of the Ming dynasty Ch'ao-chou natives boasted that their "white words" (*pa-tois*) were spoken in the streets of Peking. This referred to the large band of Ch'ao-chou scholars who held office under the Ming emperors.

But the most dramatic incident in the administration of Han

Yü in A. D. 819 is his expulsion of a monster crocodile from the river which flows past the prefectural city and has since been called by his name. The story goes that dwellers on the river bank appealed to him for protection against this monster, who devoured their sheep, pigs, fowls, and cattle, and even dragged into the water the wild boars, deer, and bears which came down from the hills to drink. The prefect in response to this appeal prepared an ultimatum to the monster, and cast it into the stream along with a sheep and a pig. Thereupon the crocodile disappeared, cast out by this eastern St. Patrick.

The story seems to present as perfect an example of the myth as we could ask for. It satisfies all the conditions. The administrator found his province dominated by barbaric ignorance. He engaged this demon, and expelled it. Such legends are common in other lands. The only touch wanting to complete the myth is the metamorphosis of the crocodile into a dragon, as has been done in the dragon stories of Rhodes and elsewhere. And scholars of repute are not wanting who accept this interpretation, e. g., Professor Giles in an article on Han Yü in his *Dictionary of Chinese Biography*.

But there are strong reasons for accepting even the details of the crocodile story as genuine history, without accepting the causal nexus assumed by the recorders.

This crocodile story does not stand alone in the annals of Ch'ao-chou. Two other instances, at intervals of about 150 years, are recorded. That given in fullest detail refers to the year A. D. 999, under the Sung dynasty. Chên Yao-tso was at that time prefect of Ch'ao-chou. Devoted to the teachings of Confucius, as was his illustrious predecessor, he erected a shrine to the latter, and depicted on its walls the story of the crocodile. In the summer of the following year word was brought to him from Liu-wong, a town forty miles further up the Han river, that a crocodile had appeared in a deep pool there and with a blow of his tail had swept into the water a boy of the surname Chang who was playing by his mother as she washed clothes on the river bank. On receipt of this news the prefect sent two of his officers to drag the pool with a stout net. They secured the beast, and brought him to Ch'ao-chou fu, where he was treated as a contumacious descendant of Han Yü's enemy, was cut in pieces and boiled as a warning to others. This story, corresponding on the one hand with the known habits of the alligator and on the other with the practices of Chinese magistrates, is well authenticated. The third story lacks detail, and is on that

account the less likely to be a fabrication. It is the latest record of the appearance of a crocodile in the Han river.

The documents recording these events have always been accepted as contemporaneous with the events themselves by scholars who are among the keenest and most fearless literary critics in the world. The evidence for their genuineness is derived from criticism of the lower and the higher order, for the Chinese are experts in both. The "Ultimatum" of Han Yü corresponds in style with other literary remains of the great writer, and has a place along with unquestioned products of his pen in the collection of "Masterpieces of Literature," upon which the style of students throughout the empire has been modeled for centuries.

Although no alligators are now found in the Han and none of their remains have yet been discovered in Ch'ao-chou (no serious geological work has yet been attempted there), the occurrence of such reptiles in that region, either as visitors or habitants, is in the order of nature. M. Fauvel has shown how widely the crocodile was distributed through China. If other evidence were lacking the existence of allied species to-day in the rivers of Indo-China on the south and in the Yangtze in China proper, makes their occurrence at intermediate points, when riverine conditions were favorable, a matter of certainty. The distribution of the Nile crocodile from Egypt, through Madagascar, to the Cape is a parallel instance.

Strong evidence for the actuality of the occurrence is derived from its relation to the administrative problems of Ch'ao-chou under the T'ang dynasty. The prefect was appealed to by the people entrusted to his care. As official in charge of the district he was the "father and mother" of the inhabitants. It is not only the instinct of sport that sends an Indian collector into the jungle after the tiger which has been playing havoc with the bullocks and men of the district for which he is responsible. Han Yü could not turn a deaf ear to the cry of his "children." In virtue of his office he was compelled to do all in his power to give them relief; and as a consistent Confucianist he believed himself to be in such harmony with the established order of things as to have the assistance of nature when he set himself to remove any cause of disturbance in her realm.

The "Ultimatum" also opens up a vein of political philosophy which is conclusive as to its genuineness, as well as illustrative of the Oriental theory of government. The rule of the emperor spelled to Han Yü a civilization pushed out from the capital until it covered the most remote provinces of the empire. On its borders

this civilization marched with Chaos, unsubdued and but sullenly yielding to superior force the fastnesses she once claimed as her own. So to-day in India the jungle marches with the village fields, and man disputes the possession of his holding with the wild beasts. The prefect had learned from history of the disappearance of noxious animals from his district before the all-pervasive civilization of the great Yü. He knew of the decadence that followed that ruler's death, and of the return to their old haunts of the savage and the wild beast. Now, when he holds commission from an emperor under whom the old limits of empire had been restored, he finds his authority disputed by this monster. The crocodile is the protagonist of a hardly subdued and still rebellious savagery which must be pushed beyond the borders of the imperial sway. The "Ultimatum" allows to the crocodile a right to live, and a place in nature. All it asks is that this place shall be beyond the emperor's dominion. The strain of exalted imperialism in which the document is conceived is very noble.

And the monster disappeared! Han Yü was fortunate as he deserved to be. A chronicler tells that during the night that followed the committal of his "Ultimatum" to the waters a great storm raged and the waters below the city were dried up. When normal conditions returned the crocodile had disappeared. There is nothing incredible in this. In the ninth century A. D. the river Han below Ch'ao-chou fu was more like an estuary than it is to-day. A heavy rainfall among the mountains would send down a volume of water which would first scour the channel clear of such unwieldy things as crocodiles, and then deposit over the estuary great quantities of disintegrating granite sand. This would for the time choke up all the channels, and spread the waters of the river over a wide area. Even if the crocodile were not swept away by the first rush of water, the shoaling up of the river below him threatening his retreat to deeper waters would be sufficient to cause him to withdraw down river. This one finds in the Malay Peninsula to-day as the dry season comes on, the unfortunate crocodiles remaining in isolated pools being subject to death from starvation. Either of the above explanations would sufficiently account, in a natural manner, for the disappearance of the beast. *Felix opportunitate* the great prefect enjoys the added honor of being the exterminator of the crocodile, and the bringer of peace to the people. It is worth while noting that the early references to this occurrence treat it as a matter of importance secondary to Han Yü's great administrative and educational reforms. By these

they say he made of the barbarous southeast "a dwelling place of Confucius and Mencius by the sea-shore."

On the evidence submitted here one may fairly claim that in this case the mythical solution, though temptingly obvious, is not the correct one. Other difficult cases in Eastern historical literature may, on examination, yield a similar result.

THE BRIDEGROOM'S PRICE.

BY CHINMOY.

THE tragic tale that was unfolded at the Coroner's Court in Calcutta the other day, in course of an inquest touching the death of a Brahmin maid of 16 of respectable parentage, has stirred Hindu India to the quick. The police report showed that at midnight, people living in neighboring houses in a populous quarter of the city roused the parents of the deceased, informing them that a fire was burning on the roof of the house. The father and some of the neighbors got up on the roof, and to their horror found the girl enveloped in flames. The fire was put out with as much promptitude as was possible under the circumstances, and the girl, who had already sustained severe injuries, was removed to the hospital where she died the same day. The evidence collected at the Coroner's Court went to show that the deceased girl was to be given in marriage to a graduate law student, and it was decided to mortgage her father's ancestral house in order to raise the money necessary for meeting the marriage expenses. This item included a demand from the bridegroom's father for 800 rupees (about \$265.00) in cash as the *Pan* or the "bridegroom's price," and jewelry for the bride which, as stipulated with the bridegroom's father, must not fall below 1200 rupees (\$400) in value.

Snehalata ("the creeper of affection")—for that was the name of the girl—came to know about the loan transaction, and made up her mind to sacrifice herself rather than reduce her nearest and dearest to such straits. A bottle of kerosine oil and a match box helped her carry out her grim resolve.

This martyrdom of a little girl has forcibly turned the eyes of the thinking Indian public to the objectionable practice of charging a "bridegroom's price" in the upper Hindu Society of Bengal.

According to the custom that now prevails in Hindu India, neither the boy nor the girl has any voice in any of the slightest details about their marriage. It is their parents or, in their absence, other near male relatives who possess absolute discretion in matters relating to the marriage of their wards. But as a result of the tragedy related above, a Hindu publicist has gone so far as to preach to the young men of Bengal that open disobedience of their parents would be no sin, if they were asked to be party to any dishonorable act such as taking "bridegroom's price" would constitute.

It would appear that the charging of a price either for the bride or for the bridegroom is not authorized by the Hindu Sastras. Although even from the times of the Rik-Veda, the bride is enjoined in the "mantra" that is chanted at the time of marriage to take to her husband's house ample presents, and although she is supposed to be given away with befitting clothes and ornaments, the sacred texts never mention bridegroom's price except to condemn it. But as irony of fate would have it, the grinding pressure of this noxious custom is felt the most in this century of enlightenment and broad culture, and the old quotation that "she that is good and fayre nede none other dowrie" has lost all its significance in British India. A well-known proverb in one of the Indian vernaculars says that the death of an unmarried girl, the sale of standing sugar cane, the death of an enemy are the three fortunate things. The compulsory system of marriage of Hindu girls and the exaggerated notions about the social status of various families or sub-castes within the same caste, have helped to brand the female child as a degraded being who brings nothing but dishonor on her paternal line.

This has largely been responsible for female infanticide that was practised among the Hindus before the British government put it down with a firm hand. With the spread of education and the growth of liberal ideas, the narrow code of social virtues and etiquette has undergone a change in many directions. But the "bridegroom's price," which is much in vogue in upper classes of the Hindus, particularly in Bengal, is to be largely attributed to the influence of education itself. In the last census report of India we read that educational qualifications put up a price of a bridegroom, not so much because of any belief in education as an advantage *per se*, but because the bridegroom is more likely to get remunerative employment. Besides this potential value of university degrees as a good asset in the matrimonial market, high price argues high

position. The following table taken from the official report will prove interesting in this connection.

(BENGALI) CASTE	BRIDEGROOM'S PRICE	BRIDE'S AGE	BRIDEGROOM'S AGE
Brahmin.....	500 to 5000 Rupees	8-14	17-20
Vaidya	500 to 3000 Rupees	10-14	20-25
Kaystha.....	200 to 5000 Rupees	9-14	16-25

This illustrates the average rate of the bridegroom's price charged in Bengal. As to the uses this money is put to, it is interesting to note that after deducting the necessary marriage expenses on the bridegroom's side, in most instances it is devoted towards the educational expenses of the bridegroom who has perhaps a few years more to be maintained at college. In many instances a certain monthly allowance has to be paid by the father-in-law direct to the son-in-law till the latter finishes his studies. The price of a bridegroom varies with the number of university examinations he has passed, and is sometimes in inverse ratio to the beauty of the girl.

It is curious that among higher castes who are educated and take a price for the bridegroom, it is considered a disgraceful thing to take anything for the girls, and that only those who are poor and had not the benefit of education will do so. There is decidedly less to be said against the system of taking a bride's price which prevails in certain parts of India, and has been interpreted as back payment by the bridegroom's father for the girl's upbringing in her father's house. If the bridegroom's price continues to go up, a time may come when a considerable number of girls will remain unmarried in spite of the rigorous injunctions of the Sastras to the contrary. Already the marriageable age of girls has increased in Bengal, and what was the dream of reformers and legislators has been accomplished by the mere fact that to-day the marriage of a girl deferred means a lot of money saved.

This mercenary element in matrimony in India, where marriage is looked upon as a most holy sacrament and not a contract, is disapproved by a limited section of men of advanced ideas who have already formed associations for stamping this scourge out of the Hindu society. If they can rouse the conscience of their country, a task which has been simplified by the self-slaughter of Snehalata, they can yet succeed. Will the government of the country—which put a stop to Sati and legalized re-marriage of Hindu widows—do nothing to strengthen the hands of these reformers? This is a question which is on everybody's lips in India just now.

It is curious, however, that the noble self-sacrifice of this young Brahmin girl should have given a handle to the orthodox Hindu to preach the benefits of child-marriage. At a meeting, which was presided over by a Hindu ex-Justice of the High Court, another eminent member of the orthodox Hindu society, Sir Gurudas Banerjee, also an ex-Justice of the Calcutta High Court, propounded the view that child-marriages are not so bad as they are represented to be, from the social point of view. It was pointed out that the rise in the price of bridegrooms was due to the tendency to postpone the marriage of boys, and it was solemnly urged that the remedy for the situation was that young men should marry at an earlier age. This orthodox view, however grotesque, is not without a substratum of truth; for it must be recognized that the tendency to defer the marriage of boys is the cause of the difficulty under which the parents of the girls labor. By the inexorable decree and usage of Hindu society, girls must be married before a certain age. The boys, on the other hand, being free to marry whenever they and their parents choose, the supply of bridegrooms, eligible according to the laws of hypergamy,¹ naturally falls below the demand, and the fathers of boys can then very well ask for high dowries.

Whatever be the orthodox view on the matter, the young men of India do not seem to be in a mood to tolerate these evil practices any longer. Meetings are being held all over the country, and young bachelors are registering their vows to refuse any payment at marriage, and are collecting funds to perpetuate the memory of the martyred Brahmin girl Snehalata. In the last letter which this girl addressed to her father, she made a piteous appeal to the young men of her country.

"Father," she wrote, "I have heard that many noble-hearted and educated young men volunteered for philanthropic work for the

¹ Hypergamy is an Indian custom sanctioned by tradition that the man should marry in or above his caste but never below it.

relief of the sufferers from the Burdwan floods. God bless their kindly hearts, so full of compassion for their suffering fellow-beings. I have also heard that many young men have taken a vow not to buy *bideshi* (foreign) articles. Only the other day I heard how bands of noble-minded youths had gone from door to door to raise funds for the relief of some people in far away South Africa. But is there no one among them to feel for their own people?"

Describing the vision which prompted her to take her own life, the letter continues:

"Last night I dreamt a dream, father, which made me take my vow. To the enthralling strains of a music unheard before, and amid a blaze of light as never was on land or sea, I saw the Divine Mother Durga, with benignant smile, beckoning me to the abode of the blest, up above, and then I thought of you father, of the ever sorrow-laden face of my beloved mother and of the dear little ones who have done so much to brighten our home. And then I resolved to save you all and made a sign to the Divine Mother that I would not delay obeying her merciful call."

But the concluding portion is most touching and is not without a prophetic vein:

"After I am gone, father, I know you will shed tears over my ashes. I shall be gone—but the house will be saved. Since then I have been pondering on the best way of ending my worldly pilgrimage—fire, water, or poison, I have preferred the first, and may the conflagration I shall kindle set the whole country on fire!"

We say, Amen!

A LOST LEGEND RECONSTRUCTED.

BY THE EDITOR.

GEOLOGISTS reconstruct the history of the earth by drawing conclusions from the nature of the strata in its crust, and in a similar way philologists have reconstructed the history of language, and even the thought that underlies the formation of words. There are many problems that are solved by philology, among which we ought to mention above all the question of the cradle of the Aryan race.

Old errors die hard and they die gradually, one piece after another. Formerly there was a consensus of the most competent minds that the Aryan race must have had its pristine home in Asia somewhere around the Hindu Kush. It was an old traditional notion still based on the idea that the site of the paradise described in Genesis ought to be located in the vicinity of the Euphrates and Tigris. While the idea of a paradise was abandoned, the belief in an Asiatic home of mankind was retained until a British scholar by the name of Robert Gordon Latham pointed out that for philological reasons the cradle of the Aryans should be sought in northern Europe. Among other arguments he pointed out that in India, Iran, Greece, Italy and northern Europe, all the northern animals and trees have common names, while the terms of southern plants and creatures are importations of a comparatively late date, in Latin and Greek as well as in German and Celtic.

Sometimes there are slight changes of meaning in the old words, but the words remain in approximately their original significance. For instance *vulpes* or *volpes* (fox) is the same word as the Teutonic "wolf," also preserved in "whelp." Further *fagus* (beech), derived from the root *FAG*, "to eat," is the tree with edible fruit. The German *Ecker* or *Buchecker* (beachnut) is ety-

mologically the same as the English "acorn," (the kernel of the oak); both were eaten in primitive times. These instances are enumerated here to characterize the drift of Latham's speculation and not as fully established facts, for we must grant that philologists of a later date have doubted the etymological connection between *volpes*, "wolf" and "whelp" and are inclined to regard the homophony of these words as purely accidental. But even if this be so, we do not doubt the northern European origin of all these words and other similar ones, while the words "lion," "elephant," "palm," the Latin *vinum* (= vine, the plant of the wine), etc., have been imported from the southern east. Philologists rejected, or rather ignored, Latham's theory which however gradually gained ground by being supported by archeologists for archeological reasons and may now be considered as safely established.

Moreover it stands to reason that emigrants always seek a more pleasant home, and so the ancient Asiatic Aryans can scarcely be suspected of having moved to the dreary cold north, while *vice versa* in northern countries there were always people ready to exchange the inhospitable land of their birth for sunnier and brighter climes in the more fertile Asiatic fields.

The truth that mankind originated in Northern Europe was taught us first by a study of language and then corroborated by archeology and anthropology. We have arrived now at the conclusion that the territory from the Baltic to the Pyrenees with its cold winters was the school of mankind, and a severe school it was because man had to progress under penalty of extermination.

There are treasures in the bowels of the earth, and so there are treasures of historical information in language, and we will communicate here one conclusion which can be drawn from the name of the pretty little beetles called lady-birds or lady-bugs. The very word presupposes a legend now lost, and we can reconstruct it in the tenor of the Christian tradition of apocryphal literature. Indeed it is probable that the underlying conception of the name presupposes a still older legend which dates back into the pagan antiquity of the Saxons, or of mankind in general.

The word lady-bug suggests that the little creature which bears the name had originated by coming in contact with Mary, the mother of Christ, commonly called "Our Lady"; and we must assume that while traveling the Holy Family once reached a place where they were bothered with bugs, but these bugs changed in such a way as to give origin to this new species of beetles which somehow bore a resemblance to bugs but had lost all the ugly quali-

ties that make bugs a pest to the poorer population in inns where cleanliness is unknown.

That such is the meaning of the English word "lady-bug" is proved by its German name which is *Marienkäfer*, which means "the beetle of Mary"; or *Marienwürmchen*, "the little worm of Mary"; or *Frauenkäfer*, "lady-bug."

Preserved in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* is a German folk-song on the *Marienwürmchen* which Schumann has set to music. It runs thus in Dr. Theodore Baker's English translation:

"My Lady-bird, come, light awhile
Upon my hand, upon my hand,
You never need to fear me;
I will not harm you, pretty thing,
Only let me see your gaudy wing,
Gaudy wings I love so dearly!

"My Lady-bird, now fly away,
Your home's afire! Your children cry
So sadly, cry so sadly.
The naughty spider lies in wait,
He'll catch them if you come too late;
And your children cry so sadly.

"Now, Lady-bird, fly on to see
Our neighbor's child, our neighbor's child,
Fly on, you need no warning;
They will not harm you, kindly things,
They only want to see your gaudy wings;
So bid them all good morning."

There is no question that the first portion of the name "Lady," or "Mary" refers to the Mother of Christ, for the use of "lady," and in German *Frau*, in this sense is quite common. The latter part varies in form, and the almost ostentatious use of other terms than *bug* in both the English and the German languages is noticeable and suggests the idea that people avoided calling the creature by its original name, as too inappropriate to bring it in close connection with one who all through the Middle Ages was the object of a most devout veneration. Hence it happened that the name "lady-bird" in defiance of our zoological nomenclature was preferred in large portions of England to the more correct term "lady-bug," the latter form being preserved mainly and almost exclusively in the United States; but in both countries the children sing the old nursery rhyme:

"Lady-bird, lady-bird,
Where are you roving?"
"Over the sea!"

"Lady-bird, lady-bird,
Whom are you loving?"
"All that love me!"

A similar rhyme runs thus:

"Lady-bird, lady-bird,
Fly away home.
Your house is on fire,
Your children alone."

We may be sure that the idea is older than Christianity, and that in pre-Christian days the same story was told of some divine mother, perhaps the Saxon goddess of the earth, Hertha, or the queen of heaven, Frigga or Freya. We cannot tell whether the legend hails from southern or northern countries; nor is it impossible that it was once common all over the pagan world but forgotten, and a last trace of it is now preserved in the name alone. It stands to reason, however, that the legend did not exist in ancient Italy, for the Romans called the lady-bug after its color *coccinella*.

The trace of a similar story may be found in another word which denotes the long spider webs called "gossamer" which in the fall fly about in the air.

Gossamer really means "the godly fabric," and we may be sure that it refers to the webs of a divine spinner, presumably again the chief mother-goddess of pre-Christian times. That the gossamer does not refer to a god but a goddess appears from its German name which is *Altweibersommer*, also sometimes called *Mariensommer*, *Mädchensommer*, *Mechdildissommer* or *Mariengarn*, and in Latin *fila divae virginis* or *filamenta Mariae*.

The Scandinavian *gosummer* shows a popular misconception of the original meaning of the word as it denotes the gossamer to be an indication that the summer is about to go. The Danes too connect the meaning of the word with the summer season, and call it *Zomerdraden*, i. e., "summer threads."

However, the word *samer* in *gossamer* and *Altweibersommer* has nothing to do with the warm season, called in English "summer" and in German *Sommer*. The word *samer* in *gossamer* means a fabric or a web, a thread, the product of spinning, used for sewing. The word is most probably derived from the root SIW, traceable

in the Sanskrit *sutra*, "thread," and also in the Teutonic languages where it appears in the English verb "to sew" and in "seam" and its German equivalent *Saum*. However, the meaning of this old German word *Samer* or *Sommer* is forgotten in the linguistic consciousness of both the English and the German people of to-day.

The first part of the German word *Altweibersommer*, viz., "old women," does not denote any old cronies but obviously can refer to no other than the mother-goddess Frau Holle, who appears so often in German fairy tales. We read, for instance, that when Frau Holle, like a model housewife, shakes the beds in the home of the gods in heaven, the snow-flakes fall down like feathers from heaven to earth.

The name "Holle" is probably the same as the modern German *holde*, the feminine of *hold*, "benign." The same root persists in the name Hulda. The plural, *die Holden*, was used down to Goethe's time in the sense of benign spirits or goddesses, a kind of angels of the old Teutonic pantheon.

Thus in analyzing the words *gossamer* and *Altweibersommer* we learn that the old Germans explained the threads floating around in autumn to be the fabric of the old woman Frau Holle, corresponding to the Christian Virgin Mary; and this again teaches us that there existed an old legend which had a story to tell of a divine spinner and the threads of her distaff that were flying about in the air. These gossamer threads may again be related to the legend of Samson where we read that Samson, the sun-god, before his final defeat, tore to tatters the ropes with which he had been bound by the cunning art of Delilah.

Grimm in his *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Vol. X, 1, pp. 1518-1519, s. v. "Sommer 14") reports that popular belief credits the elves and dwarfs with having woven the gossamer. He adds: "It is said that these threads are the relics of the cloth which Mary took up with her when being carried up out of her grave to heaven. In the air she let it go, as Elijah dropped his mantle, whereupon it was separated into innumerable fine threads which every summer fly about as a perpetual commemoration after the day of her assumption, August 15."

The explanation that the name *Altweibersommer* indicated that in autumn the summer had lost its youthfulness and had become feeble, like an old woman, is based on the idea which originated when the term "the old woman" ceased to be used in the sense of mother-goddess.

As a result of a consideration of the etymology of the word

"lady-bug" the writer of these lines has reconstructed the underlying legend in a humorous little poem which reads thus:

When Joseph into Egypt came
He arrived at a filthy inn, ho!
Such as he'd never seen before
Nor e'er had entered into.
Maria cried: "O Baby dear,
I'm sure it is not kosher here.

"The bread is sour and musty too,
The pantry is teeming with vermin,
Uncounted mice the kitchen holds,
Who can their tale determine!
St. Patrick help! That is a fright!
We'll lose here all our appetite.

"Behold the beds are full of bugs
And the crannies alive are with roaches;
Here breeds disease, woe to our Boy
That he this place approaches!"
Maria said unto her spouse,
"Come let us flee this nasty house."

But suddenly from heaven came
The angels, and were rubbing
The dirt from dishes, pans and plates,
They were sweeping and washing and scrubbing.
Oh! what relief in sore distress!
Yea, next to God is cleanliness.

Bugs in the bed that Mary touched
Lost all of their horrible features;
The mice ran out and fell a prey
To cats and other creatures;
Clean are the dishes and the mugs.
How pretty are Our Lady's bugs!

Mine host and hostess stand aghast,
So quickly all is mended.
How wondrous are their Hebrew guests!
Even sages will scarce comprehend it.
All Christendom exults with joy,
Blest be Maria and her Boy!

When Joseph Into Egypt Came

Melody by
the Author



mf

1. When Jo-seph in - to E-gypt came He ar-rived at a fil - thy
2. "The bread is sour and mus - ty too And the pantry is teeming with
3. "Be - hold the beds are full of bugs, And the crannies a-live are with

The first system of the song features a vocal melody on a single staff and a piano accompaniment on two staves. The melody is in G minor and common time. The piano accompaniment consists of chords in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. The lyrics are written below the vocal staff.

inn, ho! Such as he'd nev-er seen be-fore Nor e'er had entered
ver-min, Un-count-ed mice the kitchen holds, Who can their tale de-
roach-es; Here breeds disease, woe to our Boy That he this place ap-

The second system continues the vocal melody and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are written below the vocal staff. The piano accompaniment continues with chords and a bass line.

Slowly and gravely

in - to. Ma - ri - a cried, "O
 ter - mine! St. Pa - trick help! that
 proach-es" Ma - ri - a said un-

mf

Ba - by dear! I'm sure it is not ko - sher here.
 is a fright! Well lose here all our ap - pe - tite.
 to her spouse, "Come let us flee this nas - ty house".

mf Spiritedly

4. But sud - den - ly from heav - en came The

mf

an - gels and were rub - bing The dirt from dish - es

pans and plate, They were sweeping, and washing, and scrubbing, O

what relief in sore distress! Yea, next to God is clean-li-ness, Yea,

next to God is clean-li-ness,

5. Bugs in the bed that Ma-ry touched Lost all of their hor-rible

This system contains the first line of the song. The vocal melody is on a treble clef staff with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The piano accompaniment is on a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The lyrics are written below the vocal staff.

fea-tures. The mice ran out and fell a prey To cats and oth-er

This system contains the second line of the song. The vocal melody continues on the treble clef staff. The piano accompaniment continues on the grand staff. The lyrics are written below the vocal staff.

creatures, Clean are the dish-es

This system contains the third line of the song. The vocal melody continues on the treble clef staff. The piano accompaniment continues on the grand staff. The lyrics are written below the vocal staff. A dynamic marking of *mf* (mezzo-forte) is present in the piano part.

and the mugs. How pret-ty are Our La-dy's bugs!

This system contains the fourth line of the song. The vocal melody continues on the treble clef staff. The piano accompaniment continues on the grand staff. The lyrics are written below the vocal staff.

mf Slowly and gravely

6. Mine host and hos-tess stand a-ghast, So quick-ly all is

mend-ed, How wondrous are their He-brew guests Ev-en

sag-es will scarce com-pre-hend it. All Christ-en-dom ex-

ults with joy, Blest be Ma-ri-a and her Boy, Ma-ri-a and her Boy!

MISCELLANEOUS.

AN EPITAPH OF ANCIENT ROME.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

In reference to the epitaph you quote in your article "Mysticism and Immortality" in the June number of *The Open Court*, permit me to call your attention to the following taken from a book by Prof. F. F. Abbott of Princeton University, *Common People of Ancient Rome*, page 90: "I was not, I was. I am not, I care not." (*Non fui, fui, non sum, non curo.*) This sentiment was so freely used that it is indicated now and then merely by the initial letters, N. F., F., N. S., N. C.

It seems that William Kingdon Clifford must have been acquainted with old Roman epitaphs.

I understand that Professor Abbott got his data from the book by G. W. Ven Bleek, *Quae de hominum post mortem condicione doceant carmina sepulcratia Latina*.

PERRY B. PRESTON.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

VITAL PROBLEMS OF RELIGION. By the Rev. J. R. Cohu. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1914. Pp. 289. Price, 5 shillings net.

Every generation has to settle the religious problem over again according to the world-conception that has become dominant, and the rector of Aston Clinton, Rev. J. R. Cohu, presents us with his solution which is backed up by an introduction from the pen of the Lord Bishop of S. Asaph. Mr. Cohu's solution will be satisfactory to a large number of thinking men who are Christians at the bottom of their hearts and try to save as much of their creeds as possible. In this sense Mr. Cohu goes over the field of religious ideas and endorses the principles in great outlines without entering into the details, and at the bottom of these principles he finds the thought that if evolution is traceable in the world and if nature is ordained by law, it is an indication that an intellectual being dominates it, and that the leading ideas of Christianity must be true. We will epitomize his book in extracts characteristic of the different arguments here proposed. Mr. Cohu says:

"Definitions are always troublesome, and religion is the most troublesome of words to define. It has to cover every shade and grade of soul-attitude, from palæolithic man's thrill of shudder in the presence of earthquakes and primeval-forest dangers, right up to the heart-experience of a Christ. And for the religious sense to awaken, either in savage or philosopher, all that is needed is to be alive to the facts and mysteries of life. In the presence of an immense universe, evil and death, the same religious shudder thrills savage and philosopher alike, and forces a sigh which is the birth of prayer. 'Out of the deep I cried unto Thee, and Thou heardest me.' (Page 15)...."

"If we are to find the clue to the sphinx-riddle of existence, we must seek it, not in material nature or through science, but in the human heart. Personality is the gateway through which we must pass to all true knowledge of God, man, nature, if we are to see them as an organic whole (31)....

"Surely, this unity of plan, this sense of values, this onward and upward tendency to ever higher ends, one and all contradict Haeckel's explanation of evolution as 'a redistribution of matter in motion under the influence of blind force.' When we see stones carefully cut into shape and put into place and emerging into a cathedral, we do not speak of the process as a redistribution of matter in motion under the influence of blind force; we look upon the cathedral as the expression of an artist's idea. Professor Dewey is right. Admit evolution, and you must admit intelligence, will and purpose in and behind this evolution as its driving-power and its key. The universe is one scheme, and mind is the meaning of it (60-61)....

"The God nature reveals is only an indwelling God closely akin to the God of pantheism, and, as already said, we want more than an idealized world-reason or world-soul. We want a God who is transcendent as well as immanent, and we shall never grasp his immanence till we grasp his transcendence. And it is only through the door of our reason and conscience that we can escape from the semi-pantheism of nature (86)....

"Man's personality is ever one and the same, creative, self-conscious and self-directing. Our heart and mind and will are the soul's faculties or channels of self-expression, and, as proceeding from one and the same soul, you never find them apart. Our personality has an ideal which it presents to us as a categorical imperative. This ideal is ever with us and shows us 'the face of our birth,' the self God means us to be. Thus it makes us dissatisfied with what we actually are, and creates the soul-hunger or unrest we all feel. Man, if he is to obey the soul's categorical imperative and achieve its ideal, must have freedom of will. He must be able to be and to do what he knows he ought to do and to be. Besides our conscious self, we also have a larger self which we call our subconscious or our subliminal mind (154-155)....

"If history proves anything, it is that an absolute idea is being evolved in the universe. Whatever the language in which we express this idea, whether we say, with Matthew Arnold, 'there is a power not ourselves that makes for righteousness,' or with Tennyson, 'through the ages an increasing purpose runs,' or, with Christ, call it 'the coming of the Kingdom of God,'—we agree that, in and through men, God is working for a definite end (193-194)....

"Jesus Christ is Son of Man and Son of God. Essentially one in nature with God and man, Jesus in his own self realized the at-one-ment of man with God. He is the first-born among many brethren. In him dwelleth the grace and truth and love of God bodily. God was in him reconciling the world unto himself. Through the spirit of Jesus God is drawing all men unto himself to rise to the fulness of their stature as sons of God. Jesus is our Way, our Truth, our Life.

"There is a Holy Catholic Church, a communion of saints, and a baptism of the spirit for the remission of sins." (282).

Thoughtful though Mr. Cohu's expressions are he will not be regarded as helpful to those who look for an adjustment of the difficult questions which modern science has forced upon the Christian believer. He does not recognize

the weight of scientific arguments, and to the question "Are the facts of science objective facts?" he replies with a decided "No" (p. 120). He argues that the only objective facts we know are our sensations and thoughts. All our other knowledge is only inferred from these. On the other hand he answers the question, "Are the assertions of religion mere make-belief?" as follows: "Here my facts are real objective facts. But personality, or the human heart and mind and will, is precisely the field of religion. Therefore the facts of religion, far from being mere make-believe, are objective facts far more real than those of science, Q. E. D."

The result is that he deems the religious problem answered by allowing science to be satisfied with its own insufficiency. He says (pages 114-115):

"The old view works out right in practice, and that is the best test of value. Of what earthly use are these metaphysical hair-splittings? I prefer sober English common-sense to metaphysics made in Germany."

Mr. Cohu agrees with Tyrrell when he says (page 238):

"We want no religion of intellectualism that buries its head in the clouds of the abstract and substitutes the absolute for the Babe of Bethlehem or the Man of Calvary." Mr. Cohu adds: "An accurately defined intellectual creed would rob worship of all warmth and beauty, and probably rob simple souls of their faith."

The application of this principle is expressed on page 236 as follows:

"Revise our creeds," is one of the popular cries to-day. God forbid! These old creed-makers wrought better than they knew. They may not have formulated, signed, sealed and delivered articles of faith for all time, but in the Nicene Creed they came so near it that modern thought endorses its every word, with the possible excision of two words ('virgin,' 'third'). It is the most inspired piece of writing outside the Bible." κ

SECOND CHARACTERS OR THE LANGUAGE OF FORMS. By the Right Honourable Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury. Edited by *Benjamin Rand*, Ph. D., Cambridge: University Press, 1914. Pp. 182. Price 7s. 6. net.

Miss Jourdain's article in the June *Open Court* on "The Boldest of the English Philosophers" will call to mind the third Earl of Shaftesbury's place in the world of English art and criticism. The *Second Characters* (which followed his better known work *Characteristics*) contains four treatises: A Letter Concerning Design, a Notion of the Historical Draught of Hercules, The Picture of Cebes, and Plastics. This last treatise is made up of 23 small essays. In his preface Dr. Rand says: "Like Plato, Shaftesbury realized that you must surround the citizens with an atmosphere of grace and beauty if you desire to instil noble and true ideas in the mind. And animated by the inspired purpose of reviving and elevating art, particularly in England, his remaining strength was steadfastly applied to the production of *Second Characters*."

Shaftesbury writes to an intimate friend, Sir John Cropley, with regard to his own tastes and his conception of his mission: "My own designs you know run all on moral emblems and what relates to ancient Roman and Greek history, philosophy and virtue. If anything be stirred, or any studies turned this way, it must be I that must set the wheel agoing and help to raise the spirit... My charges turn wholly, as you see, towards the raising of art and the improvement of virtue in the living, and in posterity to come." ρ



ROGER BACON.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

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ROGER BACON.

BY THE EDITOR.

SEVEN hundred years ago, in 1214, Roger Bacon, easily the greatest man of the middle ages, was born. He was not a powerful king like Charlemagne (742 or 747-814), not a great pope like Gregory VII (1020-1085), not a great instigator of crusades like Bernard of Clairvaux (1091-1153), not a master in giving shape to church dogma like Anselm of Canterbury (1033-1109), not a great preacher like Eckhart (1260-1328), not a great devotional writer like Thomas à Kempis (1380-1471), not the founder of a religious order like St. Francis of Assisi (1182-1226),—he was far greater than all of them, he was a man of science. Indeed it is not impossible that he was the only true scientist that lived in the middle ages, and so he was in advance of his time by more than half a millennium; in his enthusiasm for science he foresaw the automobile and the flying machine in his predictions of what science could accomplish, and as a result he was treated as might have been expected. He was accused of black magic and was kept in prison for about twelve years.

In the days of Roger Bacon there was no doubt that he deserved no better fate. He was a mathematician and one of his hobbies was optics. Once when he was lecturing in the University of Paris—then the center of all intellectual life—he exhibited the spectrum to his audience, making God's glorious rainbow colors appear on the wall! The effect was remarkable. His hearers fled from the room in great agitation lest they would share in the curse of witnessing deeds of Satanic exorcism.

Roger Bacon's thoughts and methods would have been lost

and he would have become a mere myth of a sorcerer, had not one of the few admirers of his accomplishments who became pope, ascending the papal throne in 1265 under the name of Clement IV, requested him to write down his theories and send them to Rome, even if all his superiors were to forbid him. This happened in 1267. Unfortunately Pope Clement IV died in 1267, and Roger Bacon lost his powerful protector.

Philosophy in the middle ages was characterized mainly by the struggle between realism and nominalism. Realism in those days was very different from the realism of modern times. Medieval realism believed in the reality of ideas, considering them as entities or *res*; and thus it was practically an extreme idealism.



ROGER BACON.

From Crabb's *Universal Dictionary of Names*.

From *Popular Science Monthly*, LI, p. 147.

Nominalism rebelled against the authority of the firmly established realism, and was represented by Roscellinus, who claimed that ideas were mere names or *nomina*, and these names were nothing but words, *flatus vocis*. The greatest representatives of medieval realism were Johannes Scotus Erigena (c. 800-891) and Anselm of Canterbury. All the great men of scholasticism took part in this struggle between nominalism and realism. Prominent among them were Albertus Magnus (1193-1280), and above all Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274). The latter represents a kind of compromise with pagan philosophy, summed up in Aristotle, and Christian dogma. Realism remained victorious, the last prominent representative of nominalism being William of Occam (1270-1347). In the meantime a preparation for more scientific views came from the Ara-

bians, the greatest among them being Averroes (1126-1198), whose philosophy was transmitted to the Christian nations by the great Jew Moses Maimonides (1135-1204).

In the thirteenth century appeared Roger Bacon, a Franciscan monk who stands in glaring contrast to the spirit of the middle ages. He was imbued with a new spirit insisting upon the only true method of research, which is by experiment. Influenced by the Arabians and their Occidental followers, Roger Bacon understood the paramount significance of mathematics and applied it in the laboratory. But for all that we must not think that he possessed the results and applications of this basic principle of science. After all he remained in almost all important details the child of his age. He did not see the difficulties of Christian dogma, nor of the superstitions of the time. He still dabbled in astrology and wasted much thought and labor on topics of Biblical archeology. In fact these problems were favorite objects of investigation with him, for he was a faithful son of the church withal. He had bright visions of the future; but they were still visions, mere fanciful dreams, and the reality in which he lived remained the monkish conception of the world that surrounded him in life. Let us not for that reason think the less of him. When we consider what high value Isaac Newton placed upon his own explanations of the vision of John the Divine and the significance of the prophecies preserved in Revelations, we shall not judge harshly of Roger Bacon but shall perhaps appreciate him the more because we learn to understand better how difficult it was to break away from the traditions of medievalism.

In this number¹ we celebrate the septencentennial anniversary of Roger Bacon's birth. Honor to his memory!

¹The next number also will contain an article on "Philology and the Occult in Roger Bacon" from the pen of Prof. John S. P. Tatlock of the university of Michigan.

BIOGRAPHY OF ROGER BACON.¹

EXTANT FRAGMENTS OF HIS WORKS.

SOME part of this biography will make the rest more intelligible if made a preliminary explanation. Before the appearance of Wood's *History of Oxford* (1674), no one had added anything to the summaries of Leland, Bale, and Pits, which are little more than ill-understood lists of works. The name of Bacon was known far and wide as a magician; and the better informed could only judge from such fragments as had been published, and from the traditional reputation of what remained in manuscript, that he was a philosopher of the highest genius. These printed fragments are as follows, so far as we can collect them, being all that was published down to the appearance of Dr. Jebb's edition of the *Opus majus* which closes the list:

1. *De mirabili potestate artis et naturæ et nullitate magiæ*, Paris, 1542, 4to; Basil., 1593, 8vo; in English,¹ Lond., 1597, 4to; Hamb. 1608 and 1618, 8vo; in French, Par., 1612, 8vo; also in French, by Girard, Par., 1557 and 1629; in Vol. V of Zetzner's *Theatrum chemicum*, Argent., 1622, 8vo, and 1659 (?); in English, by T. M., London, 1659, 12mo.

2. *Perspectiva*, *Specula mathematica*, and *De speculis ustoriis*, Francof., 1614, 4to, whether as one book or three we do not know; the *Perspectiva* was reprinted in 1671, also at Frankfort.

3. *De retardatione senectutis*, Oxon., 1590, 8vo.; translated, *The Cure of Old Age*, by R. Browne, M. D., Lond., 1683, 12mo.

4. *De secretis operibus artis et naturæ*, Hamb., 1618, 8vo, edited by John Dee.

5. The *Thesaurus chemicus*, Frankfort, 1603 and 1620, 8v (?) contains the *Specula mathematica*, the *Speculum alchymicæ*, and some other tracts, which Tanner puts down altogether as *Scripta sanioris medicinæ in arte chemiæ*.

¹ Reprinted from an anonymous article in *Old England's Worthies*, London, 1853.

6. *Speculum alchymicæ*, Norimb., 1581, 4to; Basil., 1561, 4to; Ursellis, 1602, 8vo; in English, in *Collectanea chymica*, Lond., 1684, 8vo; also¹ in English, Lond., 1597, 4to.

7. *Practica Magistri Rogerii*, Venet., 1513 and 1519.

8. *Epistolas notis illustratas* (we take the title from Tanner), Hamb., 1618, 8vo.

9. *Fratris Rogeri Bacon, Ordinis Minorum, Opus majus, ad Clementem IV. Pontif. Rom.*, Londini, 1733, fol. By Dr. Jebb.

HIS AGE AND CONTEMPORARIES.

The little that is known of the greatest of English philosophers before the time of his celebrated namesake, shows how long the effects of contemporary malice might last, before the invention of printing had made an appeal to posterity easy. His writings, destroyed or overlooked, only existed in manuscript or mutilated printed versions, till nearly the middle of the eighteenth century. In the meantime tradition framed his character on the vulgar notions entertained in his day of the results of experimental science; and the learned monk, searching for the philosopher's stone in his laboratory, aided only by infernal spirits, was substituted for the sagacious advocate of reform in education, reading, and reasoning; and—what was equally rare—the real inquirer into the phenomena of nature.

Roger Bacon died in 1292, in about the seventy-eighth year of his age, which places his birth near the year 1214; roughly speaking, he lived from the time of the Interdict in the reign of John, to the beginning of the interference with Scotland in that of Edward I. His age is that of Cardinal Cusa, Thomas à Kempis, Matthew Paris, Albertus Magnus, Raymond Lully, Sacrobosco etc., to whom we add, as they are sometimes confounded with him, and not for their own note, two theologians, Robert Bacon and John Bacon (died about 1346). The former was a priest of the thirteenth century, whom it would be hardly necessary to notice but for the fact that some of our historians have made him the brother of Roger Bacon, and the two have been often confounded. He is stated to have studied successively at Oxford and Paris; and in 1233, when his friend and teacher, Edmund Rich, was removed from the treasurership of Salisbury Cathedral to the archbishopric of Canterbury, Robert Bacon was his successor. The archbishop was canonized by the title of St. Edmund; and Bacon wrote his life. Matthew Paris states that in 1233 Robert Bacon preached

¹ These two are in the same book.

before Henry III at Oxford, and spoke openly against the favorite, Peter des Roches (or De Rupibus), of Poitou, Bishop of Winchester, who had given great offence by the introduction and promotion of many of his countrymen. Serious disturbance was apprehended, and the king appeared to waver; on which, says the historian, a witty court chaplain, called *Roger Bacon*, asked his Majesty what was most dangerous to seamen. The king answered that seamen best knew, on which the chaplain rejoined, "Petræ et Rupes; ac diceretur, Petrus de Rupibus." This story is the likely origin of the connection between Robert and Roger, and also of the account which states that Roger Bacon, the subject of this article, preached before the king on the same occasion. Robert Bacon joined the order of preaching friars in his old age, and died in 1248, whence the story (certainly false) that Roger died in that year. (*Biogr. Britann.*; Tanner, *Biblioth. Britan. Hibern.*; Wood, *Hist. et Ant. Oxon.*)

EDUCATION.

Roger Bacon was born near Ilchester, in Somersetshire, of a respectable family. He was educated at Oxford, and, according to the usual custom of his day, proceeded to Paris, which was then the first university in the world. The course of study in vogue, however unfavorable to independence of thought, did not give so great a preponderance to the works of Aristotle as was afterwards the case. The theology of the day had set strongly against philosophy of every species. In 1209 a council at Paris condemned and burnt, if not the works of Aristotle, at least the mutilated and interpolated translations from the Arabic which then existed. But when, towards the middle of the century, Latin versions from the Greek began to appear, and the philosophy contained in them to be warmly advocated by the new orders of Franciscans and Dominicans, and particularly by Albertus Magnus (died 1282), the reputation of Aristotle advanced so rapidly, that he had gained the exclusive title of "the philosopher" by the time Roger Bacon wrote his *Opus majus*. But Bacon in no sense became an Aristotelian, except in that which comprehends all who are acquainted with the opinions and methods of the Greek philosopher. Better versed in the original than most of his contemporaries, he freely criticises all he meets with (especially the merit of the translations, which he says he would burn if he could), and is himself an early and sufficient proof that the absurdities of his successors ought not to be called "Aristo-

telian," any more than Aristotle himself "the philosopher." Bacon could read Aristotle without danger of falling into idolatry: his antagonists could have erected a system of verbal disputes upon the *Principia* of Newton, if they had possessed it.

After his return to Oxford, with a doctor's degree granted at Paris, which was immediately also confirmed by the former university, he took the vows of a Franciscan in a convent possessed by that order at Oxford, on the persuasion, it is said, of Robert Greathead or Grostête, Bishop of Lincoln, of whom we shall presently speak. It has been conjectured that he had already done so before his return to Oxford, but this appears to have arisen from his having been known to have resided in a Franciscan convent while at Paris. From the time of his return, which is stated to have been A. D. 1240, he applied himself closely to the study of languages, as well as to experimental philosophy. In spite of the vow of poverty, he does not appear to have wanted means, for he says himself that in twenty years he spent 2000 livres (French) in books and instruments; a very large sum in those days.

The vow of the Franciscans was poverty, manual labor, and study; but the first two were soon abandoned. On this subject we notice a writing of Bacon, of which (except in Dr. Jebb's list) we can find only one casual notice (in Vossius, *De his. lat.* article "Bacon"). It is said that he answered a work of St. Bonaventure, general of his order, which treated of the above-mentioned vow; but which side either party adopted is not stated.

ENEMIES AND FRIENDS.

The enmity of his brethren soon began to show itself: the lectures which he gave in the university were prohibited, as well as the transmission of any of his writings beyond the walls of his convent. The charge made against him was that of magic, which was then frequently brought against those who studied the sciences, and particularly chemistry. The ignorance of the clergy of that time as to mathematics or physics was afterwards described by Anthony-à-Wood, who says that they knew no property of the circle except that of keeping out the devil, and thought the points of a triangle would wound religion. Brought up to consider philosophy as nearly allied to, if not identical with, heresy itself, many of them might perhaps be honest believers in its magical power; but we can hardly doubt that there were a few more acute minds, who saw that Roger Bacon was in reality endeavoring to evoke a

spirit whose influence would upset the power they had acquired over the thoughts of men, and allow them to read and reflect, without fear of excommunication, or the necessity of inquiring what council had authorized the book. Not that we mean to charge those minds in every instance with desiring such power for their own private ends: there has always been honest belief in the wickedness of knowledge, and it is not extinct in our own day. The following detached passages of the *Opus majus* no doubt contain opinions which its author was in the habit of expressing:

"Most students have no worthy exercise for their heads, and therefore languish and stupefy upon bad translations, which lose them both time and money. Appearances alone rule them, and they care not what they know, but what they are thought to know by a senseless multitude. . . . There are four principal stumbling-blocks in the way of arriving at knowledge—authority, habit, appearances as they present themselves to the vulgar eye, and concealment of ignorance combined with ostentation of knowledge. . . . Even if the first three could be got over by some great effort of reason, the fourth remains ready. . . . Men presume to teach before they have learnt, and fall into so many errors, that the idle think themselves happy in comparison; and hence both in science and in common life we see a thousand falsehoods for one truth. . . . And this being the case, we must not stick to what we hear or read, but must examine most strictly the opinions of our ancestors, that we may add what is lacking, and correct what is erroneous, but with all modesty and allowance. . . . We must, with all our strength, prefer reason to custom, and the opinions of the wise and good to the perceptions of the vulgar; and we must not use the triple argument; that is to say, this has been laid down, this has been usual, this has been common, therefore it is to be held by. For the very opposite conclusion does much better follow from the premises. And though the whole world be possessed by these causes of error, let us freely hear opinions contrary to established usage."

As might be supposed, Roger Bacon cultivated the acquaintance of men who held sentiments similar to the above, which could not please his brethren. Among them we have mentioned Gros-tête, Bishop of Lincoln, who usually resided at Oxford. This prelate, who was a good mathematician, and a resolute opponent of undue interference on the part of the see of Rome (*terrificus papà redargutor*, says Camden), had opposed Innocent IV, who attempted to appoint his nephew, a boy, to a prebend at Lincoln. On being excommunicated, Gros-tête appealed from the tribunal of Rome to

that of Christ; and so prevalent was the opinion of his antipathy to the pope, that a story is gravely told by Knyghton (cited by Blount, *Censura*, etc.), that the Bishop of Lincoln, after his death, appeared to Innocent in a dream, and exclaiming, "*Surge miser, veni in judicium!*" actually stabbed his Holiness, who was found dead next morning. It is needless to say that Innocent IV died a natural death, and useless to speculate upon the means by which such a circumstance as the preceding, if true, could come to be known. But perhaps the memory of Grostête may have been one reason of the willingness with which succeeding popes continued Bacon's imprisonment, to which we shall soon come; for though they might hold his spirit guiltless of the death of Innocent, they long remembered what he had done in the flesh; and when Edward I and the University of Oxford, long after, applied to Clement V for the canonization of Grostête, they received for answer that the pope would rather his bones were thrown out of consecrated ground.

In the meantime a pope was elected to whom we owe the production of the *Opus majus*. This was Clement IV (elected 1265), who had previously, when cardinal-bishop of Sabina, been legate in England. Here he had heard of Bacon's discoveries, and earnestly desired to see his writings; but, as before stated, the prohibition of the Franciscans prevented his wish being complied with. After his election as head of the church, Bacon, conceiving that there would be no danger nor impropriety in disobeying his immediate superiors at the command of the pope, wrote to him, stating that he was now ready to send him whatever he wished for. The answer was a repetition of the former request; and Bacon accordingly drew up the *Opus majus*, of which it may be presumed he had the materials ready. It appears that he had mentioned the circumstances in which he stood; for Clement's answer requires him to send the work with haste, any command of his superiors or constitution of his order notwithstanding, and also to point out, with all secrecy, how the danger mentioned by him might be avoided. The book was sent in the year 1267, by the hands of John of London, a pupil of whom he speaks highly, and who has usually obtained some notice from the very great praise which Bacon in one place appears to give him, when he says that he only knows two good mathematicians, one of whom he calls John of London. But from some other circumstances Dr. Jebb concludes, with great probability, that this John was not the pupil above mentioned, but John Peccam, a London Franciscan, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who was well known as a mathematician, and whose treatise on optics, *Perspectivæ communis*

libri tres, was printed at least six times between 1542 and 1627, at Nuremberg, Venice, Paris, and Cologne.

Before the *Opus majus*, Bacon, according to his own account, had written nothing except a few slight treatises, "*capitula quedam*." Before he took the vows he wrote nothing whatever; and afterwards, as he says to Clement, he would have composed many books for his brother and his friends, but when he despaired of ever being able to communicate them, he neglected to write.

With the *Opus majus* he sent also two other works, the *Opus minus* and the *Opus tertium*, the second a sort of abstract of the first, and the third a supplement to it. These exist in manuscript in the Cottonian Library, but have not been printed. It appears that, after the death of Clement, which took place in November, 1268 (not 1271, as stated by some; the latter date is that of the election of Clement's successor, the see having been vacant two years and three-quarters), he revised and augmented the second of these works. What reception Clement gave them is not known: some say he was highly gratified and provided for the bearer; others, that he at least permitted an accusation of heresy against the writer. Both stories are unlikely: for Clement could hardly have received the work before he was seized with his last illness.

Till the year 1278 Bacon was allowed to remain free from open persecution; but in that year Jerome of Ascoli, general of the Franciscan order, afterwards pope, under the title of Nicholas IV, being appointed legate to the court of France, this was thought a proper opportunity to commence proceedings. Bacon, then sixty-four years old, was accordingly summoned to Paris (Dr. Jebb implies that he had already removed his residence there, to another convent of his order), where a council of Franciscans, with Jerome at their head, condemned his writings, and committed him to close confinement. According to Bale, or Balæus (cited by Dr. Jebb), the charge of innovation was the pretext, but of what kind was not specified; according to others, the writings of Bacon upon astrology were the particular ground of accusation. We cannot learn that any offer of pardon was made to the accused upon his recantation of the obnoxious opinions, as usual in such cases; which, if we may judge from the *Opus majus*, Bacon would have conceived himself bound to accept, at least if he recognized the legality of the tribunal. A confirmation of the proceeding was immediately obtained from the court of Rome. During ten years, every effort made by him to procure his enlargement was without success. The two succeeding pontiffs had short and busy reigns; but on the accession of Jerome

(Nicholas IV), Bacon once more tried to attract notice. He sent to that pope, it is said, a treatise on the method of retarding the infirmities of old age, the only consequence of which was increased rigor and closer confinement. But that which was not to be obtained from the justice of the pope, was conceded to private interest, and Bacon was at last restored to liberty by the intercession of some powerful nobles, but who they were is not mentioned. Some say he died in prison; but the best authorities unite in stating that he returned to Oxford, where he wrote a compendium of theology, and died some months, or perhaps a year and a half, after Nicholas IV (who died April, 1292). We have adopted 1292 from Anthony-à-Wood, as the most probable year of his death, though foreign works frequently state that he died in 1284. He was buried in the church of the Franciscans at Oxford. The manuscripts which he left behind him were immediately put under lock and key by the magic-fearing survivors of his order, until, not so lucky as those of another wizard, Michael Scott, they are said to have been eaten by insects.

HIS WORKS.

Of the asserted works of Bacon there is a very large catalogue, cited mostly from Bale and Pits, in the preface to Dr. Jebb's edition of the *Opus majus*. They amount to five on grammar, six on pure mathematics, seventeen on mechanics and general physics, ten on optics, six on geography, seven on astronomy, one on chronology, nine on chemistry and alchemy, five on magic, eight on logic and metaphysics, nine on medicine, six on theology, twelve miscellaneous; a hundred and one in all. But it is most likely that the greater part of these were extracts from the *Opus majus*, etc., with separate titles, that some are not genuine, and that others are more properly attributable to the two other Bacons already mentioned. The principal manuscripts of the *Opus majus* are, one in Trinity College Library, Dublin, discovered by Dr. Jebb, which forms the text of his edition, two in the Cottonian Library, one in the Harleian, one in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, one in that of Magdalen College, two in the King's Library, all containing various parts of the work. These are independent of the *Opus minus* and *Opus tertium* in the Cottonian Library, already mentioned, of some in Lambeth Palace, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and a host of others at home and abroad which we cannot specify. The Dublin manuscript is the only entire one

with which Dr. Jebb was acquainted. It is a folio of 249 leaves, beautifully written on thick paper, with a good margin, and in double columns. It is not dated, but from the character of the writing it is judged to be of the reign of Henry VIII, or perhaps the early part of that of Elizabeth. The geometrical figures are neatly drawn in the margin. Pope Clement's letters are in the Vatican Library.

It only remains for us to take a general view of the character of Roger Bacon's writings, and of the contents of the *Opus majus*. It is surprising how little is known of this work, the only one in print to which we can appeal, if we would show that philosophy was successfully cultivated in an English university during the thirteenth century. It is of course in Latin, but in Latin of so simple a character, that we know of none in the middle ages more easy to read; and it forms a brilliant exception to the stiff and barbarous style of that and succeeding times. We think we see the thoughts of the author untranslated, though the idiom is often that of an Anglo-Norman; by which we mean that we frequently find Latin words used in their modern English sense, as, for instance, *intendere* for *in animo habere*, meaning the same as our word "to intend"; *præsumere* for *sibi arrogare* in the sense of "to presume." We should perhaps rather say that the English words receive their meaning from the corrupted Latin, and not *vice versa*, in which case the work of Roger Bacon may become useful in tracing the change, and the more so on account of the great simplicity of the style.

THE CHARGE OF HERESY.

The charge of heresy appears to be by no means so well founded as a Protestant would wish. Throughout the whole of his writings Bacon is a strict Roman Catholic, that is, he expressly submits matters of opinion to the authority of the church, saying (Cott. MSS. cited by Jebb) that if the respect due to the vicar of the Saviour, *vicarius Salvatoris*, alone, and the benefit of the world, could be consulted in any other way than by the progress of philosophy, he would not, under such impediments as lay in his way, proceed with his undertaking for the whole church of God, however much it might entreat or insist. His zeal for Christianity, in its Latin or Western form, breaks out in every page; and all science is considered with direct reference to theology, and not otherwise. But at the same time, to the credit of his principles, considering

the book-burning, heretic-hunting age in which he lived, there is not a word of any other force except that of persuasion. He takes care to have both authority and reason for every proposition that he advances: perhaps, indeed, he might have experienced forbearance at the hand of those who were his persecutors, had he not so clearly made out prophets, apostles, and fathers to have been partakers of his opinions. "But let not your Serenity imagine," he says, "that I intend to excite the *clemency* of you Holiness, in order that the papal majesty should employ force against weak authors and the multitude, or that my unworthy self should raise any stumbling-block to study." Indeed the whole scope of the first part of the work is to prove, from authority and from reason, that philosophy and Christianity cannot disagree; a sentiment altogether of his own revival, in an age in which all philosophers, and mathematicians in particular, were considered as at best of dubious orthodoxy.

The reasoning of Bacon is generally directly dependent upon his premises, which, though often wrong, seldom lead him to the prevailing extreme of absurdity. Even his astrology and alchemy, those two great blots upon his character, as they are usually called, are, when considered by the side of a later age, harmless modifications, irrational only because unproved, and neither impossible nor unworthy of the investigation of a philosopher, in the absence of preceding experiments. His astrology is *physical*. "With regard to human affairs, true mathematicians do not presume to make certain, but consider how the body is altered by the heavens, and the body being altered, the mind is excited to public and private acts, free will existing all the same." An age which is divided upon the question of the effect of the moon upon lunatics, and of which the philosophers have collected no facts decisive against many alleged effects of the same planet upon plants, can ask no more of a philosopher of the thirteenth century than that he should not be too positive. The fame of Leibnitz has not suffered from the *pre-established harmony* one-half as much as that of Bacon from his astrology and alchemy, which were believed in to a much greater extent by many of the learned of his time, and the united effect of which would seem to us sense and logic, compared with the metaphysical folly, all his own, of the eminent philosopher just cited.

This planetary influence appears to have been firmly believed in by Bacon, and in particular the effect of the constellations on the several parts of the human body. Perhaps he was rather prejudiced in favor of a doctrine which was condemned by the same men who

thought mathematics and philosophy savored of heresy. And it must be remembered that the pretended science was almost universally allowed existence, even by those who considered its use unlawful; nor can we infer that the church disbelieved it, because that body discouraged it, any more than that it rejected infernal spirits, because it anathematized magic.

We must draw a wide distinction between the things which Bacon relates as upon credible authority, and the opinions which he professes himself to entertain from his own investigation. In almost every page we meet with something now considered extremely absurd, and with reason. But before the day of *printing* there was very little *publishing*: a book which was written in one country found its way but slowly into others, one copy at a time; and a man of learning seldom met those with whom he could discuss the probability of any narrative. The adoption of the principle that a story must be rejected because it is strange, would then have amounted to a disbelief of all that had been written on physics; a state of mind to which we cannot conceive any one of that age bringing himself. Nor can we rightly decide what opinion to form of Bacon as a philosopher, until we know how much he rejected, as well as how much he believed. These remarks apply particularly to his alchemy: he does not say he had made gold himself, but that others had asserted themselves to have made it; and his account of the drink by which men had lived hundreds of years is a relation taken from another. Voltaire, in his "Philosophical Dictionary," has overlooked this distinction, and has much to say in consequence. It was, however, no very strange matter that Bacon, who (if the *Speculum alchemiæ* be really his, of which, from the style, we doubt) believed with many others that sulphur and mercury were the first principles of all bodies, should endeavor to compound gold, or should give credit to the assertions of those who professed to have done so. But there is not in Bacon's alchemy any direction for the use of prayers, fasting, or planetary hours.

ALLEGED INVENTIONS.

The great points by which Bacon is known are his reputed knowledge of gunpowder and of the telescope. With regard to the former, it is not at all clear that what we call gunpowder is intended, though some detonating mixture, of which saltpeter is an ingredient, is spoken of as commonly known. The passage is as follows:

"Some things disturb the ear so much, that if they were made

to happen suddenly by night, and with sufficient skill, no city or army could bear them. No noise of thunder could compare with them. Some things strike terror on the sight, so that the flashes of the clouds are beyond comparison less disturbing; works similar to which Gideon is thought to have performed in the camp of the Midianites. And an instance we take from a childish amusement, which exists in many parts of the world, to wit, that with an instrument as large as the human thumb, by the violence of the salt called saltpeter, so horrible a noise is made by the rupture of so slight a thing as a bit of parchment, that it is thought to exceed loud thunder, and the flash is stronger than the brightest lightning." —*Opus majus*, p. 474.

There are passages in the work *De secretis operibus*, etc. (cited by Hutton, *Dictionary*, article "Gunpowder"), which expressly mention sulphur, charcoal, and saltpeter as ingredients. But independently of the claim of the Chinese and Indians, there is an author, Marcus Græcus, whose work, *Liber ignium* (now existing only in Latin translations from the Greek), is cited by Dr. Jebb from a manuscript in the possession of Dr. Mead, and who appears to have been considered by both as older than Bacon. Dr. Hutton, into whose hands Dr. Mead's manuscripts passed, found this writer mentioned by an Arabic physician of the ninth century. Græcus gives the receipt for gunpowder, namely, one part of sulphur, two of willow-charcoal, and six of saltpeter. Two manuscript copies of Græcus were also found in the Royal Library of Paris. But it does not appear that Græcus was known for a long time after Bacon: even Tartaglia knew nothing of him; for he says, in his work on artillery, that the oldest writers known to him use equal parts of the three ingredients.

With regard to the telescope, it must be admitted that Bacon had *conceived* the instrument, though there is no proof that he carried his conception into practice, or *invented* it. His words are these: "We can so shape transparent substances, and so arrange them with respect to our sight and objects, that rays can be broken and bent as we please, so that objects may be seen far off or near, under whatever angle we please; and thus from an incredible distance we may read the smallest letters, and number the grains of dust and sand, on account of the greatness of the angle under which we see them; and we may manage so as hardly to see bodies, when near to us, on account of the smallness of the angle under which we cause them to be seen: for vision of this sort is not a consequence of distance, except as that affects the magnitude of the

angle. And thus a boy may seem a giant, and a man a mountain, etc." The above contains a true description of a telescope; but if Bacon had constructed one, he would have found that there are impediments to the indefinite increase of the magnifying power; and still more that a boy does not appear a giant, but a boy at a smaller distance.

That the remarks of Bacon are derived from reflection and imagination only, is further apparent from his asserting that a small army could be made to appear very large, and that the sun and moon could be made to descend, to all appearance, down below, and stand over the head of the enemy. At the same time it is worth notice, that these ideas of Bacon did, in after times, produce either the telescope, or some modification of it, consisting in the magnifying of images produced by reflection, and that before the date either of Jansen or Galileo. Thomas Digges, son of Leonard Digges, in his *Stratiorikos*, London, 1590, page 359 (second edition, the first being 1579), thus speaks of what his father had done, in the presence, as he asserts, of numerous living eye-witnesses:

"And such was his Felicitie and happie successe, not only in these conclusions, but also in y^e Optikes and Catoptikes, that he was able by Perspective Glasses, duely scituate upon conuenient angles, in such sort to discouer every particularitie of the country round about, wheresoeuer the Sunne beames might pearse: as sithence Archimedes (Bakon of Oxford onely excepted) I have not read of any in action euer able by means natural to perform the like. Which partly grew by the aid he had by one old written book of the same Bakon's Experiments, that by strange aduenture, or rather Destinie, came to his hands, though chiefly by conioyning continuall laborious Practise with his Mathematicall Studies."

And the same Thomas Digges, in his *Pantometria*, London, 1571, Preface (republished in 1591), had previously given the same story, with more detail, omitting, however, all mention of Bacon. He says that his father—"sundrie times hath by proportionall Glasses duely situate in conuenient angles, not onely discovered things farre off, read letters, numbered peeces of money with the very coyne and superscription thereof, cast by some of his freends of purpose upon Downes in open Fields, but also seuen miles off declared what hath beene doone at that instant in priuate places. There are yet living diuerse (of these his dooings) *oculati testes*."

The question has been agitated whether the invention of spectacles is due to Bacon, or whether they had been introduced just before he wrote. He certainly describes them, and explains why a

plane-convex glass magnifies. But he seems to us to speak of them as already in use. "Hence this instrument is useful to old persons and those who have weak eyes."

THE OPUS MAJUS.

The *Opus majus* begins with a book on the necessity of advancing knowledge, and a dissertation on the use of philosophy in theology. It is followed by books on the utility of grammar and mathematics, in the latter of which he runs through the various sciences of astronomy, chronology, geography, and music. The account of the inhabited world is long and curious, and though frequently based on that of Ptolemy, or the writings of Pliny, contains many new facts from travelers of his own and preceding times. His account of the defects in the calendar was variously cited in the discussions which took place on the subject two centuries after. The remainder of the work consists of a treatise on optics and on experimental philosophy, insisting on the peculiar advantages of the latter. The explanation of the phenomena of the rainbow, though very imperfect, was an original effort of a character altogether foreign to the philosophy of his day. He attributes it to the reflection of the sun's rays from the cloud; and the chief merit of his theory is in the clear and philosophical manner in which he proves that the phenomenon is an appearance, and not a reality. Between the two last-mentioned books is a treatise, *De multiplicatione specierum*, entirely filled with discussions somewhat metaphysical upon the connection and causes of phenomena.

Our limits will not allow us to enter further into details: nor could we, in any moderate space, do justice to the varied learning of the author, or distinctly mark even the chief of the numerous singular and now exploded notions which are introduced; nor, as far as we know, does there exist any full account of the contests to which we can refer the reader.

THE STORY OF THE BRASS HEAD.

The following amusing extract will show the sort of reputation which Roger Bacon had acquired:

"How Friar Bacon made a brazen head to speak, by the which he would have walled England about with brass.

"Friar Bacon reading one day of the many conquests of England, bethought himself how he might keep it hereafter from the

like conquests, and to make himself famous hereafter to all posterities. This (after great study) he found could be no way so well done as one; which was to make a head of brass, and if he could make this head to speak (and hear it when it speaks) then might he be able to wall all England about with brass. To this purpose he got one Friar Bungey to assist him, who was a great scholar and a magician (but not to be compared with Friar Bacon), these two, with great pains, so framed a head of brass that in the inward parts thereof there was all things like as in a natural man's head: this being done, they were as far from perfection of the work as they were before, for they knew not how to give those parts that they had made motion, without which it was impossible that it should speak. Many books they read, but yet could not find out any hope of what they sought, that at the last they concluded to raise a spirit, and to know of him that which they could not attain to by their own studies. To do this they prepared all things ready, and went one evening to a wood thereby, and, after many ceremonies used, they spake the words of conjuration, which the devil straight obeyed, and appeared unto them, asking what they would. Know, said Friar Bacon, that we have made an artificial head of brass, which we would have to speak, to the furtherance of which we have raised thee, and, being raised, we will here keep thee, unless thou tell to us the way and manner how to make this head to speak. The devil told him that he had not that power of himself. Beginner of lies, said Friar Bacon, I know that thou dost dissemble, and therefore tell it us quickly, or else we will here bind thee to remain during our pleasures. At these threatenings the devil consented to do it, and told them, that with a continual fume of the six hottest simples it should have motion, and in one month's space speak, the time of the month or day he knew not: also he told them, that if they heard it not before it had done speaking all their labor should be lost; they, being satisfied, licensed the spirit for to depart.

"Then went these two learned friars home again, and prepared the simples ready, and made the fumes, and with continual watching attended when this brazen head would speak. Thus watched they for three weeks without any rest, so that they were so weary and sleepy that they could not any longer refrain from rest. Then called Friar Bacon his man Miles, and told him that it was not unknown to him what pains Friar Bungey and himself had taken for three weeks' space, only to make and to hear the brazen head speak, which, if they did not, then had they lost all their labor, and all England had a great loss thereby: therefore he

entreated Miles that he would watch whilst that they slept, and call them if the head spake."

Miles then begins his watch, and keeps himself from sleeping by merrily singing.

"After some noise the head spake these two words, *Time is*. Miles, hearing it to speak no more, thought his master would be angry if he waked him for that, and therefore he let them both sleep, and began to mock the head. . . . After half an hour had passed, the head did speak again two words, which were these, *Time was*. Miles respected these words as little as he did the former, and would not wake them, but still scoffed at the brazen head, that it had learned no better words, and have such a tutor as his master. . . . Miles talked and sung till another half hour was gone, then the brazen head spake again these words, *Time is past*, and therewith fell down, and presently followed a terrible noise, with strange flashes of fire, so that Miles was half dead with fear. At this noise the two friars awaked, and wondered to see the whole room so full of smoke; but that being vanished they might perceive the brazen head broken and lying on the ground. At this sight they grieved, and called Miles to know how this came. Miles, half dead with fear, said that it fell down of itself, and that, with the noise and fire that followed, he was almost frightened out of his wits. Friar Bacon asked if he did not speak. Yes, quoth Miles, it spake, but to no purpose; I'll have a parrot speak better in that time that you have been teaching this brazen head. Out on thee, villain, said Friar Bacon, thou hast undone us both: hadst thou but called us when it did speak, all England had been walled round about with brass, to its glory and our eternal fames. What were the words it spake? Very few, said Miles; and those were none of the wisest that I have heard, neither. First he said, *Time is*. Hadst thou called us then, said Friar Bacon, we had been made for ever. Then, said Miles, half an hour after it spake again, and said, *Time was*. And wouldst thou not call us then? said Bungey. Alas, said Miles, I thought he would have told me some long tale, and then I purposed to have called you: then after an hour after he cried, *Time is past*, and made such a noise that he hath waked you himself, methinks. At this Friar Bacon was in such a rage that would have beaten his man, but he was restrained by Bungey; but, nevertheless, for his punishment he, with his art, struck him dumb for one whole month's space. Thus the great work of these learned friars was overthrown, to their great griefs, by this simple fellow."—From *The Famous Historie of Fryer Bacon*.

THE TWO BACONS.

BY ERNST DÜHRING.¹

IN contrast to the standpoint of scholasticism the figure of Roger Bacon comes before us as a surprise. In a century of darkness it bears the clear and luminous features of later times, but on account of this very circumstance it failed at first to produce any definite demonstrable effect. It has been rightly said of Roger Bacon that he has been unwarrantably thrown in the shade in favor of his less worthy namesake, Sir Francis Bacon, who stands upon the threshold of the modern era. It is also said with equal justice that the earlier Bacon's energy and judgments in the line of experimental research greatly exceeded those of the author of the *Novum organon*, and that it was only the ill favor of time, which he far outran, that permitted his courage to remain for a while without any effect.

A British monk of the thirteenth century who specialized in the study of mathematics, mechanics and other natural science, as far as these could be acquired from good sources, namely from Arabic and Greek writings, and, unsatisfied with what he was able to learn in this way, applied himself to the best possible source, nature, was indeed an anachronism. He was the greater anachronism that he did not stop at mere recommendations of the empirical method like the Bacon of the sixteenth century, but actually obtained results, among which the best known are his discoveries in the realm of optics. His *Opus majus* ("Greater Work") contains treatises which offer better material than the Chancellor—who, by the way, paraded with more than merely his predecessor's name—was able to offer three centuries later. Moreover history need hardly add what can confidently be assumed from common experience and

¹ Translated by Lydia G. Robinson from the author's *Kritische Geschichte der Philosophie*. Dr. Dühring is known for his clear-sighted views and his trenchant style, bringing out weak points to the very limit of fairness.—Ed.

intrinsic necessity, namely that Roger Bacon was the victim of the worst possible persecutions, and even in his last years was compelled to undergo a ten year imprisonment. It is not even known positively whether he was freed from prison a short time before his death, which took place about in his seventy-eighth year (1292), or whether he died in prison.

As we have already said, Roger Bacon was not able to bring about all at once a revolution in what to him was most important of all, but in a negative way he succeeded in undermining scholasticism to a considerable extent apparently even in the eyes of his contemporaries, and at the same time directed a blow against the wavering structure which provided an important precedent for its later collapse.

Roger Bacon had studied and investigated for twenty years before he wrote down his now famous extensive works. That he wrote them down at all was due to an external inducement, namely a commission from Pope Clement IV. This order of the year 1266 is the only positive favor fate ever bestowed on this man, who was annoyed by those immediately above him in position and soon afterwards directly persecuted by later popes. He had despaired of ever being able to hand down to posterity the results of his studies and therefore he seized this opportunity with revived enthusiasm because it promised his labors a greater consideration from without, and at the same time, as he was well aware, a secure route to later generations.

Under the name of the "Greater Work" (*Opus majus*) he arranged in systematic order a number of highly important and comprehensive treatises. He began with excursions on the "obstacles of knowledge," described the inaccessibility of the means of research, and presented all the single results which he had attained in the realm of the various special sciences. Reforms in theoretical and practical optics, as well as in chronology and the calendar, played a leading part in his investigations. Besides the *Opus majus* he composed at the same time a "Smaller Work" (*Opus minus*) and a "Third Work" (*Opus tertium*) by means of which he intended partly to promote the clearness of the greater work and partly to fill up gaps in it. Much that he left out in the first place and only succeeded in formulating properly during the progress of the newer work was in this way included in the two later writings.

Until 1859 only the *Opus majus* was accessible in print, but in that year the manuscripts of the two other works were edited in the official collection of writings important for the medieval history

of England (*Rogeri Bacon opera quaedam hactenus inedita* edited by J. S. Brewer, London, 1859). For a view of the author himself the *Opus tertium*, contained in the first volume of this edition, ought to be the first considered, since the *Opus minus* can not be regarded as authoritative because the manuscript upon which it is based has been greatly corrupted by the copyist. All three writings were begun and completed within less than a year and a half (1266-1267), a fact which if it were not positively confirmed in many quarters would surely be doubted by all who can not conceive how the preparation of an entire life must indeed have enabled a man of Roger Bacon's caliber to present with great rapidity the range of his thought and the substance of his knowledge.

This phase of his achievements is certainly conclusive evidence of his power, and indeed the more so since one who had studied and reflected so long without putting his thoughts on paper can not be suspected of any inordinate love of writing. To him the thing of greatest importance was to obtain a particular knowledge peculiarly his own, and he did not apply himself to authorship until he could have before his eyes with good reason the prospect of an actual medium of communication.

He exhausted his money in the pursuit of his studies, and, as he himself relates in the *Opus tertium*, spent two thousand pounds—an enormous sum for that day—on instruments, books, tables and apparatus. Such scientific conduct was indeed an anomaly in those days. One might obtain wisdom with less trouble and money if he would move in circles of scholastic argument, or, what would be really worse, tuned the strings of emotion to mysticism and wound them a little too tight.

Roger Bacon occupies an isolated position, but he is the only one in the middle ages who deserves the name of philosopher. The fact that in the year 1267, almost six and a half centuries ago, a Franciscan monk at Oxford was able in from fifteen to eighteen months to outline in three simultaneous works a comprehensive picture of the scientific defects of his day, of the needs for an actual reform, and of his contemplations and knowledge which were far in advance of his time, and in this work to betray a power and scope of mind to which every age can point with satisfaction—this isolated fact we must regard as a signpost to the modern era, and is alone suited to represent criticism of the middle ages on its own ground. No nominalism ever reached so far as the actual craving for knowledge of this indefatigable student and thinker. In language not overburdened with imagery, like that of the second

Bacon, but the simplest which most naturally belongs to interest in a definite purpose, Roger Bacon developed in his three mutually explanatory works the opinions and knowledge which he regarded as the preliminary conditions of a scientific reform and offered as the fruits of his twenty years of study.

Bacon rightly appreciated the contrast between realism and nominalism since he perceived that there was only a difference of terms in this most celebrated point of controversy in the so-called philosophy of the middle ages. In general he treated with the most decided contempt the logic in use which in his time formed the pride of scholasticism. He regarded it as absolutely barren. On the other hand he never tired of recommending mathematics as the basis of all positive knowledge, and as the true *organon* of knowledge. In this respect he hit exactly upon a truth which even after three more centuries the second Bacon missed altogether.

We can not here discuss in detail the discoveries and theories of natural science, especially in optics, at which Roger Bacon arrived by his own application of those principles which he recommended to the rest of the world as the correct method. The way in which he conceived the transmission of light in different substances, and especially the general theories on the communication and mode of operation of natural forces in space which he perfected bear witness even to-day to the depth and keenness of his intellect and in many directions yet untried offer better stimulus to investigation and thought than all the speculative, or rather fantastic, so-called nature philosophy of Schelling, Hegel, and others of their kind. Roger Bacon evidently possessed in almost equal measure the faculty for observation and experiment on the one hand, and for deductive thought on the other. Nor did he by any means ignore the thought of the past for the sake of an exclusive observation of nature, but by means of a fundamental use of classical literature laid down the program of the revival of a better knowledge which was actually carried out afterwards in the course of history.

The languages were to him next in importance to mathematics as means for obtaining knowledge, and he entertained the highest hopes of replacing, if possible, by an adequate understanding of the original works the bad translations whose worthlessness he depicts in interesting detail. He had long applied himself to the attainment of a number of languages and to the construction of their grammar. His use of Aristotle's *Physics*, which in his day became accessible for the first time, proves among many other

things that he not merely had recommended the study and understanding of the sources in their purest form as the means of salvation from medieval ignorance and superficiality, but had himself first made use of all the means at his disposal.

The view that has been praised in recent times as a high degree of philological wisdom, namely, that the corrupted texts and worthless translations of the middle ages had prevented the world from obtaining proper profit from the ancient traditions, and especially from Aristotle, has perhaps never been represented with such zeal as by Roger Bacon himself for whom an opinion of this kind was well founded. For since he observed how many superficialities in the thought of his time could be removed merely by obtaining the proper meaning from ancient authors, especially from Aristotle, he was not wrong in expecting important elucidations from the better philological treatment of the scientific literature of the past.

On the other hand he must have discovered from his own experience and proved by his own example how comparatively poorly a better understanding of Aristotle would succeed in scattering the scholastic mists. Indeed, Roger Bacon's attitude towards Aristotle furnishes a silent and unconscious critique of the position of the entire middle ages with regard to the Stagirite.

In spite of his ready recognition of the esteem which Aristotle enjoyed, yea, even in spite of positive efforts to gain something useful from that author's writings on the philosophy of nature, still Roger Bacon had not the slightest hesitation to theorize with entire freedom according to his own observations and experiments and to bring counter evidence against the principal fundamental ideas of Aristotle. There was no question of a real authority, in the meaning of the word then current, and the rejection of syllogistic logic as an entirely superfluous framework for the attainment of knowledge also bore witness to but a slight dependence on Aristotle.

The reason for this free and independent attitude was the circumstance that the same force dominated Roger Bacon which later became the firmest support of modern scholarship and even to-day provides the most certain guarantee of the triumph over the last medieval mode of thought. The spirit of scientific research, yes in a certain sense even a scientific mode of thought, formed a nucleus for the endeavor of that Bacon of the thirteenth century, and it was only because of this that he was able with few exceptions to tower above the prejudices of his time, to become a true critic

of its principal shortcomings, and to prophesy correctly the means by which the future would triumph over the prevailing ignorance. The modern revival of the scientific spirit has indeed advanced along the two highways whereon Roger Bacon had done everything for himself and had attained all that could possibly be hoped for from the strength of one genius relying solely upon himself.

THE SECOND BACON.

It was once a universally accepted view, although it is now strongly contested in the circles of natural science, that Lord Bacon of Verulam was the pioneer in modern scientific method and natural science. Since he was at the head of English philosophy and a generation earlier than Descartes—who on the continent is usually placed beside him—he was even regarded as the founder of modern philosophy. Fortunately, however, even before it was actually rejected, this view was moderated by a contradictory claim in its consequences. Although the questionable rôle of Bacon remained uncontested until very recently, yet speculative philosophers who did not favor empirical knowledge clung firmly to the view that Descartes was the founder of their method, and from this point of view they chose to represent him as the father of modern philosophy, so to speak. On this point authorities were divided and the notion became generally current, and is still held in many quarters, that Bacon was to be looked upon as the originator of modern empiricism and Descartes as the first representative of the modern style of speculative philosophy. Historians decided according to their own preferences for the one or the other line of thought, which of the two men should be regarded as beginning the modern era. The difference of a generation by which Bacon preceded his continental rival might indeed strengthen the claims of his own adherents but was not great enough to prevent the policy of the opponents of this standpoint.

From the standpoint of present-day criticism Bacon must be regarded as having inspired an increase of useful knowledge and a kind of research directed towards the rougher part of natural science. In this connection the Briton has brought to definite expression the specifically English tendency to the hard and tangible, and in this respect he forms the most pronounced contrast to the nature of the criticism which later grew up also on British ground, but which, as may well be taken into account, appears in its finest

results as the fruit of the Scottish and not the specifically English intellect.

Francis Bacon of London (1561-1626) was a younger son and hence was obliged to make up in a career what he lacked in inheritance. In fact after a juridical preparation he finally brought it about by the ruthless pursuit of his purpose that he was made Keeper of the Great Seal and Lord Chancellor. Of more service to him than his birth, which was in the same rank, or than the circumstance that his father had been Keeper of the Great Seal before him, was the passion with which he himself pursued these offices and the money connected with them. He had to contend against great obstacles, and his successes did not begin until James I ascended the throne, but after that they increased with extraordinary rapidity and finally changed to an abrupt fall from the greatest height which left him no recourse but to spend five years in scientific leisure.

He entered Trinity College, Cambridge, at the age of thirteen. After studying three and a half years he accompanied the ambassador Paulet to France to get some training in affairs. The death of his father in 1580 obliged him to return. Then, when about twenty years of age, he applied to the government to furnish him with resources in the form of a definite capital, that he might be able to devote himself undisturbed to literature and politics. The failure of his suit obliged him to enter upon the practice of law, and he is said to have been not altogether unsuccessful as an attorney. What most prevented him from rising in his profession seems to have been the disfavor of Burleigh, whereas the Earl of Essex advanced his cause in the friendliest way and took his side at every opportunity. He gave him material support and even presented him with an estate. Bacon later rewarded all these benefits in a very singular and dubious fashion. When Essex's affairs likewise were in a bad way Bacon took an interest in them. Essex too had previously taken an interest in his. In this particular everything corresponds exactly. Only there is a certain difference which the most well-disposed historians and biographers have not been able to regard as insignificant, for Bacon had taken such an interest in the affairs of his noble and high-minded friend, that when he saw him in disfavor and in danger he drew up the accusation against him, performed the services of an attorney in this regard, smoothed the path of the noble man to the scaffold to the best of his ability, and finally undertook to defame his memory as an author.

Those who still try to palliate to some extent Bacon's behavior on this occasion, cannot bring forward any argument but the fact that he was naturally good natured and could not have practised such treachery except from weakness. We do not think that the color of the blot is changed materially by this means. At all events that kind of morals which combines a certain sort of good nature with the ability to treat others in the meanest and lowest way is a very familiar phenomenon. In the meantime we may well reflect whether evil which has its origin in power and the will directed with definite consciousness towards obtaining power, bears any less contemptible a stamp than an act of selfish baseness resulting from weakness. The complete contrast in every sense to what is noble or great in conduct towards man—this contrast in the direct form of behavior which the people unhesitatingly called infamous has been determined in Bacon's character for all time, and even the comparatively favorable way in which a Macauley treats him in his well-known essay cannot avoid an accusing judgment. All that can be attempted to save Bacon's name is simply to let the life of the man withdraw behind his scientific accomplishments.

The dishonor which Bacon morally heaped upon himself by his behavior towards Essex, but which seemed to have been the first step towards really dedicating him to the achievements of a career, was followed, so to speak—though not until late—by an avenging punishment which was the more grievous to a rougher temperament. At first, however, the different promotions up to viscount and the attainment of influential official positions up to those previously mentioned of keeper of the great seal and lord chancellor followed rapidly upon each other after 1603. All these successes are readily accounted for by his unconditional pliancy towards Buckingham, the flippant and unprincipled favorite who well knew how to reward his creatures. Nevertheless parliament took advantage of a favorable opportunity (1621) to give expression to the universal disapproval of the Lord Chancellor and to bring about through the Upper House his conviction for many corrupt practices.

To be sure the sentence was for the most part merely nominal. The enormous fine of forty thousand pounds was at once remitted by an act of clemency. His imprisonment in the Tower, to which he was condemned as long as it should be the king's pleasure, is said to have lasted two days as a matter of form. Hence all that continued in effect was the loss of offices and dignity and expulsion from parliament, and he was also forbidden to appear at court.

But even in these points he was for the most part gradually reinstated and was granted a pension. Nevertheless the stroke had been too heavy, and Bacon made no further attempt to appear again on the external stage but continued to give as much rein as possible to his fondness for ostentatious splendor in domestic affairs.

The corruption in which he had been implicated finds its explanation in his avarice which had been greatly augmented by his excessive extravagance. His financial affairs were never in order because, whether he occupied an official position or not, he sought from the start to keep up a degree of splendor out of all proportion to his resources not only when his income was meager but even at the zenith of his prosperity. At any rate there is not the slightest doubt about his heavy indebtedness, since he himself admitted it as a matter of course in order to prevent discussion of the single scandalous details.

He was as boastful in scientific matters (and often very clumsily so) as he was ostentatious in his domestic affairs. The pompous title which he gave to his first youthful sketch on the transformation of knowledge, which according to his own date he wrote when about twenty-six years of age, looks more like vanity than pride. He called it "The Greatest Birth of Time" (*Temporis partus maximus*, not *masculus* as the title of one of the essays in the published editions reads).

In this respect he ended as he had begun. When ill and conscious of his approaching death he declared in a letter that he was dying as a martyr to science, like Pliny the elder. And yet he had not in the least exposed himself consciously to a great danger as Pliny had done, but very accidentally contracted a severe cold when stuffing a hen with snow in order to discover what effect that would have in retarding decomposition. Moreover he had already reached his sixty-sixth year and had had earlier in life a better opportunity to suffer martyrdom for science by very humble actions, for instance by sacrificing his fondness for luxury and by abandoning the advantages of a more than thankless and corrupt conduct.

Bacon's first publication, which at once established him as an author, was his *Essays* (1597). They are popularly written and contain an excellent philosophy of life, and are read in England at the present time and continue to be reprinted in new editions. In the Latin translation made by Bacon himself they bear the title "Sermons of a Believer" (*Sermones fideles*). The treatise on the dignity and increase of the sciences (1623) had a predecessor in

the English language (1605) with the title *The Advancement of Learning*.

As a rule Bacon seems to have usually worked things out in English and then translated or provided for a translation by his friends. On the other hand *Cogitata et visa*, published as early as 1612, seems to have been the basis for the *Novum organon*, the other main work of the *Instauratio magna*, which appeared in 1620. The *Novum organon* itself is said to have been worked over twelve times before it appeared. It forms the most important work from a scientific standpoint, and of all Bacon's writings it is equalled in general significance and effectiveness only by the above-mentioned popular *Essays*.

We need say nothing here of his publications on law and history. It would be an equally fruitless and tedious waste of space to undertake, as many do, to go through Bacon's very indifferent encyclopedic classifications and divisions of knowledge, but we will only indicate the contents and the interconnections of his main works so far as is necessary.

The ardor, we may as well say the violence, with which Bacon had entered upon the external tasks of his life, is reflected in the style and contents of his writings. Even in the realm of logic and scientific methods his language abounds in figures and expressions of poetic color and warmth. It would fain enchant, but usually degenerates into too great an exuberance. It obeys the rein of fancy and of inflated emotion, even where a moderation of such profusion is demanded by the nature of the subject.

Perhaps a large part of the influence which Bacon acquired over the minds of men and especially outside of his own country may be charged to the fascinating style of his effusions. Nevertheless we must not overlook the comparatively unnatural affectation of this manner which puts on the color very thickly and in so far at any rate corresponds to the crude and clumsy object whose picture is to be drawn. But this intrinsic harmony between the vain man and his highest purpose on the one hand and the appearance of his literary garb on the other must not deceive us with regard to the discord in which both stand with the nobler type of what is true and in accordance with nature.

Useful knowledge is to be increased by observation and experiment and thus the power and dignity of mankind will be enhanced. The fundamental idea which guides the philosopher in this respect is in fact the same as that with which the British nation has been imbued up to the present day. It is an idea which arises

quite automatically whenever material considerations are dominant and is never lacking where the force and magnitude of external life preserve the balance over all other interests by means of cultural relations. In the face of this principle, the scientific method is not the thing of first importance, but merely a consequence of the main factor. The technical and practical triumph is the end in view, and man's impulse to increase his power over nature and his fellow beings is the motive cause.

This explains both facts and theories. It is the pivot around which Bacon's imagination constantly turned. In life he strove after power for himself and practised the arts by which the higher offices could be procured. In science he felt obliged to preach to the human race a similar line of conduct, namely to follow the grossest means of research with absolute disregard of all the nobler motives for acquiring knowledge. He cared nothing for relations with more ideal interests. He assumed that men would have to waive the incontestable consciousness of intellectual supremacy in favor of the material extension of power. He gave little heed to all the ideas about life and the universe, or rather in his opinion they shrivelled up into an arena for the great art of the "useful," in the coarser sense of the word.

When we read his vigorous aphorisms and comprehend his expressions on the lamentable condition of his time we may deceive ourselves for a moment with regard to their true meaning and scope. All knowledge, he says derisively, rested hitherto on about six brainlets (*in sex hominum cerebellis*). The only hope, we read in one of his best known utterances, is to be placed in true induction. Who to-day would not fully agree with the general import of such an idea? And yet what a narrow interpretation the fundamental principle just quoted bears in the mind of the author of the *Novum organon*!

The history of science has for several centuries endorsed the notion that the expansion of the human horizon must proceed from the inductive method, and in certain unprogressive domains it is even to-day looking for decisive results from the application of this truth. Yet the method in which Bacon thought he had pointed out the way and the means for the increase of knowledge has only a very remote and superficial similarity to the inductive method from which the results of modern science are derived.

The "New Organon," as its title indicates, was to accomplish what men had striven in vain for a number of centuries to attain by the aid of the old *organon*, i. e., the logical writings of Aristotle.

An instrument of knowledge was to be constructed which would bear better fruit than the conceptual fabric of the scholastics and their ancient masters which revolved in a circle and was despised by all the world. The barren syllogistic of Aristotle was to give place to systematic methods in which experimental research would have to proceed. This in itself was a great task—so great that to the present time only a very small part can be regarded as settled. But the solution Bacon originated is coming more and more to be definitely recognized as a mistake which soon could no longer count as anything positive.

Nevertheless in the face of these facts which we regard as undoubted indications of error and inadequacy, we must be just to the merits of Bacon's works which lie in a different direction. Wherever the actually deplorable condition of learning and the causes by which the attainment of positive knowledge is hindered are to be described, there Francis Bacon has found his proper place. The feeling of the impotence of previous scholarship and of the consequent human degradation was so strong and vivid in him that it lent a great charm to his presentation of the *idola* which hinder progress. He took this stand in the first parts of the *Novum organon* as directed against a vast number of prejudices and customs among which the errors of learning are also suitably treated. Pedantry is condemned with fine scorn, and the single expression "professional habit" (*mos professorius*) means at least as much in the mouth of the man of the world or of business as the pertinent characterization of *idola*, especially the so-called shadow pictures of the cave (*idolon specus sive cavernae*).² By the latter very obvious expression Bacon sums up in this case all the individual limitations originating partly from submersion in the narrowness of an isolated vocational life hemmed in by an ignorant tradition.

Different classes of idols are here displayed, and the theory of these illusive forces and these idols whose cult hinders the progress of true science is well worth reading and taking to heart to-day. Likewise where Bacon turns upon the prevalent metaphysics, the daring of his conceptions deserves our sympathy even to-day whenever he points prophetically to the vain and futile systems which would be proposed in the remotest future. The perusal of the brief portion of the *Novum organon* devoted to general conceptions might still serve in certain quarters as means towards intellectual liberation. Just because we are separated from the author by several centuries, the stimulating effect of his general

² Compare Plato's Republic, VII.—Ed.

descriptions is often all the greater. In these characteristics there lies something of the restless impulse which is manifest in our own century.

In Bacon's eyes printing, gunpowder and the mariner's compass had already pointed the way to goals of modern power and greatness. He would have naught to do with those dry controversies which bore no fruit for human mastery over things but only for the position and purse of the professors. For this reason he rejected the syllogistics of Aristotle as totally barren, and opposed authority in general, which is wrongly conceded to the traditions of antiquity. On the river of time it is likewise the lesser weight which floats on top of the water, and so it is exactly the lighter and less valuable material which has been washed up while the heavier and more significant has gone to the bottom. The works of an Aristotle are preserved, while those of a Democritus and Empedocles and others who were occupied with the true knowledge of nature have been lost. The great significance which is generally attributed to the accomplishments of the past is one of the chief reasons for the impotence of the present.

Lord Bacon conceived the idea of a reformation of science as a whole, and in later years he liked to regard it as "a strange sort of fate" that although he "had labored for the sciences more than for all else, yet he had been torn away to business matters and a public life."

A certain encyclopedic current in those times need not surprise us. In the comparatively narrow limits of the science of those days universal combinations of the whole domain do not yet appear as unsolvable tasks. Therefore we need not wonder that the possessor of that proud consciousness of his own calling devoted the work of the *Instauratio magna* not only to present the actual condition of knowledge in all quarters but also actually to blaze a new path and to show not only the method recommended but also its results.

The complete work, of which the *Novum organon* is only one part, has remained, it is true, without a conclusion. Even the title of the main part which appeared first, "On the Dignity and Enhancement of the Sciences" (*De dignitate et augmentis scientiarum*) is characteristic. Nevertheless the *Novum organon*, which follows as the methodological basis, must be looked upon as the work properly representing Bacon's philosophy. It is not the universal scholar and his encyclopedic effort that we are interested in, but the methodizer and the impulses towards empiricism that he originated.

As previously indicated, Bacon's epistemology is of far greater

negative than positive significance. He formulates correctly the contrast between the Aristotelian method and the requirements of a genuine increase of knowledge. In this connection he gives expression strikingly and drastically to what the approach of the modern era had made perceptible before his time in the most diverse quarters and to what Telesius Cosenza (1508-1588), for instance, whom Bacon valued highly, had really represented.

Nevertheless his struggle against Aristotelian logic does not agree entirely with the general conflict in which at that time the progressive party of the scholars and philosophers engaged against the validity of that authority. Bacon directed his attention with good effect against the two chief failings of the Stagirite. He explained as unavailing the syllogistic connection of thoughts on the one hand, and on the other the explanation of nature by the introduction of the concept of purpose. The kind of observation which took pleasure in searching after the purposes and intentions of nature's operations he compared to a divinely consecrated virgin who does not give birth to a child. However, he thought that what is met with in Aristotle as so-called induction is not at all rational as true induction; that it refers only to the enumeration of cases and therefore may be found in the crudest beginnings.

The positive part of the *Novum organon* presents the several ways in which according to Bacon's idea research must be reformed in order to obtain results scientifically. And yet his enumeration of a large number of possible situations and applications of analytical thought is itself neither methodic nor adequate. The cases for and against the combination of two properties or phenomena are for instance to be brought together in order to be able to pronounce judgment for or against the affinity (e. g., of light and warmth) according to the overwhelming accumulation of data. If one can not deny that the whole systematization is able to exert a stimulating effect in many directions yet the actual result is almost nothing. The very thing that is most important in the strict science of to-day is not even taken into consideration. That there can be such a thing as an experiment possible only on the basis of genuine speculation is not recognized in the least.

If we seek a reason for these errors we are confronted with two possibilities. On the one hand there is even yet no separate theory of inquiry in which authoritative schemata for the intellectual function would be proposed in such a way as to be recognized by naturalists as adequate and useful, and by logicians as rational and systematic. On the other hand the assumption is most widespread

among the positivists that such a theory of inquiry could not accomplish anything aside from the quite general ideas of observation and experiment. It is not possible, they say with some reason, to replace the practical foresight of the thinker and student once for all by a collection of universal applications and formulas. Now those who proceed from this hypothesis will find the errors of the positive attempts of the *Novum organon* quite in order. They will prophesy a like failure for the efforts of every one who to-day would undertake a similar task.

But now it will be urged against this that within strict science itself—although in the garb of typical instances—scientific principles and applications of the most general interpretation have been laid down, and that it only requires a similar genius to create an adequate and useful theory of inquiry upon the basis of these partly concealed elements.

It is true that but few instances of this kind were at Bacon's command, and, what is worse, these he could not utilize with his type of mind and his knowledge. Since he had not the slightest comprehension of the rôle and scope of mathematics in generating knowledge he was compelled to remain behind even that which the first Bacon three centuries before him had recognized as a scientific necessity and had applied successfully. In this defect in mathematical and mechanical thought the man who presumed to point out the paths of the future by his own method completely misunderstood the greatest attainments of the past. He ridiculed as a manifest folly the Copernican system which had been made public a few decades before his birth. He represented the falsest notions in mechanics, and even ignored Archimedes's law of the lever at the very time when the foundations of modern dynamics were being laid by the almost contemporaneous Galilei.

But what Lord Bacon could not accomplish and what no one will be able to do in the future who does not recognize positively the significant part played by mathematical and quantitatively determined calculations and who does not regard them as a universally authoritative principle, was the discovery of the true scientific principles and the most efficient means of extending positive and fruitful knowledge. He also lacked the slightest conception of that kind of genuine naturalistic speculation which led a Galilei to recognize the law of falling bodies, and without which observations and experiments would not be able to accomplish anything of importance.

Just those anticipations which Bacon rejected are in a certain

sense the first and most powerful means by which the understanding penetrates the secrets of nature and marks out the direction in which the decisive questions should be formulated, and wherever possible to have them answered by nature itself by means of artificially arranged experiments. The best part of the theory must in most cases be present before one succeeds in presupposing in a general way facts of a determining kind. Now to be sure mathematical thought is not the only source, though it is the most original source, of all genuine anticipations. Whoever can not appreciate this basis of a safe orientation must misunderstand still more every other class of intrinsically authoritative forces of cognition. The understanding with its power to make *a priori* determinations must remain concealed from him and thus it is easy enough to explain why the *Novum organon* failed in its positive task. Indeed this explanation presupposes in the one for whom it is intended to have any weight certain ideas of the content of strict science and of those intellectual powers by which it has actually become great.

Our account of the causes which prevented Bacon from attaining his main purpose even in the slightest respect is confirmed by the recollection especially of the difference between him and the genius of the same name who preceded him by three centuries in a similar attempt.

Both Bacons took their point of departure from the utter inaccessibility of what science there was and inadequacy of the prevalent methods. Both led discussions on the obstacles which hindered more perfect knowledge. Both attempted a comprehensive encyclopedia of the objects of knowledge but the first Bacon was a positive thinker along mathematical lines who attained incontestable results. He was impelled by a genuine love of knowledge; vanity and ostentation were entirely foreign to him. The practical results of this method can not be disputed. At least in optics and particularly the theory of refraction he made decided progress. He also discovered the combination of gunpowder itself, or at least of something similar to it, as well as the application of such an explosive substance to the ejection of bodies from a tube. But we can not bring up the slightest evidence in this direction with regard to the second Bacon. He did not succeed in making a single discovery, nor has a single application of his method elsewhere led him to any attainment worth mentioning.

Then too if we compare the relative position which both occupied to the centuries in which they lived and worked, there can not be the slightest doubt to-day that that lonesome student of the

thirteenth century far outshone the self-satisfied chancellor in this point also. Even those, who, like Hallam, the English historian and expert of the middle ages, value the second Bacon more highly than he deserves have not a moment's hesitancy in recognizing Roger Bacon as the first author of his century. Now no one to-day would make the same claim for the second Bacon, and yet that estimation of his predecessor is far below the truth.

Roger Bacon was not only in advance of his own century but in the most important respect far beyond the entire middle ages, and in some directions, as far as his type of mind is concerned, he even stood on those heights which every era possesses, and on which in all ages only geniuses of the first rank meet and understand each other. Hence he shared in that which towers above the middle level of every era and belongs to that region in which mankind as such, and not merely this or that generation, seeks nobler and truer standards. Whatever pains we may take to praise the scientific Lord Chancellor we shall not be able to win for him so high a position. We must be satisfied if in the face of the nature of his works, which we are now fortunate enough to be able to study more closely, we may claim for him a certain power to stimulate to empirical methods. Even his assault upon the old methods has a negative value, nor can we refuse him the credit of having systematically and extensively classified and exposed certain obstacles and absurdities of human knowledge. Yet in this respect as well he may have been but the imitator of his predecessor. Still the opinions of those who accuse him of directly borrowing from the manuscripts of the first Bacon, and, as for instance Charles Forster, have even printed parallel passages side by side, cannot be considered here. It is known that others also have stolen from Roger Bacon without giving him credit and have even honored him by making literal excerpts. One such passage, for instance, made a deep impression on Columbus and determined his decision without the future discoverer of the new world knowing what genius he had, so to speak, come into contact, and from what century he had received confirmation of his views with regard to a western passage.

Roger Bacon stands too high, and Francis Bacon is of comparatively too little significance for it not to be better to regard the loan question in this case as pretty subordinate, and to save the time which might be spent in exposing plagiarisms for really important theories and considerations.

At any rate the second Bacon did not use his predecessor to the

best advantage in the most important point, namely with respect to mathematical and mechanical modes of thought and the corresponding basis of the sciences. A skilful borrower who would have taken up the matter from this side would evidently have made himself more useful to the world than the second Bacon with his *Novum organon*, the alleged instrument of science, in whose construction unfortunately the finest instrument and most powerful medium of knowledge which the human mind possesses remained unconsidered. Nevertheless the Baron of Verulam would fain have lifted the scientific world off its hinges without knowing the law of the lever.

ROGER BACON THE PHILOSOPHER.

1214-1294; 1214-1914.

BY ALFRED H. LLOYD.

HISTORY works many wonders; none, however, more striking than that, again and again exemplified, of the discovery, resurrection, and transfiguration of the forerunner. Doubtless, some day, when America shall at last have produced her great philosophers, a real and really dramatic history of American philosophy will come to be written and the relatively small and insignificant thinkers of past and present, although perhaps long forgotten and never greatly celebrated, may become immortal as forerunners. Think what Socrates, Plato and Aristotle did for the historic line of the pre-Socratic philosophers beginning with Thales or—possibly not so remarkably—what Kant and Hegel did for their forerunners beginning with Descartes. And, to come to the subject of this essay, think what Lord Bacon of the seventeenth century and the natural science whose method he has had the fame of first clearly formulating, did for Roger Bacon of the thirteenth. Can it be that resurrection rather than burial is a law of history?

But there is, of course, a different side to the whole matter, not necessarily flattering to him or those who have followed. In the history of philosophy, as in all history, any day or generation is constantly being found to have, or at least to seem to have, plagiarized from the past. The forerunner, when brought to life and justified by some later thinker, often proves to be, not the dependent or subject, but the master, even robbing the later and widely reputed prophet of his glory. Dr. Jacoby,¹ of the University of Greifswald, lecturing in America a year ago, found most if not all of Bergson in Schopenhauer and with a skill not less success-

¹ See also Günther Jacoby, "Henri Bergson, Pragmatism and Schopenhauer," *The Monist*, Oct. 1912.

ful and scholarly performed certain other similar feats that all but turned familiar history topsy-turvy, making a supposedly dead and ghostly past not merely real and alive but even more real, more vital or at least more original, than the present. Perhaps Greifswald was unwilling that any good thing should rise from the fermentations of Paris, but, again to come to the subject of this essay, of the two Bacons it has been said more than once, not only that the earlier friar was possessed of more insight and originality than the later lord, but also that, while the lord doubtless got his name without benefit of the friar, he nevertheless quietly appropriated many of the other sources of his reputation from his more brilliant as well as more pious forerunner. As to the truth of this charge it must always remain at least a puzzle why there should be so many striking and often almost verbal similarities between the doctrines of the two men; for example between their protests against the authority of the past, of medievalism generally and of the medieval Aristotelianism, between the four idols, or *idola*, of the one and the four *offendicula* of the other; and, not to lengthen the list here, between the prophecy that Francis made of such modern wonders as flying-machines, carriages not drawn by beasts, telephones and submarines and that of the same things proclaimed by Roger more than four hundred years earlier. Perhaps by surreptitiously introducing all those surprising acrostics Francis Bacon did not manage to have written Shakespeare, but he does seem to have been busily writing on passages in the *Opera* of Roger Bacon prenatally by several hundred years. In any case, while resurrection may be one of the laws of history, the later day restoring the earlier, it does seem also as if at least sometimes the past, hearing the great trumpet-call, rose up to the serious if not fatal undoing even of long following generations.

Still, not on the relative greatness or originality of the two Bacons and their different times must I hold my attention or my readers'. Whichever man one decide to make the support of the other, be Roger Bacon the great genius or only the fortunate forerunner, there is good reason for the present interest in him, and my particular contribution to that interest has to do primarily with his philosophy. Of his philosophy, then, I shall speak under three heads: metaphysics; methodology; moral philosophy.

The metaphysics is notable in at least three respects. In the first place, his substance is no mere stuff or material, whether physical or spiritual, of which things are made by being given some form, say the form of stone or tree or the image of God. It is no

mere clay, in itself aimless and lifeless, in the potter's hands. *Mere* material can be no more substantial than *mere* form. In other words substance, *real substance*, can lie only in the union of material and form. So, as I would submit, does the always far-seeing friar say, only in the rather inadequate language of his time, that substance is essentially dynamic or active in its own right or nature, inhering not in the material nor in the idea or form, but in the process by which material takes form or form expresses itself materially or, quite generally, by which universal and particular, being inseparable, work in and through each other. His was thus more a *genuinely* Aristotelian or even a Leibnitzian idea of substance than a scholastic or, to say the least, than a mediævally orthodox one. I have added the alternative, because in the doctrine of substance, as well as in many other doctrines, Roger Bacon's philosophy is an emphatic reminder that the Middle Ages were not so blind nor so bound as they have often appeared to be to the casual view, and in general I wonder if, instead of feeling surprise that in men and in ideas the thirteenth century was often alive with what was "ahead of its times," as the phrase runs, one should not rather expect to find in a civilization that did finally outgrow itself living and notable evidences of the coming change.

But, for the second important aspect of the metaphysics, quite consistently with his idea of substance Bacon holds that mere material can have no integrity of its own. There can be no single something, that is, no material *one*, no one stuff, behind all things: a denial, I think, that is directed quite as strongly against any oneness or singleness or say any homogeneity in the spiritual as in the physical realm: for in his vigorous antipanteism Bacon shows himself opposed both to materialism and to monism as explanation of the spiritual world. In fact he seems to me to be here a very true follower of St. Francis himself in that in his feeling or vision, if not in any of his definite statements, he is become virtually indifferent to the differences of the traditional dualism. For him, integrity no longer dwelling in the mere stuff of things, what does it signify whether things belong materially to one realm or the other? Spiritually or physically the material of things is plural, not singular; many, not one. *Quantæ res, tantæ materiæ*. A harder and more destructive blow to the dualist's traditional stuffs, merely of which individuals are made, would be difficult to conceive.

And, thirdly, Bacon the metaphysician, regarding substance as in the union of material and form and insisting that no mere material can have any unity, proceeds to a very logical conclusion.

namely, to the assertion of the prior reality of individuals in the world. Universals have no real existence. Whatever claim universals may have to recognition can lie only in the resemblances of individuals. Our metaphysician was thus nominalistic, and in his nominalism, however uncertain and inarticulate it may seem when compared with that of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, we have one more evidence of his timely originality and precocity and a door, set well ajar, by which we may pass from his metaphysics to his methodology. With the subordination of the one to the many, of universals to individuals, appear appreciation and advocacy, theoretical and practical, of induction and experiment. Others must tell how much or how little was actually accomplished through these methods. I am to consider here only Roger Bacon's sense for method, and in using this phrase I mean to indicate in a rough way to what extent he may be called a methodologist.

In any reflections on Bacon's sense for method one needs to give very special regard to the times in which Bacon lived. The sophistication that underlies any adequate appreciation of method as method, any clearly conscious and well-controlled adaptation of means to end, can hardly be said to have constituted a conspicuous and pronounced factor in the atmosphere of the thirteenth century. Nor in the cause of the natural genius and timely precocity of that century do we need to look for such mature sophistication. Neither church nor state, neither industry nor social life had reached the deliberation and finesse which that would demand. Machiavelli or at least Machiavellism—for there may be some physiologist near at hand—was still three centuries unborn. Jesuitry was no older. Industrial organization and social custom were waiting—not yet very restlessly—for the Renaissance to make them, first humanistically awake, self-conscious, zestful, and then, as man, conscious of his own worth, should come to demand liberation from all confusion and entanglement with the machinery, the mere instruments and methods, of life, even rationalistic, *resorting, as he finally did to reason and nature that he might escape the constraint of his own institutions*. Chemistry was only alchemy. Astronomy was astrology. The ritual of religion was exorcistic. All of which is to say, I think, that in general the method or the formal organization by which a society trains or educates its members to a sense of method was not yet abstracted and dehumanized. In every department of life society was organized in the spirit of militarism that directly exploited men, their physical strength, their personal hopes

and fears, their wants, their habits, their immediate attitudes and ideas, for all the interests and purposes of life. Human life, physical, mental and spiritual, was still both end and means. Of course for man thus to be using his own nature, all its various forces and resources, for development of himself, was to be exhibiting an inefficiency—suggestive almost of the futility of trying to lift oneself by one's boot-straps—that must even provoke a smile in these very modern days of efficiency, but whether in physical or in mental activities, that military way of exploiting human nature, of treating it as both end and means, had at least the value of being educative. Just by being treated in his own person as a corporate part of the method and machinery of life, man acquired, let me say, as the natural outcome of his discipline, the power of himself at once freely and in our modern sense efficiently using method and machinery. He was educated to use for his own purposes forces and resources that were natural rather than human, objective rather than subjective, mechanical and physical rather than military and human. He was made no longer a soldier, but a mechanic; no longer a compliant believer, but a logical thinker; no longer a mere slavish ritualist in any field, but an investigator and experimenter. And so, if the Renaissance be noteworthy as peculiarly the transition period of such a development, Roger Bacon's century can hardly be expected to have produced more than a prophet of it. His own sense for method was indeed no uncertain sign of what was to come, but such ideas as he had are not worked out in those details that insure effectiveness. He, or his methodology, such as it was, only shows that the education of the medieval organization of society was beginning to produce substantial results.

Perhaps it is far-fetched to attach any great importance to the fact that Bacon belonged to one of those orders that must always be thought of as valuable forerunners of Protestantism and that in this character showed a strong disposition, by using the church and its officers rather than being used by them, to turn the existing organization of life into an external means to life instead of continuing to confuse it with the end of life. Also it may be unwise even to make much of Bacon's English extraction. Some importance, however, must belong both to the Franciscan connection and the English extraction, although without them a man very much like our English Franciscan must soon have appeared. The medieval system had already passed the era of its greatest formal successes and for any system this era must soon be followed

by the change, already indicated here, but now somewhat differently described, from the system's institutional and dogmatic period to its instrumental and experimental period. Of just this change Bacon's methodology is a sign or, if the metaphor be not too violent, an alembic; and with it, as must now be pointed out carefully, there came also the generalization or the opening of the view that the experimental use of anything in distinction from a use so self-centered as hardly to constitute use at all, or that induction, in distinction from deduction, must always bring. Deduction, for example, is naturally committed to some fixed and special system or law; it is monarchical and institutional. But induction is bound only to a general lawfulness, to an open principle of law in things, being democratic and experimental.

But now I would go even further than suggesting as above I have suggested, that Bacon's appreciation of experiment and induction were products of the medieval system and its educative influences. On one factor of method, as he conceived it, I have not yet touched. To induction and experiment Bacon added mathematics, in his appreciation of this far excelling his follower of the same name and possibly excelling, too, even his own appreciation of experiment and induction. Was the sense for mathematics also in the atmosphere of his century? Was it also an outcome of the medieval organization of society? I have to believe that it was. Possibly, from what has been said already the grounds of this belief will be easily surmised, but mathematics or mathematicalism seems to me very like a liberated legalism or institutionalism. It is a spiritualized and dehumanized, a universalized and objectified legalism. Thus, again, the spirit of legalism with its tests of formal consistency belongs to mathematics in the very highest degree, but in mathematics that spirit has been freed, first, from any one given system or regime, the "given" in any instance always having the character of only one among indefinite other hypotheses, and, second, from human interest and bias, qualitative differences being lost in homogeneity and valuations being all quantitative and being controlled by standardized methods and instruments. An institutional life, then, like that of the medieval church and state, as it passed from an institutional to an experimental and instrumental character, was bound to produce, at least among the more responsive and appreciative members of its personnel, not merely the wider view of experiment and induction, but also the freedom of the mathematical way of reasoning; and Roger Bacon, at once Eng-

lishman and Franciscan, was certainly one of the most responsive and appreciative spirits of his time.

For the rest, it is important to keep in mind that, like all else in his philosophy, Bacon's sense for science and its method was more vision than clear and full understanding. He saw much afar off, but, as said here already, in formulating the details of what he saw and in effective and productive application he was lacking. A significant side-light on his methodology is afforded by his sensitiveness to the deficiencies in the scholarship of his time. Not only in the sciences would he have a methodical study of nature, but also in the humanities, notably in the languages and literatures, he would have men go carefully and methodically to the sources instead of using most untrustworthy translations then still in vogue. In his methodology, finally, Bacon was a thinker or seer beyond his times or beyond what appears as the vogue or the surface of them. A stick, however, drawn from the water, must still drip, and in view of this truth, interesting and fascinating to the observer in many ways, it is refreshing and reassuring to find that with all his anticipations of the modern standpoint Bacon was still of his own century, not now because every century of a growing civilization must have its prophets and forerunners, but because he actually mingled the magic of his day with his method, the blind and extravagant expectation with his rationalism. The languages, notably Hebrew, were to be mastered in a few days; the sciences in a few weeks. The Berlitz Method for the languages, "while you wait," and Steele's *Physics in Fourteen Weeks*,—if I have the title right,—are but a far cry from Roger's splendid dreams.

Thirdly and lastly, there is the moral philosophy to be considered. In this, as might be expected, progressivism being always peculiarly reluctant in matters of religion and morality, Bacon is disappointing. At least he is disappointing at first sight. Thus for him moral philosophy is neither more nor less than theology. Science and reason are handmaids of the church. Although such empirical generalizations as he makes in the field of morals are often interesting and show perhaps more than ordinary insight, ecclesiastical tradition appears as a strong bias in them all. So, whatever be true of Bacon the metaphysician and methodologist, Bacon the moral philosopher seems more the medieval friar than the seer and thinker. But he is indeed a poor friar who is not more than his gown, and Bacon proves to be in reality much more even in his moral philosophy. Thus for him moral philosophy or theology is no discipline by itself, aloof and wholly independent;

it is neither more nor less than the crowning science. The term "sacred" he applies not merely to theology but to other sciences, like geography and geometry, and with a meaning that no ordinary theologian of his time could ever intend. Science and reason are for him truly handmaids of the church, but he is also at least near to regarding them as in a *necessary* attendance upon the church and its faith, and, plainly, if indispensable to the church, they have a certain independence. Indeed Bacon sometimes concedes to them a worth quite their own. "We have now considered," he says, at the beginning of the *Opus majus*, "philology, mathematics and experimental science and have observed both their intrinsic importance and their value to the church." With this introduction he proceeds to his moral philosophy or theology, which, as turns out, he would have based on a synthesis—marvelous to contemplate and showing the friar in a large rôle and in danger, too, of an un-Christian if not unholy enthusiasm—of the Mosaic law, Christian revelation, pagan philosophy, and natural science. Frequently he quotes Aristotle, Plato, Cicero and Seneca.

So, after all, Roger Bacon, the forerunner and seer, was by no means altogether lacking in his moral philosophy.

In closing, I would say of Bacon's doctrines at large, of his life and thought as a whole, that such a man of genuine vision and enthusiasm, a man not too successful in understanding himself and in formulating his ideas for others, has an importance that in our own time may easily be underestimated. Also, after finding him and getting knowledge of him, historians must gain new interest and confidence in their studies from the fact that the clear seeing, the rationalism and the mechanicalism, the experimental science and the mathematics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, not to speak of later times and standpoints, had such a worthy forerunner as early as the thirteenth. Without such prophets as Bacon, without such men, able to distill the future from the past, history would surely be a dull and futile science.

ROGER BACON AS A SCIENTIST.

BY KARL E. GUTHE.

IN the history of science of the thirteenth century two commanding figures stand out among all the natural philosophers of their time, Albrecht von Bollstaedt and Roger Bacon. Both have been highly praised as great men, and both have been sneered at as charlatans. Certainly neither of them had a high opinion of the other. Nothing appears to be more difficult than to decide upon the characteristics of a great scientist. In his book entitled *Grosse Männer* Ostwald selected only investigators who had made some remarkable discovery as examples of this type. But to measure all men by such a single standard as Ostwald's appears to me unjust and wholly onesided. I would rather call each of Ostwald's heroes a scientific genius and not restrict the class of great men so as to shut out any one who in one way or another has had a profound influence upon the progress of civilization.

Roger Bacon cannot be credited with a single epoch-making discovery, and yet he deserves to be called a great man. He is one of those rare scholars who combine with a remarkably extensive knowledge and with an admiration for the majesty and mystery of this world a powerful conviction that a certain unity underlies the various phenomena in nature and that all sciences—in their widest sense—are dependent upon one another. Such men attempt to rise above mere details, to view the world as a whole, and then present in bold outlines a picture of the Cosmos as they see it. In many cases their efforts result in the production of a mere cosmic encyclopedia, but for really great thinkers the world of observation blends with the world which they build up in their imagination to a unified picture, though possibly distorted and unreal when viewed by later generations.

We seem to be unable to get at any one time a complete view of this world; in fact our view is constantly changing, and every attempt to chain down the Cosmos has been unsuccessful. In this

respect Roger Bacon achieved no more than others have before or after him. His works, like all similar attempts, should be entitled "Facts and Fancies." In view of the meager equipment of facts which the scientific world possessed at that time, fancies play an important rôle in Bacon's treatises. As a source of scientific information his writings are of little value, but as human documents describing the knowledge, beliefs and superstitions then existing, and showing the attitude of scholars towards scientific questions, they are of absorbing interest.

Man has not changed appreciably in 700 years. Much as we now discuss the value or uselessness of certain disciplines, so did men in Bacon's time. Just as at present we often consider any one an ignoramus who happens to disagree with us, and declare another a profound scholar whose views coincide with ours, so Bacon, who was a little more outspoken than is considered proper for a twentieth century professor, considered only one mental attitude towards important philosophic questions to be correct; and this indeed is the attitude which in the present scientific age is shared by many of us. Therefore we are liable to overestimate Bacon's importance in the history of science. He was not generally considered a great man in his own age and for some centuries afterwards, when the methods for searching after truth were different.

How was it possible that a man like Roger Bacon could arise in the thirteenth century? How could he have shaped for himself a world picture so different from that taught in the powerful University of Paris? I do not believe that even a master mind, such as he doubtless was, can create a great thought or state a fundamental truth without considerable preliminary work and study on the part of some predecessors who have at least felt it, though unable to express it as clearly. Indeed, Roger Bacon seems to me to be the product of a perfectly definite movement and—unfortunately for science—its last great exponent for the time being.

It was not until shortly before Bacon's time that Europe became acquainted with Arabian scholarship which itself was a product of the cultures of Greece and India. While the Arabs preserved and taught Greek philosophy, they were mainly interested in the purely scientific results of Greek scholarship and laid special emphasis upon the development of the mathematical sciences.

It seems that a revival of mathematics occurred first in England. Adelhard of Bath who had traveled among the Arabs for purposes of study, translated upon his return to England in 1130

the Elements of Euclid; Jean of Holywood wrote a book on arithmetic, and Robert Gross-tête, later bishop of Lincoln, was greatly interested in mathematics and the sciences. So was Adam de Marisco. The last two, Roger's teachers of whose learning he speaks always with the greatest respect, must have been powerful and original minds and must have made a lasting impression upon the younger scholar.

Bacon was thus a product of a school of mathematics and formed his world picture accordingly. While he acknowledges the value of the languages—namely in order to avoid mistranslations—he says of mathematics: "He who knows not mathematics cannot know any other science; what is more, he cannot discover his own ignorance or find its proper remedies. So it is that the knowledge of this science prepares the mind and elevates it to a well authenticated knowledge of all things."¹

This statement which seems highly appropriate as applied to physical sciences, refers, however, not only to the sciences proper, but to theology as well, as he explains at length in his *Opus tertium*: "Without mathematics we can not fix the dates of sacred history nor can we see the true relations between celestial and mundane occurrences."² Without geometry we cannot get a clear idea of the shape of Noah's ark, or of the tabernacle. Without arithmetic we cannot understand the symbolic meaning of the Trinity. Since at his time mathematics included also the science of music, he adds as further argument, that without music we know nothing about hymns and invocations of spirits. A large portion of the *Opus tertium* is devoted to a discussion of the beneficial and elevating influence of music and rhythmical art. It may appear peculiar that Bacon places so much emphasis upon what might now be considered as trivial; but it should be remembered that these very things frequently formed the subject of highly learned disputations among Bacon's colleagues.

This man, so strongly convinced that mathematics forms the very foundation of all knowledge, went to Paris for further study; and what did he find? The far famed illustrious teachers of that

¹ *Opus majus*, pars IV ("Mathematicae in divinis utilitas," distinctio prima, ch. I): "Quoniam qui ignorat eam non potest scire caeteras scientias nec res hujus mundi, ut probabo. Et, quod pejus est, homines eam ignorantes non percipiunt suam ignorantiam, et ideo remedium non quaerunt. Ac per contrarium hujus scientiae notitia praeparat animum et elevat ad omnium certificatam cognitionem."

² *Opus tertium*, ch. XI: "Nam planum est quod sine mathematica non possunt sciri coelestia: et coelestia sunt causae rerum inferiorum, et causata non possunt sciri sine causis suis."

time—Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas and others—were interested in entirely different things. In Roger's estimation they could not compare with his former teachers who according to him were perfect in divine and human wisdom. The shortcomings of the Parisians he could easily explain by asserting: "The neglect of mathematics for thirty or forty years has nearly destroyed the entire study of Latin Christendom."³

In disgust he turns away from his unsympathetic colleagues. He speaks in praise of only one person, and him indeed he calls a perfect mathematician. This man was a Picard by the name of Peter de Maharncuria. For many years historians have tried to identify him; Charles has shown him to be no other than Peter Peregrinus, the well-known writer of a letter on terrestrial magnetism and the compass.⁴ This scholar was not a teacher in Paris, but an independent investigator, and apparently little known.

A man like Bacon would certainly be much interested in physical problems, and indeed he found great pleasure in the study of light which subject was at that time restricted to geometrical optics. In this field also he finds nothing in Paris. Twice there had been lectures in Oxford on light, but not once in Paris. Listen to his complaints about the conditions in the latter institution. "The man who pretends to be an authority in optics, knows nothing about its value, as clearly appears from his books; because neither has he written a treatise on this subject—and he would have done so, had he had the knowledge—nor has he said anything about it in other books." And then in his characteristic manner he closes with the words, "and therefor he cannot know any thing about philosophy."⁵

It is difficult to describe the peculiar charm which we find in the study of Bacon's works. We modern scientists are so accustomed—and I believe properly so—to eliminate our own personality from our work, that our world has become one without feeling, that it speaks to us only through experimental facts. In Bacon's writings it is all so different. Those old scientists took no interest

³ *Opus majus*, pars IV, ch. I: "Et harum scientiarum porta et clavis est mathematica.—Cujus negligentia jam per triginta vel quadraginta annos destruxit totum studium Latinorum."

⁴ A full account of this important work is given in Benjamin's *The Intellectual Rise in Electricity*, pp. 165-190.

⁵ *Opus tertium*, ch. XI: "Haec autem scientia non est adhuc lecta Parisius, nec apud Latinos, nisi bis Oxoniae in Anglia; et non sunt tres qui sciant ejus potestatem: unde ille, qui fecit se auctorem, de quo superius dixi, nihil novit de hujus scientiae potestate, sicut apparet in libris suis, quia nec fecit librum de hac scientia, et fecisset si scivisset, nec in libris aliis aliquid de hac scientia recitavit.—Et ideo non potest scire aliquid de sapientia philosophiae."

in the game when they eliminated sentiment and animosity from their discussions. At times it is almost uncanny to feel the old monk sitting right by your side and pleading with you in such a personal and direct manner. One can not help fearing that one's estimate of his proper place in the history of science might become warped by sympathy for him. It is difficult not to be persuaded that the great Albert was after all an impostor, wholly unfit to be a professor in the great university. And yet, Bacon's estimate of his great scholastic contemporaries was certainly too harsh.

We must not forget that science had just been revived in the Christian world. In 1209 the study of the books of Aristotle was forbidden; in 1215 Robert de Courçon, a papal legate, renewed the prohibition, expressly including Aristotle's metaphysics; in 1231 a bull of Gregory IX modified this decision with the proviso that the prohibited books were not to be used until they were proved to be free of error; and only 13 years before Bacon wrote his *Opus majus* was the ban raised. It is therefore evident that considerable time was needed for the assimilation of the new knowledge and for a slow growing appreciation of its method.

A thousand years before Bacon, Eusebius said with regard to scientific questions: "It is not through ignorance of the things admired by them, but through contempt of their own useless labor, that we think little of these matters, turning our souls to the exercise of better things." The attitude of the church had not changed in the least, for Bacon says: "When the philosophers are told in these days that they ought to study perspective, or geometry, or the languages, they ask with a sneer: What is the use of these things? insinuating their uselessness. They refuse to hear a word said with reference to their utility; they neglect and condemn the sciences of which they are ignorant."⁶

We can easily understand that a man of Bacon's temperament and independence had no use for Albertus Magnus who prided himself that he taught the ancient science in such a way that no one could recognize his own personal views. The animosity shown in the above quotation is a much more serious matter than a disagreement of two scholars would be at the present time. Not two men, but two schools of thought were battling with each other. Each had devised a method for the assimilation of the new knowl-

⁶ *Opus tertium*, ch. VI: "Nam philosophantes his diebus, quando dicitur eis quod sciant perspectivam, aut geometriam, aut linguas, et alia multa, quæcunt cum derisione, 'Quid valent hæc?' asserentes quod inutilia sunt. Nec volunt audire sermonem de utilitate; et ideo neglegunt et contemnunt scientias quas ignorant."

edge, and either school used all its influence to suppress the other. Personally I am convinced that Roger Bacon would not have hesitated a moment to silence the great Albert and his adherents, had he had the power to do so. At that time a compromise was impossible; freedom of thought had not yet been discovered.

If now we consider Bacon's actual accomplishments in science a little more closely we find nothing very remarkable, though we cannot help but admire his encyclopedic knowledge of details and the clear grasp of their interrelation.

In mathematics he has added nothing to knowledge, as far as we can see. No mathematical treatise which might form a part of his contemplated all-embracing work has ever been found. This is disappointing, for Roger states that the quadrature of the circle for which the ancients had searched in vain, had finally been accomplished.⁷ It would have been interesting to compare his proof of this fallacy with that of Cusanus, 150 years later.

Bacon used his knowledge of astronomy to make an immense number of clever calculations, especially with a view of fixing the dates of occurrences mentioned in the Bible. Thus he proves to his perfect satisfaction that creation took place in the fall of the year,⁸ and he knows the exact date when the flood began. He also calculated the size of the earth. This was a rather complicated problem. The decimal system was not in general use at that time and all the data which he had at his disposal were that the length of one degree on the earth's surface was fifty-six miles plus two-thirds of a mile plus twenty-seven ninetieths plus one six hundred and thirtieth of a mile. It needs real mathematical gymnastics to reach a solution. His final result was not very far from the truth; in fact, it was nearly as accurate as that on which 400 years later (in 1666) Newton according to tradition attempted to verify his law of gravitation with the result that he did not dare publish this fundamental law, until Picard 18 years later had made new and more accurate measurements.⁹ Bacon found further that the diameter of the earth was $3\frac{2}{5}$ times the diameter of the moon, a value not bad as an approximation; but when he got farther away from

⁷ *Opus majus*, pars I, ch. VI: "Nam quadraturam circuli se ignorasse confitetur, quod his diebus scitur veraciter."

⁸ *Opus majus*, pars IV, (*loc. cit.*): "Nam multi voluerunt secundum sententiam vulgi, quod mundus fuerit creatus circiter aequinoctium vernale; sed alii apud aequinoctium autumnale; quia in veritate secundum Hebraicum veritatem, annus, quantum ad seriem temporis naturalem, incipit circiter aequinoctium autumnale."

⁹ This is merely a tradition. Newton's difficulty seems to have been of an entirely different nature. See Cajori, *History of Physics*, p. 58.

mother earth he was less successful, for he found that the diameter of the sun was only $5\frac{1}{2}$ times greater than that of the earth.

In spite of some mistakes of this sort, he was correct in many other calculations. He very earnestly and impressively urged a change of the calendar by showing clearly that Christian chronology did not agree with astronomical observations. Though he calls this error in itself "*horribilis*," this is nothing in comparison with the fact that the whole order of ecclesiastic festivals is confounded. It seems to him inexcusable that in 1267 Lent began and ended a week too late and that therefore the infidels, Arabs, Hebrews and Greeks pointed with abhorrence at the stupidity of the Christians.¹⁰

Bacon was by no means the first to advocate an improvement of the calendar, though this is sometimes claimed by his admirers. He himself mentions Theophilus, Eusebius, Victorinus, Cyrillus, Beda and others who had before him labored for the same reform. Neither was Bacon successful. The necessary change was not made until more than 300 years later.

We should not blame Bacon for believing implicitly in astrology. All the best thinkers of his time did so and even his great namesake, three centuries and a half after Roger, had not abandoned it although the Copernican theory had at that time been accepted by the leading astronomers.

As we pass on to physics we find that in this science also Bacon's contributions of new facts are very meager. At his time physics consisted of the most elementary mechanics and what we call now geometrical optics. Very little was known of electricity and magnetism. While he was an admirer of Aristotle and claims to have read all his books, he was not a blind follower like Albertus Magnus. In fact he praises Robert of Lincoln for disregarding the writings of Aristotle and working out his theories independently. Besides large portions of the *Opus majus* ("*De scientia perspectiva*") and *Opus tertium* devoted to optics his main work on this subject is "*De multiplicatione specierum*."

Roger Bacon knew the law of reflection and also that light may be refracted, though of course he was unacquainted with the law of refraction which was not discovered until 1621, by Willibrod Snell. He was much interested in the practical application of re-

¹⁰ *Opus majus*, pars IV (*loc. cit.*): "Nam omnes literati in computo et astronomi sciunt haec, et derident ignorantiam praelatorum qui haec sustinent. Atque philosophi infideles, Arabes, Hebraei, et Graeci, qui habitant inter Christianos ut in Hispania et Aegypto et in partibus orientis, et in multis aliis mundi regionibus abhorrent stultitiam quam conspiciunt in ordinatione temporum quibus utuntur Christiani in suis solemnitatibus."

flection by means of spherical mirrors, but did not know how to find their focus. Nevertheless he believed that by experiments in this direction much might be achieved. His friend Peter Peregrinus had already worked on such mirrors for three years and Bacon hoped that he would soon be able to perfect burning mirrors of great power. Of what enormous value would these be, he exclaimed. The armies of the Saracens and other enemies of Christendom could be burned at long distances by a dozen of such mirrors, attended to by a scientist and two helpers, and thus much bloodshed would be prevented.¹¹ What an elegant and inexpensive method of abolishing war and establishing universal peace!

Bacon's knowledge has been much overestimated. Some authors thought he invented the telescope. This is impossible. He did not even know that the greatest magnifying effect of a simple lens is obtained by holding it near the eye; for like Alhazen 200 years before him, he advised that the lens be laid upon the object to be viewed through the glass.¹² The great exponent of experimental work must have copied this mechanically without making independent observations. He knew, however, that the magnifying power depends upon the angle under which an object appears and he dreamed of the time when by a combination of lenses this angle might be increased so much that we might read the smallest script at incredible distance, that a boy would appear as a giant, that a small body of soldiers would be seen as a large army. By making the images of sun, moon and stars descend upon the heads of enemies, they would flee terror-stricken.¹³ To distort this sentence

¹¹ *Opus tertium*, ch. XXXVI: "Certe si duodecim talia specula haberent Aconenses, et illi qui sunt ultra mare Christiani, ipse sine effusione sanguinis pellerent Saracenos de finibus eorum; nec oportet Dominum regem Franciae cum exercitu transire pro illa terra acquirenda. Et quando ibit, plus valeret ei habere illum magistrum cum duobus aliis, quam maiorem partem exercitus sui, ne dicam totum exercitum."

¹² *Opus majus*, pars V, ("De scientia perspectiva," pars III, 2, ch. IV): "Si vero homo aspiat literas et alias res minutas per medium crystalli vel vitri vel alterius perspicui suppositi literis, et sit portio minor sphaerae cuius convexitas sit versus oculum, et oculus sit in aere, longe melius videbit literas et apparebunt ei majores."

¹³ *Ibid.*, ultima distinctio, ch. IV: "Nam possumus sic figurare perspicua, et taliter ea ordinare respectu nostri visus et rerum, quod frangentur radii et flectentur quorsumcunque voluerimus, ut sub quocunque angulo voluerimus videbimus rem prope vel longe. Et sic ex incredibili distantia legeremus literas minutissimas et pulveres ac arenas numeraremus propter magnitudinem anguli sub quo videremus, et maxima corpora de prope vix videremus propter parvitatem anguli sub quo videremus, nam distantia non facit ad huiusmodi visiones nisi per accidens, sed quantitas anguli. Et sic posset puer apparere gigas, et unus homo videri mons, et in quacunque quantitate—sic etiam faceremus solem et lunam et stellas descendere secundum apparentiam hic inferius, et similiter super capita inimicorum apparere et multa consimilia, ut animus mortalis ignorans veritatem non posset sustinere."

as meaning that Bacon actually knew a telescope or microscope, is rather daring. He merely stated a problem which he hoped might be solved by future generations.

It is this almost inspired presentiment of the coming development of science, this scientific instinct, which makes Bacon so interesting to later generations. While reading his optical works I found a most unsuspected treasure, namely what I believe to be the first appearance of the undulatory theory of light, in a rather crude form, it is true, but easily recognized. It is his theory of the propagation of species. The translators speak of Bacon's theory of propagation of "force," a word whose exact meaning as a physical quantity bothers us physicists even at the present time. But his species is not a force at all, but a quantity, as flexible and unreal as *our* much admired electromagnetic vibration of the ether. It is something caused by the acting body¹⁴—in the case of light, by the luminous body, from which the species proceeds into space in straight lines. While there may be a resemblance to the forms or replicas which according to Lucretius and the earlier philosophers proceeded from all luminous bodies, it would be an entire misapprehension of Bacon's views to identify these forms with his species. The species is not a part of the acting body, i. e., the body which we see; but it is generated in the surrounding medium. The luminous source acts on the first portion of the medium, stimulating its latent energy to the generation of the species. This portion, thus transmuted, acts on the part of the medium next succeeding, and so the action proceeds from point to point.¹⁵ Species has therefore no bodily existence apart from that of the medium through which it passes, and light cannot be a material body.¹⁶ Moreover each species lasts only an imperceptible time, since the medium has a nature opposed to the creation of species

¹⁴ *Multiplicatio specierum*, pars I, ch. I: "Species autem non sumitur hic pro quanto universali apud Porphyrium, sed transumitur hoc nomen ad designandum primum effectum cujuslibet naturaliter."

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pars I, ch. III: "Quod non potest species exire nec emitti ab ipso agente, quia accidens non permutat subjectum, nec pars substantialis sine corruptione substantiae totius.—Sed species est effectus agentis naturalis, et naturaliter productus est, quare species ipsa debet de potentia materiae generari.—Unde forma ignis non alterat materiam vel alterius, ergo non potest species facta in prima parte patientis alterare illam partem ad alium effectum producendum in ea, sed partem secundam. Et ita quae fit in secunda alterabit tertiam, et sic ulterius."

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pars III, ch. I: "In primo consideratur an species sit corpus veraciter, sicut multi posuerunt. Quod vero non sit corpus probatur per hoc, quod non dividit latera continentis medii, quod est locum in alio occupare, ut omnes sciunt. Et ideo si species esset corpus secundum se, essent duo corpora simul, quod non est possibile."

and destroys it, but not until it has affected in a similar manner the surrounding medium. The luminous body must therefore cause one species after another in very rapid succession, but since they take place in time, it should be possible to count them.¹⁷ Finally the propagation of species through space requires time, for otherwise light could be at once at the beginning of space, at its middle and at the end at the same time; which is a property of the Creator alone and not of any created thing.¹⁸

How much like the more modern undulatory theory of light this is. The species are periodic disturbances impressed upon the medium which due to its "contrary disposition" opposes them, but at the same time hands on the disturbance from point to point with a great, though finite, velocity. The carrier of the disturbances is an ether endowed with such physical properties as suited Bacon's purpose and as real as any of its many successors. The existence of a vacuum was to him an impossibility.¹⁹ To find such a theory, even in a crude form in a work written six and one-half centuries ago, seems remarkable indeed. And still more. In his search after a unified view, Bacon extends the meaning of species to include the action of gravitational and other forces. It almost appears as if he had felt instinctively that there must be such a thing as that which we now call energy.

Personally I do not believe that Bacon was a sufficiently deep thinker to have originated the above theory, mixed up, as it is, with crude generalizations which are characteristically Baconian. His works show clearly a remarkable power of adaptation to Arabian scholarship, and I hope that further study may allow me to trace the "undulatory theory" back to an earlier author.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pars VI, ch. I: "Dicto de generatione speciei et multiplicatione, nunc dicendum est de corruptione. Et patet eam esse corruptibilem, quia est generabilis.... Caeterum natura patientis specifica nata est ad contrariam speciei, si contrarium habeat, vel ad dispositionem contrariam illi quae per speciem inducitur.... et sic per consequens species lucis vel alterius corrumpitur per accidens per contrarium, etsi non per se."

Ibid., ch. III: "Deinde tertium consideratum est quod cum idem agens iterum redeat super eandem naturam patientis, facit impressionem seu speciem diversam numero a priore, et ideo effectus numeratur."

¹⁸ *Opus tertium*, ch. XLII: "Iterum, nulla virtus agit in instanti; sicut probatur sexto Physicorum.... Iterum, nihil, potest simul et semel esse in diversis locis, nisi Creator. Sed si in instanti fieret tunc esset simul et semel in principio spatii, et in medio, et in fine, et per consequens in omnibus partibus spatii; ergo non esset creatura."

¹⁹ *Opus majus*, pars V ("De scientia perspectiva," pars I, distinctio nona): "Sed si vacuum poneremus inter coelum et terram, nec esset densum nec rarum.... Atque vacuum non habet aliquam naturam, unde impediatur speciem, nec unde resistat speciei, quia nulla natura est ibi.... species enim est res naturalis et ideo indiget medio naturali, sed in vacuo nulla natura est."

Bacon was a man of great imagination, as every scientist ought to be. While our modern scientific dreams are checked on all sides by innumerable laws of nature which they must obey, *he* could give his fancy free rein. Listen to some of his prophecies:

"Ships will be built which, with a single man steering them, will move through rivers and the ocean with a greater speed than if they were filled with oarsmen. Carriages can be made to move with incredible speed without the help of any animals. Flying machines will be constructed so that one man sits in the middle of the apparatus, revolving some ingenious device by means of which wings beat the air after the manner of flying birds."²⁰

In spite of all these speculations Bacon does not lay great emphasis upon them. In fact they are not found in his more serious work. Though he had quite a reputation as an alchemist and a magician, he holds all magic in contempt. In describing some astonishing experiment with the magnet, he says with fine humor: "Magicians make this experiment, mumbling incantations and believing that things happen by virtue of their songs. I have neglected chanting and have understood the marvelous work of nature."²¹ He clearly recognized that a science, based upon superstition, speculation and arm-chair philosophy, cannot be of permanent value. But just this kind of science was taught at his time, disputations were held about the meaning of infinity, or in what language angels converse with each other, or how many angels can stand upon the point of a needle.

Bacon's fame does not rest upon any discovery he may have made, nor upon his actual knowledge of scientific facts, nor upon his more or less correct interpretation of human experiences, but upon the fact that more than any other of the early scholars he emphasized that none of the sciences could make any progress without the application of what he terms the "*scientia particularis*," namely experimental science. "All sciences," he says, "are con-

²⁰ *De secretis operibus artis et naturae, et de nullitate magiae*, ch. IV: "Nam instrumenta navigandi possunt fieri sine hominibus remigantibus, ut naves maximae, fluviales et marinae, ferantur unico homine regente, majori velocitate quam si plenae essent hominibus. Item currus possunt fieri ut sine animali moveantur cum impetu inaestimabili; ut aestimamus currus falcati fuisse, quibus antiquitus pugnabatur. Item possunt fieri instrumenta volandi, ut homo sedeat in medio instrumenti revolvens aliquod ingenium, per quod alae artificialiter compositae aerem verberent, ad modum avis volantis. Item instrumentum, parvum in quantitate ad elevandum et deprimentum pondera quasi infinita, quod nihil utilius est in casu."

²¹ *Opus majus*, pars VI ("Scientia experimentalis," ch. XII): "Et ideo magici utuntur hoc experimento, et dicunt carmina diversa, et credunt quod ex virtute carminum istud contingat. Et ego neglexi carmina et inveni opus naturae mirabile."

nected; they lend each other material aid as parts of one great whole, each doing its own work, not for itself alone, but for the other parts; as the eye guides the body and the foot sustains it and leads it from place to place."²² "But above all these there is one, more perfect than any, which they all serve, namely experimental science. It alone can test their conclusions, which cannot be done by mere argument."²³

"Experimental science has three great prerogatives among other sciences: First, she tests by experiment their noblest conclusions; next, she, the sole mistress of speculative sciences, discovers magnificent truth to which these sciences of themselves can by no means attain; her third dignity is, that she by her own power and without respect to other sciences investigates the secrets of nature."²⁴

The examples which Bacon gives for these prerogatives are very curious and amusing. The first is a—for that time admirable—research as to the nature of the rainbow, though the moment he leaves the solid ground of experimentation he falls into error. For example, he says there can be only five colors in the rainbow, because five is a more perfect number than seven, the number which Aristotle had chosen.²⁵ While he experiments skilfully with reflection and refraction of light he reaches amusing conclusions: The direct ray is the most perfect, pertaining to the nature of God; then come the refracted rays corresponding to the vision of angels; while we poor mortals must be content with the weakest of them all, namely with a vision by reflected rays. For the apostle Paul says: Now we see through a mirror darkly, but then from face to face.²⁶

²² *Opus tertium*, ch. IV: "Nam omnes scientiae sunt connexae, et mutuis se foveant auxiliis, sicut partes ejusdem totius, quarum quaelibet opus suum peragit, non solum propter se, sed pro aliis: ut oculus totum corpus dirigit, et pes totum sustentat, et de loco ad locum deducit; et sic de aliis."

²³ *Ibid.*, ch. XIII: "Sed praeter has scientias est una perfectior omnibus, cui omnes famulantur, et quae omnes miro modo certificat; et haec vocatur scientia experimentalis, quae negligit argumenta, quoniam non certificat, quantumcunque sint fortia, nisi simul adsit experientia conclusionis, ut ostendo in tractatu de ista scientia. Et ideo haec docet experiri conclusiones nobiles omnium scientiarum, quae in aliis scientiis aut probantur per argumenta, aut investigantur per experientias naturales et imperfectas."

²⁴ See Whewell's *History of the Inductive Sciences*, Vol. I, p. 375.

²⁵ *Opus majus*, pars VI, ch. XII: "Quum enim Aristoteles dicit in Sensu et Sensato septem esse colores... sed quinque principales colores sunt per naturam distincti. Nam quinquarius est melior numeris omnibus, ut Aristoteles dicit in libro Secretorum... Et quia numerus quinquarius res certius distinguit et melius, ut dictum est, ideo natura magis intendit quinque colores."

²⁶ *Opus majus*, pars V: ("De scientia perspectiva," pars III, ultima distinctio, ch. II): "Aliter vero triplicatur visio secundum quod fit recte, fracte,

The examples of the second prerogative of experimental science are three: the art of making an artificial sphere which shall move with the heavens by natural influences, i. e., a *perpetuum mobile*. This was the great invention described by Bacon's friend, Peter Peregrinus. Secondly, the art of prolonging life, which experiment may teach, though medicine has no means of securing it, except by regimen. Thirdly, the art of making gold, finer than fine gold, which goes beyond the power of alchemy.

The third prerogative of experimental science, arts independent of received sciences, is shown by curious examples, many of them whimsical traditions. Thus it is said that the character of a people may be changed by altering the air. This refers to the answer which Aristotle is said to have given Alexander who wanted to know what he should do with certain barbarous nations. The reply was: If you can alter the air, permit them to live; if not, put them to death.

Arguments like these, should not, however, prejudice us against Bacon and the real service which he has rendered science. He outlines a definite method; he points to the only way in which progress may be achieved; and it is this service which entitles him to an honored place in history. It is true that there were experimental scientists before him, Ptolemy, Alhazen and many others, but none of them has spoken so clearly of the supreme importance of experiment, as he whose fanciful speculations appear childish in the better knowledge of to-day. In his appreciation of experimental demonstrations Roger Bacon was 300 years ahead of his time; he anticipated the scientific renaissance of the sixteenth century. Indeed, I place him in this respect far above the second Bacon though the latter managed to earn greater fame. But Roger Bacon was after all a child of his time. He was an astrologer and an alchemist, and his arguments did not differ to any marked extent from those employed by the despised teachers of the university of Paris. His own knowledge and accomplishments were advertised by him as unblushingly as by other learned men of his time. He could teach in three or six months all that he himself had learned in forty years of con-

et reflexe. Prima est perfectior aliis, et secunda certior est, tertia incertissima. . . . nam rectitudo visionis Deo debetur; declinatio a rectitudine per fractionem, quae debilior est, anglicae naturae convenit: reflexiva visio, quae est debilior, homini potest assignari. . . . Et homo habet triplicem visionem, unam perfectam, quae erit in statu gloriae post resurrectionem; aliam in anima separata a corpore in coelo usque ad resurrectionem, quae debilior est; tertiam in hac vita, quae debilissima est, et haec est recte per reflexionem. Secundum quod dicit apostolus 'videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate, sed in gloria a facie ad faciem.'

tinuous study; he would even undertake to teach Hebrew or Greek in three days.²⁷ Though his name was not mentioned in learned treatises of later times he must have had a number of secret admirers; for what better proof could we ask for than the fact that his writings have frequently been literally copied without any credit being given to him. Scientific plagiarism does not seem to have been a crime in those times, and I believe that *Francis* Bacon practised it cheerfully and extensively after some good fortune had made him acquainted with the works of the old monk, his namesake.

Not until the last century has Roger Bacon been shown to be the real author of much wisdom attributed formerly to others. Let me close with an interesting example. All that Christopher Columbus knew of Greek and Roman authors; all references of Aristotle, Strabo, and Seneca as to the proximity of Eastern Asia to the pillars of Hercules, references, which according to Columbus's son, Don Fernando, induced his father to look for the discovery of the East Indies—all this the admiral learned from the writings of cardinal Alliacus (Peter d'Ailly). He carried them with him on his travels; he translated in a letter from Haiti, addressed to the Spanish monarch a part of Alliacus's treatise *De quantitate terrae habitabilis*. Little did he know that Alliacus in his turn, had copied this, almost word for word, from the *Opus majus* of Roger Bacon.²⁸

²⁷ *Opus tertium*, ch. XX: "Multum laboravi in scientiis et linguis, ut posui jam quadraginta annos postquam dedici primo alphabetum; et fui semper studiosus. . . et tamen certus sum quod infra quartam anni, aut dimidium anni, ego docerem ore meo hominem sollicitum et confidentem, quicquid scio de potestate scientiarum et linguarum. . . sed certum est mihi quod infra tres dies ego quemcunque diligentem et confidentem docerem Hebraeum, ut sciret legere et intelligere quicquid sancti dicunt. . . Et per tres dies sciret de Graeco iterum; et non solum sciret legere et intelligere quicquid pertinet ad theologiam, sed ad philosophiam et ad linguam Latinam."

²⁸ Humboldt's *Kosmos*, Vol. II.

ROGER BACON, LOGICIAN AND MATHEMATICIAN.

BY PHILIP E. B. JOURDAIN.

ALTHOUGH Bacon was preeminently a physicist he was never tired of praising mathematics. Theologians, he said, ought "to abound in the power of numbering."¹ Then again, "divine mathematics alone can purge the intellect and fit the student for the acquirement of all knowledge." He showed himself much more wide-minded than his more famous namesake, Francis Bacon: for not only did he state as a fundamental principle that the study of natural science must rest on experiment, but he also explained how astronomy and the physical sciences rest ultimately on mathematics, and progress only when their fundamental principles are expressed in a mathematical form. Mathematics, he said, should be regarded as the alphabet of all philosophy.

Roger Bacon strove unsuccessfully to replace logic in the curriculum of the University of Oxford by mathematical and linguistic studies. In fact, he had a low opinion of the utility of logic, because reasoning seemed to him to be innate. We can form some idea of how far Bacon was in this case in advance of his times, when we reflect that even at the present day Oxford University still cultivates the Aristotelian logic with its errors and limitations, and its learned professors regard modern and more profound logical work with contempt, for no other apparent reason than that it is a product of the last sixty years. The fact is that Roger Bacon and all the really scientific objectors to scholastic logic, including Kant, were quite right: the Aristotelian or merely syllogistic logic of classes and propositions is quite insufficient for the purposes of even elementary arithmetic and geometry. For any scien-

¹This and the following quotations are taken from W. W. Rouse Ball, *A Short Account of the History of Mathematics*, 4th ed., New York and London, 1908, pp. 169, 175, 176.

tific purpose, we must leave scholastic logic in the school. In the present problems of science we can no more effect anything with it than a regiment armed with bows and arrows could take Gibraltar. Logic has now recognized that it must, if it is to be of any real use in the world, make use of a symbolism more or less analogous to the ingeniously thought-out and economical (in Mach's sense) symbolism of algebra. Modern logicians see that using algebraical signs like " $a+b$ " does not necessarily imply that " a " and " b " stand for numbers, any more than French people, when they speak of a "*chou*", mean a shoe.

II.

Let us now turn to Bacon's mathematical work. The most important part is his work on "perspective."² But we will here fix our attention on his discussion of "continuity." Nowadays it is the usual opinion among those who have studied the subject that it was Zeno the Eleatic who first incontrovertibly showed the untenability of the Pythagorean doctrine that lines, surfaces, and solids are composed of points. I refer more especially to the third and fourth of Zeno's famous arguments about motion, preserved—though probably in a mangled state—by Aristotle. Zeno's first two arguments about motion, which are far better known and are—unlike the others—readily refutable at the present day, may conceivably be directed against the opposite view that spaces are divisible to infinity. Aristotle was a supporter of the doctrine of infinite divisibility and an opponent of Zeno, and devoted much space in his *Physics* to the discussion of "continuity," which he expressed by the Greek word *συνεχής*.

Now, in the thirty-ninth chapter of his *Opus tertium*,³ Bacon discussed continuous spatial magnitudes, and emphasized the impossibility of generating such magnitudes from single point-elements. His proof of this was as follows. If a square were formed of points—for example, suppose that a side contained 5 points and a whole square was formed out of five columns or five rows of five points each—then the diagonal would also be formed of five points. The diagonal, then, would be equal to a side, and this is geometrically impossible. Kurd Lasswitz⁴ showed that this proof of Bacon's occurred previously with the Arabian mathematician

² Cf. Moritz Cantor, *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik*, Vol. II, pp. 97-99. 2d ed., Leipsic, 1900.

³ *Opera quaedam hactenus inedita* (ed. J. S. Brewer), Vol. I, 1859, p. 132. Cf. M. Cantor, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

⁴ *Geschichte der Atomistik vom Mittelalter bis Newton*. Hamburg and Leipsic, Vol. I, pp. 194, 149.

Mutakallimun. It may be remarked that Bacon, especially in his work on "perspective," made great use of the writings of Arabian authors.

The Greek language was known, as Bacon himself indicated, by many of the learned of the thirteenth century, but there was for the most part a lack of Greek works.⁵ It can hardly be doubted that Bacon was not familiar with the fourth and last of Zeno's arguments about motion, which was against the composition of space out of indivisibles, especially as Aristotle in his *Physics* had in all probability mangled this argument out of all similarity to its original form. And indeed, outwardly, Zeno's argument is very different from that of Bacon. But both have this in common: They can only be satisfactorily answered by one who knows that the modern theory of infinity and continuity has resolved all the contradictions that were formerly thought to subsist in these notions. In Bacon's case, we now know that the diagonal of a square may, in Georg Cantor's terminology, contain the same cardinal number of points as the side, although they are of different lengths. It is not, then, impossible to hold that a continuous line is composed of points. Both Zeno and Bacon seem to have proved that we cannot do this if the points are finite in number.

Finally, it may be remarked that Aristotle's conception seems to have made its first explicit appearance in the West in a definition⁶ of Thomas Bradwardine, who was probably born a few years before Roger Bacon died.

⁵ Cantor, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

MISCELLANEOUS.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE NATURE OF MATHEMATICS. By *Philip E. B. Jourdain, M.A.* "The People's Books," London and Edinburgh: T. C. and E. C. Jack; New York: Dodge Publishing Co. 92 pages.

This is a volume of an extraordinarily inexpensive series of books on science, philosophy, religion, history, economics, and literature published in Great Britain at sixpence each. "The purpose of this little volume," says the author (p. 7), "is not to give—like a text-book—a collection of mathematical methods and examples, but to do, firstly, what text-books do not do: to show how and why these methods grew up. All these methods are simply means, contrived with the conscious or unconscious end of economy of thought-labor, for the convenient handling of long and complicated chains of reasoning. This reasoning, when applied to foretell natural events, on the basis of the application of mathematics, as sketched in the fourth chapter, often gives striking results. But the methods, of mathematics, though often suggested by natural events, are purely logical.... In this book I shall not pay very much attention to the details of the elementary arithmetic, geometry, and algebra of the many text-books, but shall be concerned with the discussion of those conceptions—such as that of negative number—which are used and not sufficiently discussed in these books. Then, too, I shall give a somewhat full account of the development of analytical methods and certain examinations of principles."

The first five chapters are devoted to a historical exposition of the growth of mathematical methods: The growth of mathematical science in ancient times; the rise and progress of modern mathematics—algebra; the rise and progress of modern mathematics—analytical geometry and the method of indivisibles; the beginnings of the application of mathematics to natural science—the science of dynamics; the rise of modern mathematics—the infinitesimal calculus. After a chapter on modern views of limits and numbers, modern conclusions as to the nature of mathematics are dealt with in the final chapter. "In the historical part," says the author on page 8, "we shall see that the actual reasonings made by mathematicians in building up their methods have often not been in accordance with logical rules. How, then, can we say that the reasonings of mathematics are logical in their nature? The answer is that the one word 'mathematics' is habitually used in two senses, and so, as explained in the last chapter, I have distinguished 'mathematics,' the methods used to discover certain truths, and 'Mathematics' the truths discovered. When we have passed through the stage of finding out, by external evidence

or conjecture, how mathematics grew up with problems suggested by natural events, like the falling of a stone, and then how something very abstract and intangible but very real separated out of these problems, we can turn our attention to the problem of Mathematics without troubling ourselves any more as to how, historically, it gradually appeared to us quite clearly that there is such a thing at all as Mathematics—something which exists apart from its application to natural science. History has an immense value in being suggestive to the investigator, but it is, logically speaking, irrelevant. Suppose that you are a mathematician; what you eat will have an important influence on your discoveries, but you would at once see how absurd it would be to make, say, the momentous discovery that 2 added to 3 makes 5 depend on an orgy of mutton cutlets or bread and jam. The methods of work and daily life of mathematicians, the connecting threads of suggestion that run through their work, and the influence on their work of the allied work of others, all interest the investigator because these things give him examples of research and suggest new ideas to him; but these reasons are psychological and not logical." In this is shown the second object of the book.

The principal points of the book are: (1) A discussion of the question as to the "use" of mathematics; (2) The emphasis on the fact that mathematics is a living science; depends, psychologically speaking, on the natural sciences; proceeds, like them, by means of economizing thought (pp. 6, 11, 12, 16, 18, 20, 28, 33, 53, 69, 71, 75, 89 and what may be called *faith* (pp. 32, 34, 43, 52); (3) That the essential character of mathematics is that it deals with the notion of *any* (pp. 15, 33, 48, 69, 85, 86); (4) The nature of mathematics is *logical*, so that "all those petty questions—sometimes amusing and often tedious—of history, persons, and nations are irrelevant to Mathematics in itself" (p. 9); (5) Analytical geometry is regarded as a *picture* of algebraical processes; (6) The explanation of the infinitesimal calculus.

It may be mentioned that a part of the views here given is taken from an article in *The Monist* for 1908.

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John napier of merchiston

JOHN NAPIER OF MERCHISTON.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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JOHN NAPIER AND THE TERCENTENARY OF THE INVENTION OF LOGARITHMS.

BY PHILIP E. B. JOURDAIN.

THREE hundred years ago—in 1614—was published at Edinburgh John Napier's "Description of the Wonderful Canon of Logarithms": *Mirifici Logarithmorum Canonis Descriptio, ejusque usus in utraque Trigonometria; ut etiam in omni Logistica Mathematica, amplissimi, facillimi, et expeditissimi explicatio*. Napier was described on the title-page as "Authore ac Inventore, Joanne Nepero, Barone Merchistonii, etc. Scoto"; and this has given rise to the notions, which are met more particularly in French books, that Napier was that kind of peer known as a "Baron," and that his name should be spelt "Neper." However, John Napier was not a member of the peerage: he was a Scotch "laird"—an unofficial title which corresponds to the English "lord of the manor"—of an ancient and respected family. His eldest son Archibald was the first Lord Napier properly speaking, for Archibald was raised to the peerage in 1627.

With regard to the name, it seems that "Alexander Napare," the first of Merchiston, acquired that estate before the year 1438 from James I, was provost of Edinburgh in 1437, and was otherwise distinguished in that reign. His eldest son, also Alexander, became in his father's lifetime comptroller to James II, and "ran a splendid career under successive monarchs." The origin of these ancestors of John Napier is very uncertain. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, persons of the name of Napier were not uncommon. The Merchiston family cherished a tradition that their name was changed from Lennox to Napier by command of a king of the Scots who

wished to do honor to one of their ancestors, Donald, a son of an Earl of Lennox. This Donald, it is said, had turned the tide of battle when flowing strongly against the king, and had fought so valiantly that the king declared before all the troops that he had "Na Peer." The name is probably of a more domestic origin, and commemorates virtues that are not usually associated with a warrior. On one occasion, John Napier was described, quite seriously it would seem, as "un Gentilhomme Ecassais nommé Nonpareil"; and one of the commendatory odes prefixed to the *Canon Mirificus* of 1614 ends with the lines:

"Nomine sic Nepar Parili fit et omine Non Par,
Quum non hac habeat Nepar in arte Parem."

It is perhaps of more importance that we do not know the correct spelling of Napier's name, since many forms of the word are found, such as Napeir, Nepair, Nepeir, Napare, Naper, Naipper. It seems that John Napier usually signed his name as "Jhone Neper" or "Jhone Nepair." The form now adopted by the family is comparatively modern.

John Napier was born at Merchiston Castle, near Edinburgh, in 1550, the year in which the Reformation in Scotland may be said to have begun. His father, Sir Archibald Napier, must have been not more than sixteen when he was born. In 1563, John Napier matriculated at St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews, and though his residence there seems to have been comparatively short, the influence of it on his future life was of the most far-reaching character. It was then that he received an impetus to theological studies that formed throughout his life quite as great an attraction as mathematics in any of its branches. He himself tells the story in the address "To the Godly and Christian Reader" prefixed to his first publication *A Plaine Discovery of the Whole Revelation of Saint John*. In that address is the following passage: "Although I have but of late attempted to write this so high a work, for preventing the apparent danger of Papistry arising within this Island; yet in truth it is no few yeers since first I began to pre-cogitate the same: for in my tender yeers and barneage at Saint Androes at the Schools, having on the one part contracted a loving familiarity with a certain Gentleman, etc., a Papist; and on the other part being attentive to the Sermons of that worthy man of God, Master Christopher Goodman, teaching upon the Apocalypse, I was so moved in admiration against the blindnesse of Papists, that could not most evidently see their seven-hilled-city Rome,

painted out there so lively by Saint John, as the maker of all Spiritual Whoredom, that not only burst I out in continuall reasoning against my said familiar, but also from henceforth I determined with myself (by the assistance of God's spirit) to employ my studie and diligence to search out the remanent mysteries of that holy Book; as to this hour (praised be the Lord) I have been doing, at all such times as I might have occasion."

Napier has been instanced by Mach as one of those who believed that philosophy and science must be founded on theology. "Napier," says Mach,¹ "applied himself to some extremely curious speculations. He wrote an exegetical commentary on the Book of Revelation, with propositions and mathematical demonstrations. Proposition XXVI, for example, maintains that the pope is the Antichrist; proposition XXXVI declares that the locusts are the Turks and Mohammedans; and so forth."

Various references in Napier's mathematical works can only be explained on the assumption that he could not divert his attention from theological studies sufficiently long to enable him to carry out cherished mathematical investigations. Whatever we may think of the ascendancy that James VI acquired over the church in Scotland, Professor Gibson² is inclined to believe that it was James's victory over the Presbyterian party, to which Napier belonged, that compelled Napier to withdraw from the ecclesiastical field and devote himself to his mathematical studies.

A second edition of the *Plaine Discovery*, revised and enlarged, was published in 1611, and the book continued to be republished for several years. It was also translated into many foreign languages.

There were traditions that Napier was in league with the devil, and these traditions might be met with about Edinburgh up to within not very many years ago. Among these traditions is one of a jet-black cock which was his constant companion, and was supposed to be a familiar spirit bound to him in that shape. Mark Napier, in his *Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston, his Lineage, Life, and Times, with a History of the Invention of Logarithms*, which was published at Edinburgh and London in 1834, took the story of the cock so seriously that he tried to rationalize the tradi-

¹ *The Science of Mechanics*, 3d ed., Chicago and London: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1907, p. 447.

² George A. Gibson, "Napier and the Invention of Logarithms," *Proc. Roy. Phil. Soc. of Glasgow*, 1914, p. 8. To this paper (pp. 3-24), and to the biography, by Dr. J. W. L. Glaisher, of Napier in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th ed. Vol. XIX, pp. 171-175) this article is very largely indebted.

tion by suggesting that Napier played upon the belief in his witchcraft to frighten his servants into confession of misdemeanors.

From the parish of Killearn come other traditions. Adjoining the mill of Gartness are the remains of an old house in which John Napier resided a great part of his time when he was making his calculations. It is reported that the constant noise of the cascade never gave him uneasiness, but that the clack of the mill, which was only occasional, greatly disturbed his thoughts. Therefore, when in deep study, he was sometimes under the necessity of desiring the miller to stop the mill that the train of his ideas might not be interrupted. He used frequently to walk out in his night-gown and cap. This, with some things which to the vulgar appeared rather odd, fixed on him the character of a "warlock." There is evidence that even Napier himself, like other eminent men of that time, was not free from a belief in magic.

After the publication of the *Plaine Discovery*, Napier seems to have occupied himself with the invention of secret instruments of war. These consisted of (1) a mirror for burning the enemies' ships at any distance, (2) a piece of artillery destroying everything round an arc of a circle, and (3) a round metal chariot so constructed that its occupants could move it rapidly and easily, while firing out through small holes in it. Besides this, Napier as the owner of large estates turned his attention to the improvement of agriculture.

But Napier's chief claim to remembrance is the invention of logarithms. It is a remarkable thing that, with one possible exception, there has been no rival claimant to the discovery of logarithms. Let us first consider the few hints that mathematicians had given before Napier's time.

A Frenchman, Nicolas Chuquet, in his work *Le Triparty en la science des nombres* of 1484, seems to have been the first to consider an arithmetical progression 1, 2, 3, 4, and so on, side by side with a geometrical progression which we would now write a , a^2 , a^3 , a^4 , and so on; and to remark that the product of any two numbers of the geometrical progression is a term of the same progression, whose rank is the sum of the ranks of the two factors.³ The same idea also appeared with the German "cossists" and with Michael Stifel in 1544.⁴

The exception referred to above is Joost or Jobst Bürgi (1552-

³ M. Cantor, *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik*, Vol. II, 2d ed., Leipsic, 1900, pp. 350-351.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 397, 403, 431-432. Cf. p. 635.

1632 or 1633), an ingenious watchmaker and mechanic. But Napier's *Canon mirificus* was published six years before Bürgi's *Progress Tabulen*; Bürgi's tables are very imperfect compared with Napier's; and there is, according to Gibson, every reason for believing that Napier had formed his conception of logarithms and begun their calculation quite as early as Bürgi—probably much earlier. Moritz Cantor,⁵ however, states that Bürgi's work was probably earlier than Napier's. Still Bürgi's work has not had the slightest influence, so far as can be traced; either on the theoretical or on the practical development of the theory of logarithms.

The *Canon* contains fifty-seven pages of explanatory matter and ninety pages of tables. An English translation of the first part was made by Edward Wright and published in 1616. Napier's treatment is based on the comparison of the velocities of two moving points. Suppose one point P to set out from the point A and to move along the line AX with a uniform velocity V ; then suppose another point Q to set out from B on the line BY , of given length r , at the same time that P sets out from A and also with the velocity V , but to move, not uniformly, but so that its velocity at any point (D) is proportional to the distance DY from the end of the line BY . If, now, C is the point that P has reached when Q , moving in the way described, has reached D , then the number which measures AC is the "logarithm" of the number which measures DY .

Let us try to form some notion of the way in which Napier was led to the invention of these logarithms. Throughout all his life he was more or less busied with devices for making multiplications, divisions, and extractions of the square and cube roots of great numbers capable of being carried out more quickly and easily. One of the first results which he obtained was a method by which the numbers that were to be multiplied, divided, or to have their roots extracted, are replaced by other numbers called "artificial numbers" by means of which all that the numbers first mentioned can do is done far more easily. To replace the name "artificial number" Napier afterwards invented the name "logarithm," which is derived from two Greek words meaning "ratio" and "number." Indeed, he used the idea we have touched upon of the comparison of an arithmetical progression with a geometrical progression. Other more or less well-known devices for shortening calculations were published by Napier in 1617.

It is necessary to emphasize the fact that the invention of

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 725-729.

logarithms was made long before the theory of indices began to grow up. It is not a very difficult deduction from this theory, which began with the introduction of our present very convenient notation for indices. At the present time, we say that, if a , x , and m are three numbers such as $a^x = m$, then we call a the "base" and x the "logarithm of m to the base a ", $x = \log_a m$. From this we see at once that the logarithm of the product of numbers is equal to the sum of the logarithms of those numbers, the logarithm of the quotient of two numbers is equal to the logarithm of the numerator diminished by the logarithm of the denominator, the logarithm of a power of a number is equal to the logarithm of that number multiplied by the index, and the logarithm of the n th root of a number is equal to the logarithm of that number divided by n .

However, Napier himself made no explicit use of a base. What is now called the "Napierian base" is the incommensurable number e , but Napier at first implicitly used $1/e$ as base. Bürgi's base was e . The idea of integral indices was only beginning to be known in Napier's day, while those of fractional and negative indices were quite unknown then and for long after.

Napier had the needs of trigonometry primarily in view, and he usually spoke of BY (or r) as the "whole sine" and DY as a "sine." It must be remembered that at that time a sine was a line and not a ratio, as it is with us. In the table which formed the second part of Napier's book, the logarithm of sines and tangents of all angles from 0° to 90° , at intervals of one minute, were given.

Returning to the consideration of Napier's moving points; when Q is at B , the point P is at A , so that the logarithm of the whole sine BY is zero. The logarithms of numbers greater than the whole sine are negative.

Napier then found the rule that, if a is to b as c is to d , then

$$\log a - \log b = \log c - \log d,$$

and hence he easily obtained all the rules required for ordinary calculations.⁶

It used to be a general opinion that there was a "metaphysical objection to the introduction of ideas of motion into geometry." This opinion seems to me to leave out of account the profound logical objections to the conception of motion which were first formulated by Zeno the Eleatic about five hundred years before our era began, and to which no satisfactory answer has been—or indeed

⁶On Napier's logarithmic work, see also M. Cantor, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 730-737.

could be—given until within the last thirty-five years. It is certainly worthy of particular remark that the notion of flowing quantities was expressed very clearly indeed in Napier's *Canon*, and Colin Maclaurin⁷ remarked that "the nature and genesis of logarithms is proposed by the inventor in a method similar to that which is applied in this doctrine[fluxions] for explaining the genesis of quantities of all sorts, and is described by him almost in the same terms."

Henry Briggs (1556-1630), reader of geometry at Gresham College, London, and later Savilian professor of geometry at Oxford, welcomed Napier's book with great enthusiasm. In 1615 he wrote to Archbishop Usher: "Napper, lord of Markinston, hath set my head and hands awork with his new and admirable logarithms. I hope to see him this summer, if it please God, for I never saw book which please me better, or made me more wonder." Briggs visited Napier in 1615 and stayed with him a whole month. Indeed, Briggs, we read, was so moved that he could not rest until he had seen the inventor of logarithms. When Briggs actually saw Napier, each, it is reported, beheld the other with admiration and without a word being spoken. At last Briggs said: "My Lord, I have undertaken this long journey purposely to see your person, and to know by what engine of wit or ingenuity you came first to think of this most excellent help unto astronomy, viz., the logarithms; but, my Lord, being by you found out, I wonder nobody else found it out before, when, now being known, it appears to easy."

At this visit, Napier and Briggs discussed certain changes in the system of logarithms. In a letter to Napier before the visit, Briggs had suggested that it would be more convenient, while the logarithm of the whole sine was still taken as zero, to take the logarithm of the tenth part of the sine as a power of 10, and he had actually begun the calculation of tables on his proposed system. Napier agreed that a change was desirable, and stated that he had formerly wished to make a change; but that he had preferred to publish the tables already prepared, as he could not, on account of ill health and for other reasons, undertake the construction of new tables. He proposed, however, a somewhat different system from that suggested by Briggs, namely that zero should be the logarithm, not of the whole sine but of unity, while, as Briggs suggested, the logarithm of the tenth part of the sine should be a power of 10. Briggs at once admitted that Napier's method was decidedly the

⁷ *Treatise of Fluxions*, Vol. I, p. 158. On Napier's idea of flowing quantities, cf. M. Cantor, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 849.

better, and he set about the calculation of tables on the new system, which is essentially the system of logarithms now in use.

In 1616, Briggs again visited Napier and showed him what he had done, and would have paid him a third visit in 1617, had Napier's life been spared. In 1617 Briggs published a small book giving the logarithms of all numbers from 1 to 1000 calculated to 14 places of decimals; and these tables were very greatly extended in his *Arithmetica logarithmica* of 1624. A gap in these tables was filled up by the work of Adrian Vlacq published in 1628. Edmund Gunter published a table of some Briggian or common logarithms of trigonometrical functions in 1620. More extensive tables were published later by Vlacq and Briggs,⁸ and, from that time, mathematical tables began to be very plentiful.

Napier's account of the construction of his tables of 1614 was published posthumously by his son Robert in 1619, though it seems to have been written many years before 1614.

It is pleasant to reflect that charges which have been brought against Napier of jealousy of Briggs are unfounded. Both Napier and Briggs were united by a very warm friendship for each other. Other unfounded reports are that Napier's devotion to mathematics was due to old age and the gout, and that his mathematical pursuits led him to dissipate his means.

Besides the invention of logarithms and other methods for shortening calculations, to Napier are due certain rules in spherical trigonometry and the technically important introduction of the decimal point in arithmetic.

The portrait of John Napier that is reproduced as a frontispiece to this number is from a steel engraving prefixed to Mark Napier's *Memoirs of John Napier*. This engraving is a partial copy of an authentic portrait of Napier which belongs to the College of Edinburgh. It was presented by Margaret, Baroness Napier in her own right, and there is no doubt of its genuineness. It bears the shield of arms and the initials of Napier with a date 1616 and his age. The name of the painter is unknown.

⁸ On the logarithmic work of Briggs and others, see Cantor, *op. cit.*, pp. 738-748.

GOETHE AND SCHOPENHAUER ON MATHEMATICS.

BY ARNOLD EMCH.

IS it a mere accidental coincidence that Goethe and Schopenhauer in some of their writings should both express themselves more or less adversely towards mathematics and mathematical methods in the study of natural phenomena?

The fact that Schopenhauer in 1813, when twenty-five years of age, went to Weimar and became acquainted with Goethe, under whose powerful influence he wrote a memoir *Ueber Sehen und die Farben* (published in 1816), would warrant the conclusion that their opinions on various scientific topics were a result of rather penetrating mutual discussions.

It is a proof for the universality of their intellects that they dared to enter into a discussion on the merits of a science of which both had only a very rudimentary knowledge. There is a kernel of truth in some of their statements, while others are dilettantic and still others erroneous or at least warped.

As is well known, Goethe was deeply interested in problems of natural philosophy during his later life, and his fundamental discoveries justly entitle him to be classed as a pioneer of Darwinism. That Goethe was fully aware of his handicap in attacking certain scientific problems appears from the following extract from "Mathematics and its Abuse": "Considering my inclinations and conditions I had to appropriate to myself very early the right to investigate, to conceive nature in her simplest, most hidden origins as well as in her most revealed, most conspicuous creations also without the aid of mathematics. . . . I was accused of being an opponent, an enemy of mathematics in general, although nobody can appreciate it more highly than I, as it accomplishes exactly those things which I was prevented from realizing."

¹ *Naturwissenschaftliche Schriften*, 2d part, Vol. II, p. 78, Weimar. 1893.

Further on, however, when the thought turns again upon mathematics and mathematicians, we find this curious statement:² "It is a wrong conception to think that a phenomenon could be explained by calculus or words" and "mathematicians are like Frenchmen; if one speaks to them they translate it into their own language, and then it will be very soon something entirely different." On page 138 when writing about natural science in general, Goethe expresses his idea of the mathematician as he ought to be in the following striking manner: "The mathematician is perfect only in so far as he is a perfect man, as he feels the beauty of truth; only then does he become thorough, penetrating, pure, clear, graceful and even elegant. All this is necessary to become like Lagrange."

What particular individual he had in mind when he wrote: "There are pedants who are at the same time thieves, and these are by far the worst," is not revealed. It is a partial consolation for the modern scientists, however, to find that Goethe already had to contend with such types.

It is extremely interesting that Goethe should quote d'Alembert as an authority on mathematics. We see here the influence of the encyclopedists upon European thought of that great period. There probably never lived a more brilliant and influential circle of philosophers and scientists that shaped the destiny of nations. Diderot and d'Alembert as co-editors of the great *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, Helvetius in his famous work *De l'esprit*, Voltaire by his piercing satire and Rousseau by his educational philosophy, La Mettrie as the author of *L'homme machine*³ and Holbach in his *Système de la nature*, were all teaching that a new time had arrived.

With the exception of Kant, the great intellectual giant at Königsberg, Germany had during that whole period no philosophers and scientists of her own to boast of. From 1741 to 1766 it was the Swiss Euler and from 1766 to 1787 Lagrange, who gave lustre to the Academy at Berlin. Others, like the poet-scientist Haller, as appears from the dedication⁴ of *L'homme machine*, were intellectually not even a match with such men as La Mettrie. Towards the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century Gauss began his epoch-making discoveries and thereby placed Ger-

² *Loc. cit.* p. 98.

³ English translation by Gertrude C. Bussey, published by the Open Court Publishing Co.

⁴ This is not included in the above-mentioned English edition, but may be found in *The Open Court* of July, 1913, p. 427.

many in mathematics on a level with France, where men like d'Alembert, Lagrange, Monge, Laplace, Legendre and Fourier had won international reputation.

Gauss, however, never published anything for a general scientific public on his early meditations on the nature of mathematical reasoning and in particular on what we call now non-Euclidean geometry, so that naturally Goethe, even in his old age, was not able to learn anything about the new views in the science of space.

The passage of d'Alembert to which Goethe refers may be found in the famous *Discours préliminaire de l'encyclopédie*:⁵

"As regards mathematical sciences, which constitute the second of the limits of which we have spoken, their nature and their number must not startle us. What are most of the axioms of which geometry is so proud, if not the expression of the same simple idea by two different signs or words? The man who says that *two times two is four*, does he know more than somebody that contents himself by saying *two times two is two times two*? The ideas of the whole, the part, of greater and less, properly speaking, are they not the same simple and individual idea; since one cannot have one of them without the others presenting themselves all at the same time? As some philosophers have observed we owe many errors to the abuse of words; it is perhaps to the same abuse that we owe the axioms."

This is as far as Goethe quotes, so that without the rest of d'Alembert's argument one might look upon the latter as a rather one-sided critic. From d'Alembert's achievements as a mathematician and those portions of his *Discours* that treat of the various divisions of mathematics it is plain what great intrinsic value he placed upon mathematics and the mathematical spirit in scientific investigations in general. When he speaks of the abuse of words he simply states those truths which later his famous compatriot Poincaré, on various occasions, advanced against some claims of the modern logicians.

Concerning logic d'Alembert has the following to say:⁶ "It is the reduction to an art of the manner in which knowledge is gained and in which we communicate reciprocally our own thoughts to each other. It teaches to arrange ideas in the most natural order and to link them by the most direct chain of thoughts, to resolve those that contain too large a number of simpler ideas, to look at them from all sides, in order to present them to others in a form

⁵ *Œuvres de D'Alembert*, Vol. I, pp. 30-32, Paris 1821.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 33-34.

in which they can be easily grasped. It is in this that this science of reasoning consists and which is justly considered as the key to all our knowledge. One must not believe, however, that it occupies the first place in the realm of invention. The art of reasoning is a gift presented by nature of her own accord to good intellects (*bons esprits*); and it may be said that the books which treat of logic are hardly of any use except to those who can get along without them.⁷ Those that are familiar with Poincaré's style might easily mistake the last humorous remark as one of his famous sallies.

In this connection it is interesting to see what a modern writer, Mr. H. C. Brown, thinks about "the problem of method in mathematics and philosophy." He writes:⁸ "The fact which seems to have been neglected by mathematicians is that the proof of consistency, by demanding an exhibition of something already known, puts a check on the "free creation" theory of mathematical systems and places them logically on a level with the concepts of all other sciences which all aim at hypothetico-deductive procedure.—A merely deductive mathematics would be of as little value as a 'freely created' philosophy.—All sciences must turn upon some existence, and a science which turns to a merely imagined world is dream-play."

D'Alembert returns with great detail to a discussion of the principles of the various branches of human knowledge and of scientific methods in his *Essai sur les élémens de philosophie*.⁹ For the mathematicians and philosophers that make a study of the foundations of science, chapters fourteen to twenty are of particular interest. On pp. 278-280, for instance, we find a very clever discussion of the difficulties that arise in connection with the parallel-axiom. The "Elements" were published in 1759, at a time when hardly anybody thought of a critical examination of Euclid's Elements.¹⁰

Schopenhauer's remarks on mathematical questions were on the whole less personal than Goethe's. From his principal work *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*,¹¹ whose first volume appeared in 1819 (a second edition increased by a second volume did not appear till 1844) we translate the following lines on Euclid's method:

⁷ See a recent article by J. Charpentier: "Diderot et la science de son temps," in *La Revue du Mois*, Vol. 8, pp. 537-552 (Nov. 1913).

⁸ *Essays Philosophical and Psychological*, p. 427.

⁹ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 115-348.

¹⁰ *La geometria del compasso* by Mascheroni appeared in 1797 in Pavia.

¹¹ *Werke*, Vol. I, p. 75 (Leipsic, F. A. Brockhaus, 1901).

"It is true in mathematics, according to Euclid's treatment, that the axioms are the only undemonstrable premises, and all demonstrations are successively subordinated to them. This treatment, however, is not essential, and, indeed, every theorem begins with a new construction in space which in itself is independent of the preceding ones and which in reality can be recognized also in entire independence of them, in itself, by pure intuition of space, in which in reality also the most complicated construction is immediately as evident as the axiom itself."

This remarkable statement interpreted by an inventive geometrician or intuitionist of the present day would of course not stand serious criticism. How, for instance, should Steiner's famous solution of Malfatti's problem to construct three circles each tangent to the other two and to two sides of the triangle, or the Steinerian problem of closure in connection with cubics and quartics be obvious even to the most acute geometrician? From a more general standpoint the only reasonable meaning which may be placed on Schopenhauer's idea is that an intrinsic geometric truth is independent of any particular set of axioms.

Schopenhauer denies the creative power of logistic geometry when he says "that intuition is the first source of evidence and that the immediate and intermediate relations derived from it are the only absolute truth, furthermore that the shortest path to truth is always the surest and that the transmission through concepts is subject to many illusions.... We demand the reduction of every logical proof to one of an intuitional nature; Euclid's mathematics, however, makes great efforts to cast off wantonly its intuitional evidence everywhere near at hand, in order to substitute in place of it a logical proof. We must find that this is as if somebody would cut his legs off in order to go on crutches.... That what Euclid proves is true we have to acknowledge through the principle of contradiction; but we do not learn the reason why it is true. We experience therefore almost the same unpleasant sensation that is caused by a sleight-of-hand performance, and, indeed, most of Euclid's proofs singularly resemble such tricks. The truth almost always appears through the back door, since it results by accident from some minor condition. An apagogical proof often closes one door after another and leaves open only one through which to pass. According to our opinion, therefore, Euclid's method in mathematics appears as a very brilliant perversity (*Verkehrtheit*)."

Schopenhauer maintains that the reason for the Euclidean system could be traced back to the prevailing philosophic system

of that time. The Eleatics were the first to discover the difference, and frequently the contradiction, between the things observed and the same things thought of. The sophists and skeptics drew attention to illusions, i. e., to the deception of the senses. It was recognized that intuition through the senses was not always reliable. For this reason they came to the conclusion that only logical reasoning could establish truth. Plato and Pyrrhon, on the other hand, showed by examples how definitions and conclusions in agreement with the laws of logic were likewise apt to mislead and to produce sophisms which were much more difficult to solve than deceptions of the senses. Rationalism in opposition to empiricism however became the dominant philosophy, and, according to Schopenhauer, it is under its influence that Euclid wrote his "Elements," in which he felt compelled to regard only the axioms as based upon intuitional evidence (*φαινόμενον*) while the remainder follows from conclusions (*νοούμενον*). In a highly refined form the controversy which separated the Greeks is still present. As Carus¹² says: "In philosophy we have the old contrast between the empiricist and transcendentalist." Concerning the origin or the starting-point of mathematical system the same author remarks "that the data of mathematics are not without their premises; they are not, as the Germans say, *voraussetzungslos*, and though mathematics is built up from nothing, the mathematician does not start with nothing. He uses mental implements and it is they that give character to his science."¹³

Schopenhauer's conception of the domain that should be characteristic of mathematics is that the existence of a mathematical truth should be equivalent with the reason for it. It would of course be a tremendous advantage if this equivalence could always be established in the most simple manner by pure intuition, even when conceived in a higher sense. This method followed by the inventive mathematician as conceived by Poincaré is of a superior type and has presumably led to the greatest mathematical discoveries. The process of coordination with other branches and of rigorous analysis of the elements that constitute the truth is subsequently a problem of the mathematical logician. In a noted lecture¹⁴ on humanistic education and exact science Poincaré said:

¹² *The Foundations of Mathematics, a Contribution to the Philosophy of Geometry*, p. 36. Chicago, Open Court Publishing Co., 1908.

¹³ See also the valuable and clearly written article "De la méthode dans les sciences" by E. Picard in *De la science*, pp. 1-30, Paris, 1909.

¹⁴ Delivered at the annual session of the *Verein der Freunde des humanistischen Gymnasiums* in Vienna, May 22, 1912.

"Before he [the mathematician] demonstrates he must invent. But nobody has ever invented anything by pure deduction. Pure logic cannot create anything; there is only one way to discovery, namely induction; for the mathematician as well as for the physicist. Induction, however, presupposes the art of divination and the ability to select; we must be satisfied with intuition and not wait for certitude. To do this, however, requires a refined intellect (*esprit de finesse*). For this reason there are two kinds of mathematicians. There are some that possess the mathematical spirit only; they may be valuable laborers who pursue successfully the paths laid out for them. We need people of this kind, we need many of them. But beside these more common mathematicians there are some that possess the *esprit de finesse*, they are the truly creative intellects."

It is true that the famous example for the evidence of the Pythagorean theorem shows the limited mathematical knowledge of Schopenhauer, or else he would have known that "evident" proofs of the general theorem are numerous. That Schopenhauer, in spite of some valuable critical remarks on mathematical methods did not understand the true meaning of Euclid's method and much less the *raison d'être* of non-Euclidean geometry¹⁵ appears from the following characteristic passage:

"In the famous controversy over the theory of parallel lines and in the perennial attempts to prove the 11th axiom, the Euclidean method of demonstration has born from its own fold its most appropriate parody and caricature.... This scruple of consciousness reminds me of Schiller's question of law:

'Jahre lang schon bedien' ich mich meiner Nase zum Riechen;
Hab ich denn wirklich an sie auch ein erweisliches Recht?'

[Years upon years I've been using my nose for the purpose of smelling.
Now I must question myself: Have I a right to its use?]¹⁶

"I am surprised that the eighth axiom: 'Figures that can be made coincident are equal,' should not be attacked. For, to coincide is either a mere tautology or else something of an entirely empirical

¹⁵ Lobatschevsky's epoch-making work on parallels appeared between 1829 and 1840. (English translation by George Bruce Halsted under the title *Geometrical Researches on the Theory of Parallels*). *The Science Absolute of Space* by Bolyai, equally important, was published in 1826 (English translation by Dr. Halsted). *Die geometrischen Constructionen, ausgeführt mittels der geraden Linie und eines festen Kreises*, by Steiner, appeared in 1833.

¹⁶ See Carus, *Goethe and Schiller's Xenions*.

character which does not belong to pure intuition. It presupposes movement of figures. In space, however, only matter is movable."

In *Parerga und Paralipomena*¹⁷ Schopenhauer, discussing optical questions, strikes a personal note when he writes: "On the polarization of light the Frenchmen have nothing but nonsensical theories on undulations and homogeneous light, besides computations which are not based upon anything. They are constantly in a haste to measure and to calculate; they consider this as the main thing, and their slogan is *le calcul! le calcul!* But I say, *Où le calcul commence, l'intelligence des phénomènes cesse*: he who has only numbers in his head cannot find the trace of the connective cause."

Here again we see that Schopenhauer, like Goethe, did not appreciate at all what the French mathematical physicists had done. But how, without hardly any mathematical knowledge, could they expect to understand the Frenchmen? Nothing could show better than the foregoing statement the scientific limitations of the otherwise towering intellect of Schopenhauer. Of the real difficulties that lie at the foundation of mathematics neither Goethe nor Schopenhauer had a true conception. They were not able to anticipate even a possibility of the tremendous progress that has since been made and had been made during Schopenhauer's lifetime.

But considered from a modern standpoint their often ill-tempered remarks appear as interesting flash-lights of a great historic period.

¹⁷ *Loc. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 128.

THE ADVENTURES OF AN x .

BY I. M. BROWN.

Chapter I.

TO think that I of all the five vowels and twenty-one consonants, should have been the one destined to meet with such adventures! I, who of all letters was the quietest and least desirous of attracting attention! I, to have been sent, into that bewildering land of puzzles, to become the jest and plaything of all men.

You will readily agree with this estimate of my own importance, if you will notice that I alone of all the letters have not yet taken part in these opening words, and only in this phrase will use be made of the last of the twenty-six.

The fact is that I was ruthlessly taken from my own beloved land of Letters, to travel as a stranger in the Country of Mathematics. I will tell you my experiences from the day of my arrival there.

I was greeted by an official guide and he at once asked me where my badge was.

"My badge?" echoed I, "I haven't any."

He turned to a desk at his side and opening a drawer pulled out two black and white badges, one like this $+$ and the other like this $-$. He said I must never go out of doors without one of these badges firmly pinned on in front, and the other one in my pocket ready for when I should need it. I said very stiffly that I was not in the habit of wearing any one's badge, and why should I put on his? He replied that if I did not wear a plus or minus sign I should only be allowed to travel in a very small part of the country, namely that ruled over by Queen Arithmetic, and I had been chosen to try to penetrate much further inland, into the territory of Algebra. He explained further that if possible one always wore the plus badge, for it stood for the nicer of the pairs, add and subtract,

up and down, right and left, receive and owe, pull and push, gain and loss, growing and shrinking...and so on.

He gave me a great many directions and much good advice, but I will skip all that and tell you what actually happened.

I fastened on my plus badge and went out to explore. I had gone but a very little way when, hand in hand, two letters like myself swooped down upon me shouting: "Here's another, come along and join hands with us; now our coefficient is three."

I was too bewildered to make any objection and too much out of breath from running with them to ask any questions. Presently one of them spied some more of our kind linked together. Off we went at once and joined them, all taking hands; one of the newcomers said: "Well, now our coefficient is eight." I had noticed that there were five in their group before we three joined it. I soon found that "coefficient" meant the number of letters there were. I think the word has something to do with one's efficiency or strength, just as we talk of the efficiency or strength of an army or of a man-of-war meaning the number of men there are.

Some one called out: "Hallo! there are two with minus badges, let's dodge them."

But we were not quick enough, so the two minus letters seized the last two of our line; all four were *hors de combat* for the rest of that day, and our coefficient was reduced to six.

It was not long before I learned to play this game quite well, so I walked farther into the country to find something new.

Chapter II.

In the next village I met a letter like myself, and he said: "Will you come and live with me?"

"Willingly," said I.

So he took me to a little square mat, where there was just room for us both to sit down. As we stepped on to this mat I noticed that my companion put away his badge and chalked up just outside: " $+x^2$."

"Put away your badge too," said he, "you don't need it when we're living together."

We talked a good deal, seated on our little mat, and consequently we did not notice another x wearing a minus badge approaching. Suddenly with a shout he jumped between us saying:

"I'm here now and you can't get rid of me; so up with the walls and hoist the minus badge."

Like magic the little square mat became a cube-shaped tent and outside hung the minus sign.

"Bad luck," whispered my friend to me, "keep your eye open now for some other x with a minus badge. We can't get on a bit until somehow we can change this wretched minus into a plus; and that we can only do by getting another minus to join us; for then if we put one minus horizontal and the other vertical we'll make a plus: two minuses always make a plus."

Sure enough, soon there came down the road a pair of letters carrying a mat like our first home except that " $-x^2$ " was written on it.

"Here, come here," we all shouted.

And once more our little cube-shaped tent was changed: but what the new shape was I *can't* remember. Then we arranged our minus and that of the newcomers cross-wise and were plus once more. And now our full title was " $+x^5$."

I stayed several days in this little village for I found it very confusing to be always changing the shape and sign of the house, and we had to do this every time any one went in or out.

But after a while it seemed a very simple arrangement and I thought the time had come for me to travel further.

Chapter III.

As I drew near the next village (it was called Simpleness) I noticed that all the inhabitants, numbers and letters alike, were out playing in the fields.

It was a kind of tug-of-war they played. There was a long rope and in it, sometimes in the middle and sometimes at one or other end, were fastened two little wooden rods called, as I found out, "equals."

Well, letters and numbers, higgledy-piggledy, seized hold of the rope: but as some pushed while others pulled, the rope got in a dreadful muddle. Then some one, the umpire I think, suggested that all the letters should go on one side of the little equal rods and all the numbers on the other; and any one who changed over had also to change his work, that is, if he had pulled he now pushed and *vice versa*.

But that didn't seem very much better; so they did as they had done in the first village I visited, they linked up all those with plus badges and then these paired off with the same number of minus ones: and the numbers did the same on their side. Until

at last there were only a few letters with one badge on one side pulling against some number on the other side. Lastly they tried to see what number one letter by himself could just balance. And that was the end of the game.

Chapter IV.

I enjoyed myself so much playing with the people in this village, Simpleness, that I stayed longer than was really necessary, for I had soon become a good player of their favorite game.

The fact is I'd overheard some of them talking about the life in Utility, the town that lay next in my route. And what they said made me nervous. However I was bound to travel that way, so it was no good delaying.

As I was starting forth, one of the villagers came running after me. "You'll be sure to get on all right," said he, "if you only manage to get into the service of one of the experts; whatever happens *avoid all very young employers.*"

I didn't quite know what he meant by "expert," but I thought that probably if I found an expert, he would be kind to me just because his name and mine were so alike.

Well, the streets of Utility were crowded with people who went about asking each other most complicated questions, such as:

"If a Father is three times as old as his son now, when will he be twice his age?" and "If a train had gone half a mile an hour quicker, it would have reached its destination an hour earlier; how fast did it travel?"

And any one who had made up one of these questions rushed out into the street and seized an x and insisted on his working for him.

It was quite easy work if you had a good master; he gave you very simple and straightforward directions, saying for example in a gambling question: "Suppose I lose $\pounds x$ and then win $\pounds 2$; I find I have as much as I started with; how much did I lose?"

I thought at once how I should have arranged the letters and numbers in the village Simpleness and quickly answered " $\pounds 2$ ": and he was quite pleased.

But, oh dear, the next person who employed me was a girl of about fourteen years! She said vaguely: "Let x equal the weight, how much ought I to buy?" I asked in an injured tone: "But what is x ? is it pounds or ounces or grammes? and what are you going to buy? butter or cheese?"

She sighed and said: "I don't know, tons of coal, I think."

"Well," said I, "is this your order? Let x tons of coal be bought?"

"Yes, that's it; and if I had bought ten tons more I should have had twice as much. Isn't it a dreadfully hard question?"

"No," said I, " $x+10=2x$, therefore $x=10$."

"Goodness," said she, "it's the first one I've ever got a decent answer to!"

Chapter V.

Once more I set out on my lonely way.

As I approached the walls of a large city, I overtook another traveler, called y . He told me that the city we were nearing was called Togetherton, and he had heard rumors that no letter was allowed to start business by himself, it was necessary to have at least one partner. I was distressed at hearing this, for I knew no one there and I said so. He said he was in the same predicament and suggested that we should become partners. I gratefully agreed and we hired an office and called ourselves "The Simultaneous Solving Society."

We advertised that we would find values for any one who could produce two facts for us to work on. We charged our clients highly, for the work was very trying. In fact, in the first case that I undertook I fainted right away. You see the client came and said: " $3x+2y=13$ " and " $2x+7y=20$." Then he did something to both these statements, and when I looked round, y was no longer to be seen and my client told me that I was equal to three.

"But," said I, "what has become of my friend y ?"

"That's all right," said he, "now steady"; and he wrote down one of the facts again. Then I had a most dreadful feeling of substitution and knew no more until I heard my client saying: "Thank you, that's sufficient, $x=3$ and $y=2$."

It wasn't so bad the second time though, as I knew more or less what to expect.

Chapter VI.

After having made a great success of our Simultaneous Solving Society, I sold my share of the concern to another x ; for I had determined to take a course as a common mechanic in the workshops of the factories.

I felt this would be a wise step, since the next town in my route

was a huge manufacturing center, and I always think it is a very good thing to be able to *do* the work as well as direct it.

Now I found out why the factories are so called: it is because in all the shops the most important tool is one called a "factor." Really it is almost the only instrument the workman is allowed to use. Some of the clumsier men try to struggle in old-fashioned and cumbersome tools which their parents had used before them. But the inspectors are dreadfully angry when they discover that a job has been done with these tools; they say that it never has the same neat appearance as if the proper factors had been used.

After some days of hard work here, for they say that nothing but long practice will make one proficient, the master of the factory gave me a certificate of excellence, and I felt that I was well equipped for my coming sojourn in the town of Quadraticness.

Chapter VII.

The characteristic feature of Quadraticness is the type of the houses. There must always be accommodation for an x^2 , and x , and a number; and the best houses provide for the coefficients of the letters as well.

Each house has two doors, and these are kept shut and locked. When you want to come out you either unlock the door with your factors, or if that fails (sometimes the doors are very stiff) you use a combination lock. This is quite simple to use; but some people were always forgetting the combination and then they could neither let themselves out nor any one else in. The combination is an excellent one, and I never knew it to fail when it was properly used. Of course there were always some careless people who didn't work it steadily and accurately but kept making slips with it; but that was their fault, not the combination's.

Most houses had their doors clearly marked, either both in front, or both at the back, or one in the front and the other in the back. But there were some exceptional cases. Once I applied the combination, and the lock turned easily enough, but there was no real door, only a sham one! I hastily dropped the handle feeling that there were things uncanny behind the closed door and they were better left to the imagination.

Chapter VIII.

My next visit was to *Graphbury*, the large and growing suburb of Quadraticness.

Here everybody, without exception, was very keen on photography; and the houses were crammed with photographs of all descriptions.

I went to one of the best studios and arranged for my portrait to be taken.

First the photographer placed me in front of two perpendicular lines as background, telling me to think of any number. I came out a vertical line! I didn't order many copies!

On my next visit he proposed that I should be taken with my friend y ; it was a favorite pose he said and easy to do well. This time the photograph was a slanting line!

I told the man then, that I couldn't have any more such ridiculous results. I was quite sure none of these graphs (they used the latter half of the word for short) resembled me in the slightest.

So in the next we had a group and we came out a circle. The photographer seeing that I was better pleased this time showed me his price list of arranged groups, saying that if I would choose the style he would do his best to satisfy me.

The price list was as follows:

	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>
Groups of two letters, using first and second degrees, parabola	1	0
Groups of two letters, using second degree in equal quantities, cir:	1	0
Groups of two letters, using first and second degrees, circle	2	0
ellipse	2	0
hyperbola	2	6
Groups of two letters, using higher degrees, various curves	3	6

I had been told to spare no expense on my tour, so I was taken in every possible group and sent a copy of each to my Headquarters.

Chapter IX.

My next stopping place was in a large mining district. I went to interview the manager of the mines, and he advised me to watch the work for some days without taking any actual part in it.

"There are," he said, "six laws which have to be strictly observed, and although they appear simple enough at first sight, there is generally great difficulty in getting them enforced. And"—here he shrugged his shoulders—"you know the dangers of mining if the laws are not kept."

So I arranged to come the next morning when the work was in full swing and watch the proceedings.

The lift had just gone down when I arrived, and I turned into the little waiting-room. Here on the walls was a large printed copy

of the six laws. I read them carefully, remarking to myself: "What a fuss about nothing! These laws are surely easy enough to enforce."

Then the lift came creaking up.

On my way down, I tried to recollect what the laws were; but I couldn't think of more than two or three, and I began to see that after all they were a little elusive. However on glancing round the lift I saw another copy of them; apparently they find it necessary to put them in every possible place.

When I arrived at the bottom, it seemed pitch dark and I could see nothing save a few brilliant specks of light moving about. But after a moment or two my eyes became accustomed to the gloom, and I was able to distinguish queer little figures, each one carrying a lighted lantern in his cap.

These miners, I must tell you, are a special class of people, surds by name. It takes one a long time to get accustomed to their ways, and even after a fairly long acquaintance one has to deal tactfully with them or they will make good their escape and hide in a most impossible and tangled root. For this is a craze of surds, to escape, and hide under the long branch of some root; for here their lantern becomes invisible and without this guide or index of their power, it is impossible to get any work done.

I must describe this lantern or, as they call it, their index. It is a small tube with an oval-shaped glass top and bottom; on this glass is painted + or -, and some lanterns are made up with the plus at the top and others with minus at the top. Each surd paints his own particular index number after the plus or minus at both ends of his lantern.

A gang, or, as the manager technically said, "an expression," was just being sent out.

First they all ran and hid under the roots which grew on all sides. When they were driven out of these, they had to range themselves on a long ladder, which was placed horizontally. I was watching from a raised gallery and I could read clearly in the top of each one's lantern his index-number.

There were some plus and a fair number of minus ones. The manager gave an order and all those with minus signs dropped like monkeys and hung by their arms on to the rungs of the ladder, and as they dropped, their lanterns turned upside down automatically; and now I saw they all showed plus indices.

"Rearrange," called the manager, and all surds of the same kind collected together and chose one of their number to represent

them all. This one then altered the index in his lantern and took his place either standing on or hanging from the ladder, whichever was necessary to show his plus sign. And all the others of his kind put a nought as their index. The manager explained to me that they were no longer the letters or numbers they had been but were just "ones," and as such made no difference to the product of the work.

Occasionally I noticed one could extract quite easily a surd from the root in which he was hidden, but that was only when the root was one very near the surface and not deep down in the mine. And sometimes, if one knows the trick, one can extricate from one root by threading in another with it; but the new root has to be chosen carefully or it is worse than useless.

Of course there were a great many inspectors in the mine and they went round testing all the appliances. Sometimes they helped with the work and got it done, simply by inspection, in ever so much less time than did the average workman.

I made a long stay in these mines and succeeded in making good friends of the surds. When I said goodbye I promised never to forget them and their ways.

All the same I was glad to get up into the open air again.

Chapter X.

Beyond me rose three mountain ranges, each one sloping gradually up to a higher level.

At first the climbing was easy, but it grew harder and harder. But one was well rewarded for one's trouble, for from time to time one caught glimpses of the far-off Sea of Infinity—away on the ever receding horizon of the Land of Higher Mathematics.

These mountain ranges were called The Progressions and in climbing them one had to provide oneself with certain invaluable means and formal appliances.

In the tableland of which these Progressions formed the approach, there had once been an enormous forest. But three hundred years ago two pioneers of Science had passed this way (though strangely enough they had overlooked the Surd district), and, noticing that the thicket was so dense that one could only work one's way through at a very slow pace, they had reduced it to a neat and orderly pile of logs.

And there these logs still stand in tabular array for any one to use who will.

PHILOLOGY AND THE OCCULT IN ROGER BACON.

BY JOHN S. P. TATLOCK.

ROGER BACON is best known to the modern world for his knowledge, method and speculation in natural science. But this is not all in his work to excite interest or demand explanation. He was not, it is true, a quite encyclopedic writer, nor, writing extensively and with enormous haste, was he methodical, even for a medieval. But he had something to say of many subjects which do not fall within the field of physical science or of philosophy (in our sense), and to ignore them would leave an inadequate idea of his grasp and his originality.

Most of these may be reviewed in a word, though on some of them he wrote voluminously. On such subjects as geography, botany, music and medicine he had little to say that was original or significant, though much that was practical and showed his strong interest in the good of humanity, as in what he says of the prolongation of human life. He wrote on comparative religion, naturally not in a well-informed or unprejudiced way;—on Buddhism, Mohammedanism, Judaism, Christianity and other faiths. But two subjects may be singled out for especial mention, in one of which he was most modern, in the other most unmodern. His attitude to philology and the study of language is one of the matters most to his credit; and to understand the reason for his attitude toward astrology and magic is essential to a fair view of him.

Bacon insists with emphatic iteration on the importance of an accurate and full knowledge of the languages in which the wisdom of the past has come down to us. The four languages of which he urges the especial study are Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and Chaldee. He gives us to understand that he knew some Arabic and Chaldee, and he certainly knew the others. An incomplete Greek grammar by him is still in manuscript in Oxford; in several of his other

works he records and explains the Greek and Hebrew alphabets, showing some power of phonetic analysis in doing so, and he knew enough of the grammar and vocabulary of Greek to correct the Latin Vulgate. He knew something of the sound-changes that have occurred in both Greek and Latin. The pronunciation of Greek which he gives is a fairly accurate representation of the contemporary pronunciation, which he had probably learned from some of the Greeks who had been brought to England by Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln. He uses his knowledge to reprove some of the jaunty etymologizing common in his day, which often reminds one of Voltaire's gibe against etymology as the science in which the vowels count for nothing and the consonants for very little; he especially rebukes the practise of deriving Latin words from Hebrew and Hebrew from Latin, a practise which can be found in old-fashioned dictionaries to the present day. He gives a long and fairly accurate list of Latin words derived from the Greek, consisting of terms for general ideas, and ecclesiastical terms. He exalts very high the importance of an accurate knowledge of language, discoursing on it four or five times. In his *Opus majus*, next after his introduction on philosophy comes his discussion of language,—the basis of knowledge, as ethics and religion are its culmination; of five things essential to knowledge both divine and human, grammar is first. Many persons among the Latins he says can speak Greek, Hebrew and Arabic, but not five know their grammar. These languages are important chiefly because little that is valuable for the theologian or philosopher was written originally in Latin. While learned works ought to be read in the original languages, the western world will be mainly dependent on Latin translations, which no one can make well without close knowledge of the subjects involved and also of the two languages. Yet of those who in the last thousand years or so had made translations from Greek to Latin, only Grosseteste had known science well, and only Boethius had had a due knowledge of the two languages. Bacon complains bitterly of wrong translations in the Vulgate Bible, due partly, he says, to St. Jerome's mistakes and partly to his desire not to make too many changes from the older Latin version in use in his day. Bacon did not share the view of the Council of Trent and of Pope Pius X. as to the ultimate authority of the Vulgate. He also complains of the bad translations of Aristotle current then, which came through the Arabic and also through one or two other languages; made by men ignorant of the subject-matter and not too familiar with the languages. Since so much

of the scientific knowledge and philosophical method of his day was based on Aristotle, he was certainly moderate in demanding accurate versions of him.

Here as elsewhere, in the reasons he gives for his opinions, we cannot forget that he was a medieval. After all, he frequently harks back to mysticism. He sees a glorious tribute to the dignity of philology in the fact that St. Jerome had his teeth filed or moved (*aptari*) that he might the better pronounce certain oriental sibilants. A study of astronomy will help us, he points out, to ascertain the date of Noah's flood and the precise ages of the patriarchs. But if at times he gives reasons which do not appeal to us, if sometimes he gives what we might call the Devil's reasons for doing God's work, this was partly because his intellect usually lagged a little behind his intuition; and partly because with unexpected tact he was adapting himself to his pontifical patron. In regard to his motives, Bacon fluctuated between the medieval and the modern. The fundamental division of things in the middle ages was into the good and the bad; in our day, into the true and the false. The middle ages were an even more utilitarian epoch than the present; they do not look so to us, because they had a different idea from ours as to what is useful. Bacon was medieval enough to hold in the field of consciousness the belief that the true is for the sake of the good. But no one who has read his works can doubt that new truth for its own sake inspired his sub-consciousness and stirred his heart.

In spite of the scientific spirit which Bacon shows in regard to language, there may have been a little mysticism as well,—a little sense of the mystical power of words. This sense is one of the fundamentals in his view as to the reality of magic. For this we shall not condemn unheard as a mere superstitious dreamer an official of a religious system whose most august daily task was to work a stupendous miracle by the five little words "*Hoc est enim corpus meum.*" Yet there is a paradox in seeing the twentieth-century scientific world uniting to honor the memory of a man who was not only a stout defender of magic and astrology, but in whom until rather recently the moderns saw mainly a magician, and at whose feats when he was impersonated on the Elizabethan stage the groundlings craned their necks. Yet, to make the paradox more complete, it must be said that Bacon's attitude to the occult, to magic and astrology, was a consequence of his scientific spirit.

To realize this fully, at least a sketch of background is necessary. Bacon, like almost every one else who ever lived, was a man

of his age; not in regard to certain matters on which he meditated long, but in regard to most of his fundamental view of the world and that part of his mental equipment which he had not time to scrutinize. This is the case with even the most revolutionary thinkers, who may share the most narrow prejudices of their neighbors about social customs or the like. But, more than this, Bacon in his years of discretion had joined the Franciscan order, and ends his greatest work with a long and eloquent tribute to the Sacrament of the Altar. The study to which, next after necromancy, he was most hostile was the Roman law, because it undermined a theocratic system of society. He was a faithful Catholic, and the main reason he urges for the advancement of learning is that it will spread the power of the Christian faith.

Now to the medieval the universe was a closed universe, in which everything had a discoverable use and meaning; it was all-pervaded with spirit, and even with spirits, good and bad. Of man the most important part was spirit, constantly acted on by subtle spiritual influences from outside. His daily life was full of acts and words meant to produce an effect quite incommensurate with their surface meaning. The line between religion and magic has always been found hard to draw; what is religion to the believer often seems magic to the unbeliever. More accurately, religion seeks to gain benefits from the unseen by submission and persuasion, magic by cunning and force. But the two are not incompatible; man might placate the almighty and the benevolent unseen, and outwit or force the subordinate and mischievous or impersonal powers. The impulse which is expressed in magic is almost as deep-seated as that of religion; a late Roman writer makes merry over atheists who would not do the most trifling thing (such as bathe) without ascertaining in what part of the zodiac the moon was. But in the middle ages all good men were believers. There were atheists and scoffers; but they were men whose crimes made them prefer a godless universe and annihilation after death to a good God and his just condemnation. Now the Bible in which good and wise men believed taught the reality of magic; men read of the witch of Endor and the sentence of the Mosaic law, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live"; and it taught the reality and power of evil spirits. As to astrology, that was not vouched for by the Bible. But it came to Europe from the east, the source of all wisdom; it came in an imposing system, always so impressive to humble-minded people, as the medievals were; it could point to amazing fulfilments of its prophecies; it seemed *a priori* probable.

For an argument that convinced some of the ablest men of the middle ages was this: on earth there is nothing useless, there is no use in the stars unless they influence the earth, hence the truth of astrology.

A year or two ago the writer had occasion for another purpose to collect the views on astrology and magic of a dozen representative writers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, writers both literary and philosophical. Not one of them denied the influence of the planets, and the only one who showed scepticism was Petrarch. As to judicial astrology, the attempt to learn of the future in detail from the heavens, the general opinion was that this could be done, though not with such definiteness as to set at naught the prerogatives of divine providence and human free-will; but it was generally regarded as more or less impious, not a very logical conclusion. Magic was less often mentioned: partly because of its greater remoteness from ordinary life, partly because it was a more grave matter. It is not true, however, that before the days of the witchcraft manias the ordinary practice of magic involved any very serious danger from the civil or canon law. "White" or "natural" magic, the use of images and charms, seems to have been condemned by nobody, to have been generally recognized as useful, and to have been a more or less regular part of the practice of medicine, especially in the fourteenth century; "black" magic or necromancy, involving the use of blood, sacrifices, incantations, suffumigations, and invocations of demons, was always condemned as impious, but not generally as useless. The word "superstitious," constantly applied to it, had not at all the coloring of intellectual superciliousness which it has now; it meant something not so much despicable as shocking; St. Thomas Aquinas defines *superstitio*, which he applies to magic, as worship directed to a wrong object or in a wrong manner. On the whole, people were not sure just how much there was in these occult arts; any voice which declared there was nothing in them trembled a little, they were regarded with hostility, suspicion, and fear, and men were glad, like children, to hide their faces in Mother Church's vesture. On the whole the medieval attitude was not one of disbelief but of disapproval.

Bacon's position as to all this is quite clear. Good, indifferent, or evil constellations (which means arrangements of the planets) *incline* to good, indifferent, or evil effects on earth; which may be frustrated by man's free-will, divine grace, or the devil. Therefore, he says, all good astrological authorities agree that their forecasts

are not certain, but depend on the divine will, a view not condemned by the early saints. The body, health, and states of mind are strongly affected by the planets; therefore moral acts may be predicted, but not with certainty. Accordingly, the wise man in his actions will heed celestial influences. As to magic, he wrote a work (mentioned by Bale) *Contra necromanticos*. Their art, he says elsewhere, is cursed and unphilosophical, consisting partly of forbidden though effective traffic with demons, and partly of fraud. In reading his account of their fraudulent hocus-pocus, one might imagine himself reading an exposure of a modern charlatan; he inveighs against their use of confederates' help, of darkness, of ingenious hidden instruments, of legerdemain, of meaningless characters, silly songs, and irrational prayers. So far he is at one with St. Thomas Aquinas himself. But while the only magic which the Angelic Doctor approves is useless, Bacon holds that natural magic is righteous and useful, *ad opera miranda*, do good and repress evil. Accordingly, charms and images, which contain, as in storage-batteries, some of the power of what they represent, the human mind and the God-made heavenly bodies, should be used to the utmost. The enemies of Christendom may and do use them to our damage, and he begs the pope that Holy Church may not lack the same power in defense.

Bacon's repute in modern times as a magician is mainly due to the fact that it was his works on the occult which were spread abroad in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by astrologers and others, proud, perhaps, to find approval for their arts from one who had earned in the schools the title of Admirable Doctor. His repute in his own day as a dabbler in magic is usually ascribed to his general pushing of inquiry and experiment into little-known fields of science. It may well be questioned, though, if it was not rather due to the clear-cut and the approving attitude he took in regard to astrology and natural magic, in contrast to the usual attitude, which was vague or timid, or both. Now what I affirm is that Bacon's position showed mental courage and a scientific spirit. If he did not throw overboard this whole occult lore as intellectual rubbish—and it is too much to expect a thirteenth-century Franciscan to do that—he did the next best thing. If the planets show how events tend, if charms and images are potent for good, why should man not use their help for his own good ends? St. Thomas Aquinas, of the rival order of Dominicans, another wonderful clear-headed man in an age of muddy-mindedness, here was less clear-headed than the Franciscan. He talks of a tacit

compact with demons in the inscriptions on the images used in natural magic, and maintains that demons sometimes help astrologers in their predictions. But if the worker has no desire and leaves no room for diabolical aid, where is the logic of St. Thomas's position? The real reason for it was that these beliefs seemed to impugn the supremacy of God and the freedom of man. But Dante, one of St. Thomas's most faithful disciples, avoids the difficulty by holding that stellar influence is merely one of the channels through which divine providence acts. In regard to the occult, St. Thomas and his like followed their intuition rather than their reason. The fact that we now know their intuition to have been right will not prevent a scientific mind from justifying Bacon for this time fearlessly following his reason.

So Bacon's attitude toward the occult, though one of his mistakes, is really no reflection on his scientific spirit, but was due to the action of it on his more fundamental beliefs—accepted on authority, it is true. It was this scientific spirit, rather than any of its specific products, which is the significant thing about his career, especially coming when it did. It is hard to show much direct consequence of anything that he wrote, though Columbus's voyage in 1492 was partly inspired by what he had read from Bacon on geography, another of Bacon's mistakes, in reality. The significant thing is that Bacon marks an almost dramatic stage in the relations between the church and the world, between traditional wisdom and scientific knowledge.

Bacon lived in the high tide of the western European medieval system, which, on all sides but the legal, means of the medieval church. His century saw the highest development of medieval art, poetry, philosophy; it saw the high social activity of the church in the work of the friars; it saw Innocent III interdicting England, and the Latins ruling in Constantinople. In Bacon the human intellect brought its highest and finest activity, and laid the rich oblation of gold and frankincense at the church's feet; and she turned away. So far as we know, Clement IV never read, he certainly neglected, the lore which the poor friar, with almost pathetic eagerness at having gained such august encouragement, in earnest haste had written out for him three or four times on different scales, to fit the large or small leisure the pope might have for reading. The church was right, from her point of view; she felt instinctively there was nothing there for her; perhaps she even felt there was danger for her. So here the paths of the human mind divide. The intention of the Catholic church to embrace and

govern all human activity, which in the thirteenth century she seemed in a fair way to attain, she defeated herself. She made here the great refusal. In spite of her continued hold on politics, in spite of such work as that of the Jesuits on astronomy in the nineteenth century, she has cast out science and independent critical learning. In later days, when we think of science and the church, we are reminded of what Bunyan says of the two giants, Pope and Pagan, living in caves in the Valley of the Shadow of Death: "Pagan has been dead many a day; and as for the other, though he be yet alive, he is, by reason of age, and also of the many shrewd brushes that he met with in his younger days, grown so crazy and stiff in his joints, that he can now do little more than sit in his cave's mouth, grinning at pilgrims as they go by, and biting his nails because he cannot come at them." He issues now and then a syllabus of errors, denouncing modern thought and its creations as the works of Satan, to which the modern world replies in such a poem as Carducci's *Hymn to Satan*. But toward subversive thought within her own gate the church takes no longer the attitude of indifference which she took to Bacon, as the modernists can testify, the spiritual descendents of Bacon. They have been trying to do for her what he tried to do, an utterly hopeless and impossible thing. She recognizes clearly now what she recognized obscurely then, that her mission is wholly different, and that if the world will not follow her she must not follow the world. The most thorough man of science cannot but admire the most remarkable institution which ever existed on this planet for sticking to her guns as no other institution ever did.

But we must believe the future to be mainly with what Bacon introduced to the modern world. He was not chiefly a discoverer, but he realized the infinite possibilities of mind working with nature. When he faintly foresaw such modern creations as steamships, it was not due to knowledge but to faith in nature and man. He had faith in the future because he was intellectually humble, and esteemed intellectual conceit a chief fount of error; he did not account himself and his world to have attained. He had a strong sense of the unity and rationality of the universe, such as we are coming to on a larger scale and on a higher plane. When we see that one of the last of the schoolmen was one of the first of the scientists, we see vividly how continuous has been the imposing hierarchy of learning.

NOTE ON BOUSSET, DEUSSEN, GARBE, ET AL.

BY WILLIAM BENJAMIN SMITH.

IN *The Monist* of July, 1914, Professor Deussen maintains that the story of the resurrection of Jesus implies a "pious fraud," but "such a little one," it would seem, as need involve no serious moral blemish (while in somewhat similar tone Mr. Kampmeier apologizes for Jesus as not so very bad after all). The only interest, but a lively one, attaching to Deussen's judgment is purely psychologic: how could such an idea obtain a moment's lodgment in any mind even fairly *au courant* with New Testament criticism?—a question much easier to ask than to answer.

However, it is important to note that the resurrection-discussion takes a long stride forward in the new and weighty *Kyrios Christos* of Professor Bousset, which in essential agreement with the essay on "Anastasis" in *Der vorchristliche Jesus* (see "The Critical Trilemma," *Monist*, July, 1914) refers "God hath raised up Jesus" *not* to any resuscitation or raising from the dead, but to the *Erhöhung*, the exaltation, the establishment of the "Messiah-Son-of-Man," "a preexistent, heavenly, supramundane, spiritual being," at the right hand of the majesty on high. "The belief in the exaltation of Jesus as Son-of-Man was not the consequence but much rather the presupposition of the appearances of Jesus." Bousset explicitly rejects "the empty grave" as any part of the earlier tradition. "It may therefore still be proved that the women at the empty grave did not belong to the elder evangelic account of the end of the life of Jesus" (p. 79). "The belief in the exaltation of the Son-of-Man took the more concrete form, that he had risen on the third day bodily from the grave" (p. 79). Only one more such step of giant is needed to reach the position already maintained in the article on "Anastasis"—a step that can not be many years delayed.

In the same number of *The Monist* Garbe rests the historicity

on the prediction of the parousia: "Verily I say unto you, There be some here of them that stand by, which shall in no wise taste of death, till they see the kingdom of God come with power" (Mark ix. 1); "Ye shall not have gone through the cities of Israel, till the Son-of-Man be come" (Matt. x. 23); "There be some of them that stand here, which shall in no wise taste of death, till they see the Son-of-Man coming in his kingdom" (Matt. xvi. 28); "There be some of them that stand here, which shall in no wise taste of death, till they see the Kingdom of God" (Luke ix. 27). Quoting Schopenhauer, Garbe holds with Reimarus that unless these "predictions" had been actually uttered (by Jesus) they would never have held their place in the Gospels, since they were "conspicuously not fulfilled." Surely the force of naïveté can no further go. Garbe need not wonder that saner historicists rely so little on these passages. Schopenhauer speaks of "the glorious return of the Lord," and Garbe quotes with approval. But the reader sees that the scriptures cited say naught of any "return," but only of the "coming" of the kingdom of the Son-of-Man. The notion of "return" is not present; it is the "liberal" contribution of our authors.

Now it is at best merely amusing to talk of the Gospels as sacredly preserving an unfulfilled prediction, just in awe of it as a prediction uttered by Jesus. Who does so should take lessons in old Christian history. If the "prediction" had given offense, it would have been changed without a moment's hesitation. This point has already been sufficiently discussed in *Ecce Deus* (pp. 185-189). Schopenhauer, Garbe, and the rest have totally misunderstood the "coming," the parousia, the presence, in construing it as a "return." The reference is to the wide-spread preaching of the kingdom, the community of God-worshipers, to the proclamation and general acceptance of the Jesus-cult, to the victorious crusade for monotheism, against idolatry. To speak of Jesus as actually uttering such words and of the bewildered church as actually cherishing them, is to imitate the wife of Job (ii. 10). Wellhausen himself declares that "Mark ix. 1 is an additament to viii. 38, externally marked off by 'and he said' and also internally distinguished"—it is not Jesus but a much later Christian consciousness that speaks. Again, of Matt. x. 23 the same great historicist says: "The Son-of-Man is in the meaning of the concipient, not Jesus" (p. 49).

Garbe, Deussen, and their kind should read such critical works as *Kyrios Christos* and especially Norden's *Agnostos Theos*, to learn how they have misconceived "the problem of Jesus" and the

protochristian monotheistic propaganda. They remind one of sophomores who would solve the general algebraic equation of fifth or sixth degree without regarding Abel. It is idle to reason with these, who have no proper conception of the problem. The best one can do is to say, "Well here is an equation of fifth degree, whose roots I know; now find them by your method, and then I'll hear you." When Deussen and Garbe solve one of the least of the real difficulties of the critical situation, then let them ask our attention.

Until then, let hem sneer as they will: let them rage and imagine a vain thing; let them muzzle the press and employ varieties of argument in vogue only among such as know no better. Meantime the dawn creeps down the mountains. He who notes carefully the tone of the best European criticism can no more doubt the steady revolution in progress than watching the vibrations of a Foucault pendulum he could doubt the rotation of the earth.

¹ *Le Problème de Jésus*, by Charles Guignebert, of the Sorbonne—an able, learned, fair-minded book, just published, which scoffers especially would do well to read.

THE LOTUS GOSPEL.

BY THE EDITOR.

BEFORE me lies a book in two volumes entitled *World Healers, or The Lotus Gospel and its Bôdhisattvas compared with Early Christianity*,¹ written by E. A. Gordon, with an introductory letter by A. H. Sayce, of Queen's College, Oxford. It is brimful of interesting material on comparative religion, and the gospel it preaches is a kind of combination of Christianity with Buddhism. The author's idea is expressed in the Preface as follows: "That modern Christianity would be deepened and spiritualized beyond conception by coming into contact with the teachings of the venerable Mahayana and their expression in the wondrous art treasures of the Far East, there is very little doubt."

Professor Sayce in his letter thus adds his approval: "You seem to me to have proved what an intimate relation there is between Buddhism and early Christianity."

While the data here collected are not treated with the critical reserve and accuracy needed for such an undertaking, we have found in these two volumes much that is of general interest and we will reproduce from their pages a number of illustrations with the necessary explanations.

We find on page 192 the Mahayana, the great vessel of salvation, pictured as a ship in the center of which Buddha stands. From his fingers his thoughts stream forth represented as a number of people in a kneeling posture seeking salvation. The eastern ships have eyes painted on their prow, and in this the eye is plainly visible in front. Flowers rain down, and even the waters are covered with lotus blossoms.

Mrs. Gordon is struck with the similarity between Buddhist and Christian nuns. Not only is the rosary very similar but the head dress is practically the same, and she reproduces a picture of

¹ Published by Eugene L. Morice, of Cecil Court, Charing Cross Road, London, and also in China and Japan.

Chujo-hime, the "Lotus Princess," who in the year 763 entered the order and retired from the world (because, as the story goes, she



THE BUDDHIST SHIP OF SALVATION BOUND FOR PARADISE.

was "the victim of a cruel stepmother's tyranny") and was considered an incarnation of Quan Yin. She is still remembered,

for we read: "Each spring, on May 14, the reception of the young princess-nun into paradise is commemorated in a wonderful mystery procession which enacts 'The Coming of Amida with Twenty-five



CHUJO-HIME, THE LOTUS PRINCESS.

Bosatsus' and the whole company of 'heavenly men, women, and children' to compensate this little nun who—in her mortal life—was so grievously afflicted."

Another Japanese princess who has become dear to the Japanese Buddhists is the Empress Asuka-himé, of whom Mrs. Gordon says:

"About the year 735, the Empress Asuka-himé made votive images and vowed to receive, bathe, and cleanse 1000 sick folks if Yakushi [Buddha] would heal her own disease, which is variously described as consumption, blindness, or leprosy. By his grace, her prayer was granted, and so the temple 'Yakushi-ji' was erected in thanksgiving at Nara. It is said that 999 patients arrived, but that for a long time no others came.

"At length a wretched outcast, so terribly defaced and deformed that he was hardly human, craved admission into the hospice, which was readily granted. He then said that Amida had appeared to him in vision, assuring him of cure if only the empress could be persuaded to suck the poison from the putrefying sores which covered him from head to foot, and filled the atmosphere with awful corruption.

"The empress naturally recoiled from this extreme act of self-abnegation (which, however, was divinely destined to develop her own character and ensure her spiritual perfection), so the leper turned sadly away.

"Then it flashed across Her Majesty that *this* was the thousandth patient for whom she had so long and anxiously prayed, and now, alas! rejected. So, having him recalled, she confessed her hesitancy and repugnance and, enjoining silence, she put her lips to the foul wounds, '*for Buddha's sake.*' Instantly the leper, bidding Her Majesty, also, '*tell no man who he was,*' (Luke v. 14), vanished in the most radiant glory, filling the air with fragrance.

"This is one of the many lovely stories which Japanese mothers tell their children. When visiting the spot, I heard that a hospital is about to be raised there by the Imperial University of Kyoto in commemoration of this event.

"The name bestowed upon Asuka-himé after death was Komyo Kogo, 'Empress of Light,' for, as a 'Fruit of the Light,' she had caused copies of the *King Komyo-kyo*, or 'Luminous-Golden-Light-sûtra,' to be made in simple language and distributed throughout Japan. One such the writer saw at Koya-san in the empress's own handwriting.

"With the Emperor Shomu's help, she founded a monastery and nunnery in every province and built dispensaries, where medicines were freely given to the sick (paid for out of the house-taxes), also asylums for the indigent poor, and orphanages.

"This empress's simplicity of heart is revealed in her poem:

"If I pluck these flowers to offer them to Buddha,
The touch of my hand will defile them;
Therefore, growing in the fields as they stand
I offer these wind-blown blossoms
To the Buddha of Past, Present, and To Come!"



EMPRESS KOMYO KOGO GREETED BY THE CHILDREN IN PARADISE.

"Our illustration depicts Asuka-himé entering the Land of Light [Paradise]—welcomed by the children who have become *hotoké* [sainted]."

Mrs. Gordon discusses the development of Buddha statues as they varied in size. In the eighth century the first colossal statue (160 feet in height, with a face 16 feet long) was cast. Since it



THE AMITABHA OF KAMAKURA.
Erected A. D. 1252. From a Japanese Painting.

has twice suffered from fire it cannot compare with the Kamakura Amitabha (erected by the Lady Itano in 1252) whose majestic calm, exquisite tenderness and beautiful smile seem the embodiment of divine love. We here offer for comparison a photograph of this

great statue side by side with a reproduction of a painting by a Japanese artist.

Mrs. Gordon adds: "The colossal size of the images arises,



THE AMITABHA OF KAMAKURA.

From a photograph.

doubtless, from the desire to magnify the perfections of one whose 'lips are full of grace and truth' and who is 'fairer than the children

of men'—'the infinite heart of Buddha, who has not a small heart as we have!'"

Our author takes great interest in the Nestorian tablet at



THE NESTORIAN MONUMENT SURROUNDED BY BUDDHIST MONKS.

Sian-Fu, and has taken a photograph of the venerable monument of Chinese Christianity, surrounded by Buddhist monks who point out terms used on the stone which are common to both faiths, Christianity and Buddhism.

WHO WAS THE BIBLICAL ARIOCH OF THE DAYS OF ABRAHAM?

BY EDGAR J. BANKS.

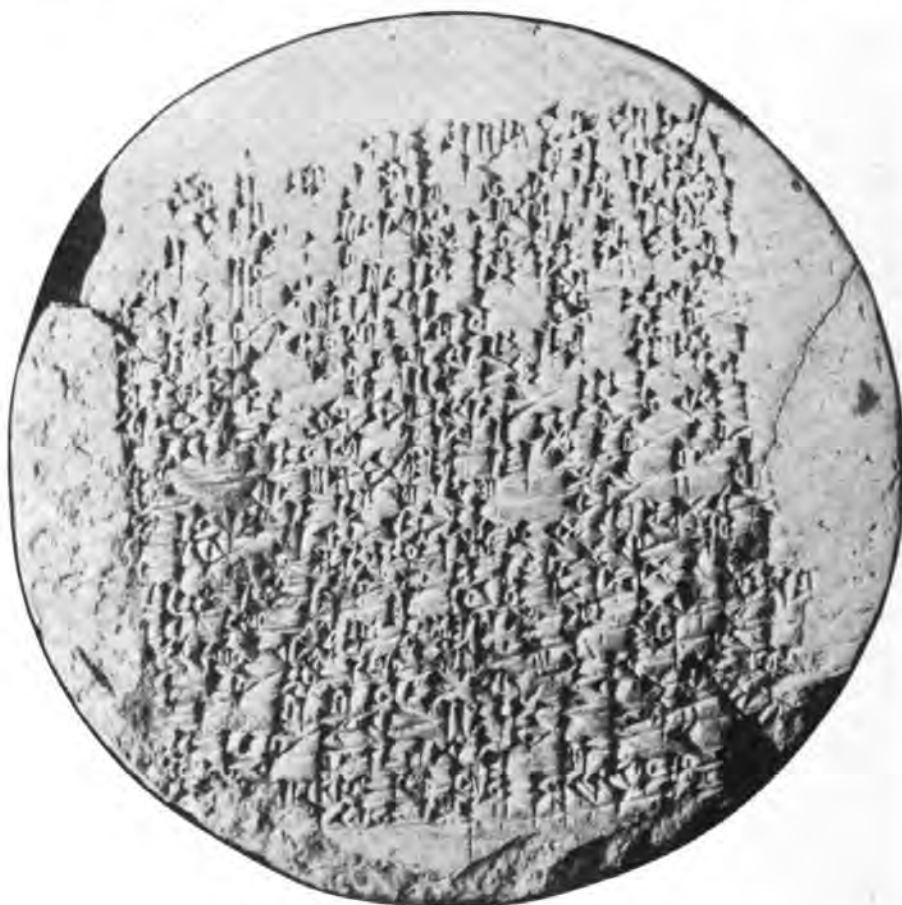
AMRAPHEL, Arioch, Chedorlaomer and Tidal are the names of four kings who invaded Palestine in the days of Abraham, so we are told in Genesis xiv. 2. To learn who those kings were, if they really existed, or were the creation of ancient legend, has long been a riddle which Orientalists have set themselves to solve. Excavations in the ruins of the Babylonian cities have revealed inscriptions which have thrown some light upon the subject. Amraphel was undoubtedly the illustrious Hammurabi, King of Babylon. The King of Ellasar, contemporary with Hammurabi, was Rin-Sin or Warad-Sin, whom the Sumerians of Babylonia called Eri-aku. He was probably the Arioch of the Bible. Chedorlaomer, King of Elam, is supposed to have been the father of Eri-aku, and possibly Tidal was a king of Kurdistan.

Recently in the South Babylonian mound of Senkereh, as Ellasar or Larsa is now called, Arabs discovered a large cone among the ruins of the Ishtar temple. The head of the cone, greatly enlarged to six inches in diameter, is covered with a long Sumerian inscription of fifty lines in an almost perfect state of preservation. The greater part of the cone itself has been broken away, but enough remains to show that the inscription was repeated upon it.

It was the custom of the kings of Babylonia, whenever they restored an ancient temple, to bury in the temple walls the record of their work, that men of the distant future, when the temple should again fall to ruins, might read it. Sometimes the inscription was engraved upon the stone socket of the door post; more frequently it was written on large clay cylinders such as have come from Nebuchadnezzar, but Eri-aku left his record upon the head of a cone, so that when thrust into the wall, the inscription re-

mained visible and might be read. The form of the cone may possibly have had some connection with the nature of the rites employed in the Ishtar worship.

Seldom are these building records of great historical value. They begin by telling who the royal author of the inscription was, and with words of extravagant praise. Then follows an account of the building operations, and at last is a prayer to the deity of



THE INSCRIBED CONE OF ARIOCH.

the temple for the welfare of the king. Such is the inscription upon the cone of Arioch, yet coming, as it does, from an almost unknown Bible king, it is of unusual interest, and makes clearer one of the most obscure and most important historical passages of early Bible history. Its translation is as follows:

"To Ishtar, the exalted lady of splendor, the priestess of hosts, the first-born daughter of the god Sin, his lady!

"I am Uru-aku (Arioch), the favorite prince of Nippur, the restorer of the city of Ur, the governor of the cities Girsu and Shirpurla, who is revered in the temple Ebabbar. (I am) king of Larsa; King of Sumer and Akkad; the beloved lord of the harvest; he who accomplishes the divine commands; who restores the temples of the gods; who built a colossal statue of her ladyship, who restored prosperity to her devastated city, who faithfully built its walls; who truly caused the wide-spread land to be thickly populated; the noble of heart, the warrior who turns the enemy back; to whom Ea has given a wide understanding for conducting the work of the city.

"For Ishtar, the merciful lady, he (Arioch) filled with more light than before, as it was in former times, her house of splendor, the awe-inspiring dwelling of her joyous heart. He enlarged her shrine for the future. He built it for her abode. He reared high its summit. He made it lofty like a mountain.

"May Ishtar, my Lady, look kindly upon these brilliant deeds! May she grant me as a gift an abundance of years, a firmly established throne, the overthrow of those who rebel!"

MARTYRS' MILK.

(MIRACULUM: LAC PRO SANGUINE.)

BY PHILLIPS BARRY.

AMONG the legends of the early church, it is recorded of certain martyrs that when they were tortured or slain with the sword their wounds would shed milk, sometimes with blood. With a study of this miracle, as found in texts from the fourth century on together with certain related aspects of the martyr-cult, the following essay will deal. At the outset the documents may be put in evidence.

1. St. Paul (Coptic text, c. 375): "Und als man ihn am zweiten Tybi enthauptete, gieng aus ihm Milch hervor."¹

2. St. Romanus (Prudentius, c. 404):

"Vix haec profatus pusionem praecipit
sublime tollant....
tenerumque duris ictibus tergum secent,
plus unde lactis quam cruoris defluat."²

3. St. Sophia (Syriac text, fifth century): "And when the breasts of the maiden had been cut off...the places from which they had been cut off flowed with milk instead of with blood."³

4. St. Pantaleon (Coptic text, c. 400-600): "Then all his body became white like snow, and instead of blood, milk issued."⁴

5. St. George (Coptic text, c. 400-600): "And they took off his holy head, and there came forth water and milk."⁵

6. St. Anub (Coptic text, c. 400-600): "A headsman came.... and severed his neck,—blood and milk issued therefrom."⁶

¹ O. v. Lemm, "Koptische Apokryphe Apostelakten," *Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. de St. Petersbourg*, XXXV, p. 308-9.

² *Peristephanon*, X, 695ff.

³ A. S. Lewis, *Select Narratives of Holy Women*, p. 174.

⁴ F. Rossi, *Memorie della R. Acad. dei Lincei*, Ser. 5, 1893, pp. 1-136. This citation on p. 120.

⁵ E. A. W. Budge, *St. George of Cappadocia*, "The Martyrdom of St. George," p. 235.

⁶ I. Balestri and H. Hyvernât, *Scriptores Coptici*, Ser. 3, Vol. I, p. 240.

7. St. Epime (Coptic text, c. 400-600): "...they cut off his blessed head. Blood and milk flowed from his body."⁷

8. St. Isaac (Coptic text, c. 400-600): "...they....cut off his holy head....And there came forth blood and milk."⁸

9. St. Sarapamon (Coptic text, c. 400-600): "When Orion the guardsman cut off his head, water and milk flowed."⁹

10. St. Godeleva (1078): "Quo fiebat ut sacer sanguis qui poenae violentia in guttur confluxerat, in aquam de ore profusus, coagulatus in lapidem album, instar calcis induratus sit."¹⁰

Of the above texts, the Coptic Martyrdom of St. Paul, in a fourth century papyrus,¹¹ contains the earliest record of the miracle. Macarius Magnes, (c. 370) attests the story as current of St. Paul;¹² it is found also in the Greek, Latin, Arabic and Ethiopic texts of the Martyrdom,—of which the Greek, from a manuscript of the ninth century, (than which none is earlier) may be cited.

“ὡς δὲ ἀπεινάξεν αὐτοῦ ὁ σπεκουλάτωρ τὴν κεφαλὴν, γάλα ἐπύτισεν εἰς τοὺς χιτῶνας τοῦ στρατιώτου.”¹³

The martyr-cult, a tribute of the church to latent polytheism, early reached in Egypt a high development. Shenute, bishop of Atripe (333-451), saw in it a menace of social demoralization, even the decay of the church itself;¹⁴ he denounced the worship of dead men's bones,¹⁵ pious frauds, the toll of caves and old ruins, attested by relic-mongers' false revelations.¹⁶ Then the dream oracles and healing cults were revived.¹⁷ In the traditions of the saints, lived on the mythology and folk-lore of the old gods. Ser-

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

⁸ E. A. W. Budge, "The Martyrdom of St. Isaac of Tiphre," *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, IX, p. 89.

⁹ H. Hyvernât, *Les Actes des Martyres de l'Égypte*, p. 330.

¹⁰ *Acta Sanct.*, 6 Jul., II, p. 431, "Vita S. Godelevae," 77.

¹¹ O. v. Lemm, *loc. cit.*, p. 237.

¹² "ὁ μὲν γὰρ τῆς κεφαλῆς τμηθεὶς, αἵματι καὶ γάλακτι τὸν ὄφιν εἰς λιχνεῖαν ὥσπερ ἐδελέασεν." (*Apocriticus*, IV, 14, p. 182, Blondel.)

¹³ R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, I, 115.

¹⁴ G. Zoega, *Catalogus Codicum Copticorum*, p. 421: "Sermo de ecclesiis omni tempore et omni die frequentandis in timore Dei."

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 424 (Title of a sermon by Shenute): "Exegesis annexa iis quae diximus et scripsimus de iis qui venerantur ossa mortuorum vano nomine eas appellantes."

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 424: "Sunt qui ajunt martyres apparuerunt nobis et dixerunt quod ossa sua certo loco condita essent, quos deprehendi et convici de errore suo. Nonnulli dum aedes demoliuntur vel lapides caedunt, si inverierint eadifiorum subterraneorum formas et capsulas, ajunt quod martyres sunt. Anne in capsis sepeliverunt homines praeter eos qui martyrium sustinuerunt?" (Extract from a sermon by Shenute.)

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 424 (Shenute): "Loquitur...de aegrotis qui somnum capiunt in locis martyrum, quo salutem recipiant, aut somnio moneantur."

vice in the interest of the martyrs,—building of shrines, writing of memorials, was a work of supererogation.¹⁸ And, in spite of abuses, drinking and merrymaking, gambling, lewdness and brawling, rife among the crowds at the shrines, the cult endured,—since it made more easy, the transition from the old faith to the new.¹⁹

Contemporaneous with the development of the martyr-cult was the rise of another by-product of ecclesiastical evolution, the hagiographic romance. Of this literary genre, Egypt, the land of the folk-tale,²⁰ has left us the best examples in the Coptic writings. Its development was intimately connected with the history of the church. In the pre-Constantinian period of local or general persecution, the saints were witness of the psychic impetus of Christianity,—their records, relatively free from mythology, forming a logical supplement to the apostolic tradition.²¹ With the triumph of the church, however, when the witness of the martyrs was no longer a vital issue, the absorption of pagan elements followed. The memorials of the martyrs, the heroes of the church,²² were historical novels, wherein fancy ran light footed, if history feared to tread. In Egypt the hagiographic romance circulated early,—witness the mute testimony of papyri of the fifth century lately found at Oxyrhynchus, with portions of the memorials of St. Paphnute and of St. Christina, written in vulgar Greek.²³ Of the extant Coptic texts, those in Sahidic were written between 400 and

¹⁸ E. O. Winstedt, *Coptic Texts relating to St. Theodore*, "Apa Chamoul," p. 206: "And those that shall write my martyrdom tear up the copy of their sins."

¹⁹ G. Zoega, *loc. cit.*, p. 423: "Si quis cum dulci miscuerit quod omni felle amarius est, num biberes o homo? Adire loca martyrum, ut ores, legas, psallas, sanctifices te, et sumas eucharistiam in timore Dei, bonum est. At ibi concinere, edere, bibere, ludere, magis adhuc fornicari, homicidia committere per ebrietatem... iniquitas est." (Shenute.)

²⁰ J. Leipoldt, *Geschichte der koptischen Litteratur*, p. 142: "Die Lust am Fabulieren ist ihnen sozusagen angeboren,—das beweisen die Märchenbücher, die uns aus den Jahrtausenden vor Christus erhalten sind."

²¹ A. Harnack, "Martyrer- und Heilungsakten," *Sitzber. der kön. Preuss. Akad.*, 1910, 117: "Wie sich der Märtyrer benommen hat... sein Christus-bekenntniss, endlich was Christus an ihm manifestiert hat, das war der Gegenstand des höchsten Interesses, denn es gehörte auf dasselbe Niveau, auf welchem das neue Testament stand."

²² Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, X, 21: "Hos... nostros heroas vocaremus... quod daemones... vincerent."

²³ *Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la Ricerca dei Papiri Greci e Latini in Egitto*, Vol. I, Nos. 26, 27. A Coptic text of the martyrdom of St. Paphnute must have preceded the Greek text of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus, since in the papyrus the martyr is called "Ἀπα Παννούριος, in which "Ἀπα is Coptic *apa*, the generic word for a saint or holy man. As far as it goes, the text of the papyrus corresponds exactly with the text of the Bohairic "Martyrdom of St. Paphnute."

600 A. D.,²⁴ those in Boheiric are mostly translations from Sahidic.²⁵ From linguistic evidence, however, comes the proof that this type of literature, the successor of the native folk-tale, goes back in Egypt to the fourth century.

A time-honored punishment for slaves or criminals was by the rack, or "wooden horse" (Greek ξύλον, Latin *equuleus*). Eusebius and Prudentius testify of its use against the Christians.²⁶ In Coptic hagiographs, torture by the rack, (*hermetarion*, Sah.; *ermetarion*, Boh.) is a commonplace,²⁷ the victims being women as well as men. This word *hermetarion* was a local word in Egypt, according to St. Athanasius who wrote in the year 357, current during the period of Arian atrocities in the Thebaid.

“ἀλλὰ νῦν οἱ θαυμαστοὶ Ἀρειανοὶ, οἱ καὶ ἡμᾶς διαβάλλοντες . . . ταύτας γυμνώσαντες ἐποίησαν ἐπὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἐρμηταρίων κρεμασθῆναι, . . . οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις διωγμοῖς τοιοῦτον ἡκούσθη πραχθέν . . . μόνοις γὰρ αἵρετικοῖς οἰκείον . . . πλημμελεῖν κατὰ τῶν ἁγίων . . . παρθένων.”²⁸

Writing at white heat, he denies that Christian women were thus tortured by the imperial governors. In the Coptic Martyrdom of St. Justus, however, the scene of which is laid in the time of Diocletian, a girl-child is racked by Arianus, governor of the Thebaid.²⁹ History knows no such person: the governor under Diocletian was Clodius Culcianus, as attested by a papyrus of the year 303,³⁰ also by Eusebius,³¹ and one Coptic Martyrdom of St.

²⁴ J. Leipoldt, *Geschichte der koptischen Litteratur*, p. 156: "Die mönchische Litteratur der saidischen Mundart war noch vor der persischen (619) und arabischen Eroberung (641), auf einem toten Punkte angekommen."

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 144, footnote 3: "Die bohairischen Martyrien sind grösstenteils aus den saidischen übersetzt."

²⁶ Eusebius, VIII, 10: "οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὀπίσω τῷ χεῖρε δεθέντες, περὶ τὸ ξύλον ἐξηρτῶντο, καὶ μαγγάνοις τισὶ διετίνοντο πᾶν μέλος."

Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, X, 108-9.

"Incensus his Asclepiades iusserat
Eviscerandum corpus eculeo."

²⁷ In these texts, the rack is one of the first tortures used,—at the instigation of the governor, when the martyrs' obstinacy or evasive replies have enraged him. See E. O. Winstedt, *Coptic Texts relating to St. Theodore*, "Apa Chamoul," p. 201. "And the governor was wroth, and he bade them hang him to the rack (ἐρμητάριον)."

²⁸ Athanasius, *Apologia ad Constantium*, Migne, P. G., XXV, col. 640.

²⁹ E. O. Winstedt, *Coptic Texts relating to St. Theodore*, p. 218: "He made them place her upon the rack (*hermetarion*), and scrape her till her ribs flowed with blood."

³⁰ *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Vol. I, 132-3: "Κλωδίω Κουλκιάνω τῷ . . . ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου."

³¹ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, IX, 11.

Theodore.³² By these data, the writing of hagiographic romances by the Copts is attested for a period when the memory of Arian atrocities was yet fresh. In the name of the unhistorical Arianus, the hated Arians are gibbeted.³³ The word *hermetarion*, etymologically a corruption of Latin *armentarium*, as actually stated in an early Greco-Latin gloss,

armentarium ξυλον ερμηταριον³⁴

is derived from the neuter form of the nickname Armentarius, borne by the emperor Galerius Maximianus.³⁵ As Greek ἀρμεντάριον it is found in the Acts of SS. Ciryus and Julitta.³⁶

σχετλιάσαντος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦτο τοῦ δικαστοῦ, κελεύει ἀρμενταρίῳ ἀναρτηθεῖσαν εὐτόνως ξέεσθαι.

Evidence of Egyptian influence is further to be found in the fund of miraculous stories which swell the hagiographic tradition. For the purpose of the present essay may be considered a remarkable and widespread belief, namely, the restoration to life of dead men and animals by reassembling their scattered members. In its oldest form, an incident in the myth of Osiris, it is found in the Pyramid Texts, according to which the deceased king, identified with Osiris, was reanimated by the magical symbolism of dismemberment and integration. In witness whereof are the following documents.

1. Teti (c. 2600 B. C.)³⁷: "Nephthys has collected for thee all thy members, in her name, 'Our Lady the Assembler.'"

2. Teti³⁸: "Hail, hail, rise thou, Teti! Thou hast grasped thy head, thou has brought thy bones, thou hast collected thy members."

³² E. O. Winstedt, *loc. cit.*, p. 162. Culcianus appears in other Coptic stories.

³³ Yet such are the vicissitudes of sainthood! Arianus himself entered later into the cycle of conscience-stricken persecutors, as a professing Christian and martyr. (F. Rossi, *Memorie della R. Accad. dei Lincei*, Ser. V, 1893, a Coptic text of the martyrdom of St. Arianus.) His body, thrown into the sea, is brought back by a dolphin, perhaps a reminiscence of the classic legend of Arion.

³⁴ *C. G. L.*, II, 25, 31. *Cod. Par.*, 7651, of the ninth century.

³⁵ Aur. Vict., *De Caes.*, XXXIX, (c. 360): "Galerium Maximianum, cui cognomen Armentario erat..." Cf. also, *ibid.* XL.

Pseudo-Aurelius, *Epit.* XL (written c. 400): "Galerius autem... ortus parentibus agrariis, pastor armentorum, unde ei cognomen Armentario fuit."

³⁶ *Analecta Bollandiana*, I, 198. "Acta Graeca Sincera SS. Ciryi et Iulitae." This document is cited exactly by Theodore of Iconium, (c. 1005) and must be earlier than 551, since it appears in the *index expurgatorius* of the Gelasian Decree, which Dobschütz assigns to the period 518-551.

³⁷ K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*, 616.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 654.

3. Teti³⁹: "Thou hast bound thy head to thy bones, thou hast bound thy bones to thy head."

4. Pepi I (c. 2575 B. C.)⁴⁰: "Pepi has united his bones, he has gathered his members."

5. Pepi I⁴¹: "Hail, Pepi! Thou hast brought thy bones, thou hast received thy head before Seb."

6. Pepi I⁴²: "She gives thee thy head, she unites thee thy bones, she joins thy members, she puts thy heart in thy body."

7. Pepi II (c. 2475 B. C.)⁴³: "Isis offers thy libation, Nephthys has made thee pure,—thy two sisters mighty and great, collecting thy flesh, joining thy members."

This belief, native for thirty centuries to Egypt, passed into popular Christianity, Christ and the Angels taking the places of Horus and Nephthys.

1. St. Lacaron: "Sumpsit membra beati, invicem compegit ea, suscitavitque eum iterum."⁴⁴

2. St. Anub: "Tunc Archangelus Michael, deorsum de caelo venit, Suriele et Raphael cum eo ambulantibus. Apprehenderunt membra corporis eius, ea invicem coniunxerunt, et exsufflarunt in faciem iusti, qui surrexit incorruptus."⁴⁵

3. St. George: "When he had finished his prayer, and had said 'Amen,' they threw him on the wheel, and... immediately his body was broken into ten pieces.... And the dragon of the abyss (i. e., Dadianus) commanded them to throw his bones.... into a dry pit.... Michael went down into the pit, and put together the holy body of St. George.... and the Lord breathed upon his face and filled him again with life, and He embraced him."⁴⁶

Likewise the reanimation of dead animals, the earliest legend of which appears in the Westcar Papyrus (c. 2000 B. C.),⁴⁷ is an incident in the hagiographs.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 572.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 980.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 840.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 835.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 1981.

⁴⁴ I. Balestri and H. Hyvernât, *Scriptores Coptici*, Ser. 3, Vol. I, p. 14.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

⁴⁶ E. A. W. Budge, *St. George of Cappadocia*, "The Martyrdom of St. George," p. 212.

⁴⁷ W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Egyptian Tales*, p. 28: "And his majesty said, 'Is it true, that which men say, that thou canst restore the head which is smitten off?' And Dedi replied, 'Truly I know that, O King, (life, wealth and health) my Lord!' And his majesty said, 'Let one bring me a prisoner who is in prison, that his punishment may be fulfilled.' And Dedi said, 'Let it not be a man, O King, my Lord,—behold, we do not even thus to our cattle.'

St. Lacaron: "Cum haec dixisset B. Apa Lacaron, calceamentum quod erat in pede praesidis, factus est sicut vitulus, coram praeside et universa turba."⁴⁸

In the tradition of the Latin church the myth of dismemberment and magical restoration is of frequent record. The following documents will illustrate the forms in which it is found.

1. St. Patrick: "Ailill's wife went to the hill on which they were biding and said, 'Swine have devoured our son, O Ailill!' saith she, 'through their brutishness.' And Ailill said to Patrick: 'I will believe, if thou bringest my son to life again for me.' Patrick ordered the bones of the son to be gathered together, and directed a Culdee of his household, namely, Malach the Briton. . . . 'I will not tempt the Lord,' saith Malach. . . . Thereafter Patrick ordered the bishop Ibair and Ailbe to bring the boy to life, and he besought the Lord along with them. The boy was brought back to life after this, through Patrick's prayer."⁴⁹

2. St. Kiaran: "In illa hora videns pius puer lupum miserum et macerum et esurientem ad se venientem, famulus Dei dixit ei, 'vade miser, et commede illum vitulum.' Et devoravit eum. . . . Sanctus Kiaranus. . . . ossa eius in sinum suum collegit, et reddiens deposuit ea ante vaccam plorantem. Et statim divina pietate propter sanctitatem pueri vitulus coram omnibus surrexit."⁵⁰

3. St. Winifred: "Then tooke Benoe the heade, and sett it agayne to the bodie, and covered it with his mantel, and went to his masse. And beholde when he had sounged and preachte to the people much of the mayden, he sayd, God would not that she should be deade. . . . Wherefore he bad manie men and weomen to pray to God to rayse her agayne to lyfe, and so he did. And when she sate up, with her hande she wipte away the dust from her face that was thereon, and spake to them whole and sounde as she was before."⁵¹

This legend of St. Winifred is of interest for the reason that it is doubtless but a reminiscence of an incident in the martyrdom of

And a duck was brought to him and its head was cut off. And the duck was laid on the west side of the hall, and its head on the east side of the hall. And Dedi spake his magic speech. And the duck fluttered along the ground, and its head came likewise, and when it had come part to part, the duck stood and quacked." (The same miracle is wrought on a goose and an ox.)

⁴⁸ I. Balestri and H. Hyvernath, *Scriptores Coptici*, Ser. 3, Vol. I, p. 16. Cf. "Acta Apocrypha SS. Ciryci et Iulittae," *Acta Sanct.*, 16 June, III, 31.

⁴⁹ W. Stokes, *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, p. 198.

⁵⁰ "Vita S. Ciarani de Cluain," v. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, Vol. I, p. 202. The hagiography is doubtless the origin of a similar story in the Edda. See B. Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, I, p. 57.

⁵¹ *Anal. Boll.*, VI, 308, "The Lyfe of St. Wenefreide" (c. 1401).

St. George. "They rose up together, and joined the head of the saint to his body and it united with it, as if it had never been severed at all."⁵²

Of all hagiographs, the miraculous history of St. George has had an influence second to none. One disguised version of it passes as the biography of St. Catherine, another as the history of St. Martina. Both of these texts retain the incident of the milk-shedding wounds.

1. St. Catherine: "ἀντὶ τοῦ αἵματος γάλα ἔρυσεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς."⁵³

2. St. Martina: "Inciso autem corpore eius, emanabat lac pro sanguine."⁵⁴

Such transference of legends of different saints is not unusual,—the most notable instance, however, is to be observed in the case of St. Aemilianus, patron of Treri in Umbria, the legend of St. Aemilianus being nothing less than the legend of St. Pantaleon taken over bodily.⁵⁵

To return to the main subject of our essay. The incident of the milk-shedding wounds appears besides in a number of hagiographs, the same being here put in evidence.⁵⁶

⁵² E. A. W. Budge, *St. George of Cappadocia*, "The Encomium by St. Theodosius," p. 237. Cf. Pyr. 572.

⁵³ J. Viteau, *Passions des Saints Ecaterine, Pierre d'Alexandrie*, etc., p. 23.

⁵⁴ *Acta Sanct.*, I Jan., I, 13.

⁵⁵ Of St. Aemilianus two closely related accounts are given in the *Acta Sanctorum*, viz., 28 Jan., II, 833, from F. Ferrari, who claimed to have read the Acts of St. Aemilianus at Spoleto, and 8 Feb., II, 158, a Latin version of an Italian life by one Jacobillus, who cited biographies of St. Aemilianus, published at Treri, 1592, 1593, but these could not be found by Bolland. That the legend is but the legend of St. Pantaleon, with the name, locality, and a few minor details changed, the following parallel summaries of the two will declare:

I. St. Pantaleon,

1. Accused before Maximian by the doctors' guild.
2. Offers test: heals a paralytic in the name of Christ.
3. Tortured: rack, fire, lead, thrown in sea with millstone, to beasts, by wheel which kills 500 men.
4. Bound to olive: neck grows hard, headsman's sword like wax.
5. Decapitated: wounds shed milk, olive-tree fruits.

II. St. Aemilianus,

1. Accused before Maximian by the priests of Æsculapius.
2. Offers test: heals a paralytic in the name of Christ.
3. Tortured: rack, fire, lead, thrown into the river Clitumnus with a millstone, to beasts, by wheel which kills 500 men.
4. Bound to olive: headsman's sword like wax.
5. Decapitated: wounds shed milk, olive-tree fruits.

The account of the miracle of the milk-shedding wounds: "Ex cuius corpore lac pro sanguine fluxisse arboresque flores et fructus emisisse ferunt," (*Acta Sanct.*, 28 Jan., II, 833.)

⁵⁶ St. Maelruan of Tallaght had blood of a pale color, due to ascetic habits. See S. Baring Gould, *The Lives of the British Saints*, III, 454.

1. St. Acacius:⁵⁷

“τράχηλον Ἀκάκιος ἐκτμηθεὶς ξίφει,
Ψυχῆς τὸ λευκὸν μηνύων βλύζει γάλα.”

2. St. Antiochus:⁵⁸

“Ἀντίοχος . . . ἱατρὸς τὴν τεχνὴν . . . ἀπετμήθη τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ ἔρρου-
σεν ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου αὐτοῦ σὺν αἵματι γάλα.”

3. St. Blasius:⁵⁹

“Videbant autem milites illi quod pro sanguine lac carnes earum
stillabant.”

4. SS. Cantiani:⁶⁰

“Ecce sanguis eorum, tamquam lac, omnibus videntibus ap-
paruit.”

5. St. Christina:⁶¹

“Iulianus ira commotus, iussit mamillas eius abscindere. Chris-
tina dixit,— . . . vide quia pro sanguine lac . . . defluxit.”

6. St. Cyprilla:⁶²

“Vulneribus sanguis, e papillis vero lac instar fluminis de-
fluxerit.”

7. St. Euppsychius:⁶³

“Nam loco sanguinis, dum caput eius abscinderetur, effluxit
lac et aqua.”

8. St. Menignus:⁶⁴

“E vestigio igitur articulos ad usque metacarpion resecant, qui
pro sanguine lacteum liquorem profudere.”

9. St. Pompeius:⁶⁵

“ὡς ζῶν πρόβατον, Πομπήμ, τοῦ Κυρίου,
χεεὶς ἀμελχθεὶς αὐχένα ξίφει γάλα.”

10. St. Quintinus:⁶⁶

“At illi abstracto gladio caput eius amputaverunt, et sanguis
statim de collo eius candidus tamquam nix.”

⁵⁷ *Acta Sanct.*, 28 July, VI, 547.

⁵⁸ “Synaxarium Basilianum,” July 15. See *Acta Sant.*, Jul., I, 693.

⁵⁹ *Acta Sanct.*, 3 Feb., I, 338.

⁶⁰ B. Mombritius, *Sanctuarium*, I, 279, 51.

⁶¹ *Acta Sanct.*, 24 July, V, 528.

⁶² *Acta Sanct.*, 5 July, II, 224 (from the Greek).

⁶³ *Acta Sanct.*, 9 April, I, 823 (from the hymns of Joseph the Hymno-
graph). See also *Acta Sanct.*, 7 Sept., III, 6: “καὶ αὐτίκα ἀντὶ αἵματος γάλα
καὶ ὕδωρ ἔγγνε” (from a Constantinople Synaxary). These two legends are
different versions of the same story, perhaps colored by the legend of St.
George.

⁶⁴ *Acta Sanct.*, 15 Mar., II, 391 (ex recuso Sanctorum Viridario Mattaei
Raderi).

⁶⁵ *Acta Sanct.*, 5 Apr. I, 399. From Maximus of Cythera.

⁶⁶ B. Mombritius, *Sanctuarium*, II, 427, 38.

11. St. Secundina:⁶⁷

"Illud etiam mirabile contigisse fertur, quod pro sanguine ex eius corpore lacero lac profluxit."

12. SS. Victor and Corona:⁶⁸

"Itaque sicut iussum fuerat, decollatus est, et de colli eius vulnere lac et sanguis profluxit."

Of these the legend of St. Christina circulated in Egypt during the fifth century.⁶⁹ In connection with the cult of St. Pantaleon, the patron saint of physicians, particular importance was attached to the characteristic miracle of his legend.⁷⁰ A vessel said to contain the identical blood and milk of his martyrdom existed in the ninth century.⁷¹ A thirteenth century document makes of this vessel a curious "war barometer," in which the milk and blood, separated by gravity, exchanged positions every year, save that during a year of war the blood remained uppermost.⁷²

In the Coptic "Martyrdom of St. Isaac" the hagiographer records miracles of healing by the blood and milk which flowed from the martyr's wounds:⁷³ "Now when the blind and the lame, and the deaf and the dumb had taken of that same blood and milk which came forth from the body of the blessed man, and laid it

⁶⁷ F. Ferrari, "Catalogus Sanctorum," in *Acta Sanct.*, Jan. 1, 997.

⁶⁸ *Analecta Bollandiana*, II, 299. St. Victor was martyred at Kome in Egypt; the whole story bears evidence of Egyptian origin.

⁶⁹ See p. 4. The text of the Bollandist account is close to that of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus.

⁷⁰ Verses for the office on St. Pantaleon's day:

"γαλατόμικτον Μάρτυς αἷμα σῆς κάρας,
δι' ἣν ὑδατόμικτον ὁ Χριστὸς χέει,
φάσγανον ἐβδομάτης εἵλαχ' εἰκαδι Πανταλεήμων."

⁷¹ "Synaxarium Basilianum," in *Acta Sanct.*, July I, p. 697: "Καὶ ἀποτμηθεὶς τὴν κεφαλὴν, ἔρrouσεν αἷμα καὶ γάλα, ὅπερ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον φαινόμενον παρέχει τοῖς προσερχομένοις πᾶσι πιστοῖς λάματα."

⁷² *Acta Sanct.*, July VI, 421, "Miracula S. Pantaleonis," 2: "In eadem namque urbe sanguis huius gloriosi martyris Christi in ampulla perlucida, magnae, ut dignum est, venerationi habetur,—discolor, id est, candidus et rubicundus, . . . partim candidum lac, partim rubicundus sanguis. Servant haec duo mirabiliter iussas a Domino suae positionis annuas vicissitudines ita videlicet, ut si praecedente anno, rubicundus superius parebat, anni sequentis initio descendat et superius appareat candidum lac, descensurum nihilominus anno redeunte, ut superne fulgeat pretiosa sanguinis gloriosi purpura. Fere numquam haec alternatio cessat. . . . Semel tantum nostra memoria, regnante Michaelae imperatore, qui nuper decessit, cessasse perhibetur haec descensionis alternatio, ut vice sua non descenderet sanguis, sed permaneret superior anno toto sequente, ut fuerat anno praecedente. Fuit autem annus idem totus praeliorum sanguine cruentus."

⁷³ E. A. W. Budge, "The Martyrdom of St. Isaac of Tiphre," *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, IX, 89.

upon their diseased members, behold, they were healed immediately."

Of St. Pantaleon also, similar miracles of healing are reported.⁷⁴ Now in Egypt, the land of medical lore and the home of methods in therapeutics that dominated the practice of medicine down to comparatively recent times,⁷⁵ it was early taught that human milk had curative powers. In the Ebers Papyrus, the "milk of a woman who had borne a male child," is indicated for treatment of sore eyes.⁷⁶ This recipe passed into the Latin hagiographic tradition.

1. St. Remigius:⁷⁷ "Scias cum ablactaveris puerum Remigium, de lacte tuo perunges oculos meos, et recipiam lumen. . . . Et ablactatus, . . . lacte matris oculos sui vatis. . . . perungens, lumen illi gratia divina restituit."

2. St. Mochoemog:⁷⁸ "Non poteris sanitatem oculorum invenire tuorum, nisi oculos et faciem tuam laveris lacte uberum uxoris Beoani artificis, quae enim numquam peperit, sed dono Dei sanctum habet in utero conceptum. . . . Lavans igitur lacte uberum B. Nessae sanctus, uxoris Beoani artificis, oculos suos, ibi illico lumen recepit suum."

In the hagiography, also, a belief is current that water⁷⁹ in which a saint has washed was a veritable panacea.⁸⁰ A typical instance is recorded in the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy:⁸¹ "Postero die eadem mulier aquam odoratam sumsit ut Dominum Jesum lavaret, quo loto aquam illam qua id fecerat recepit, eiusque partem

⁷⁴ See note 71.

⁷⁵ G. Ebers. "Wie Altägyptisches in die europäische Volksmedizin gelangte," *Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache*, XXXIII, 18: "Hier kam es nur darauf an, zu zeigen, dass sich Altägyptisches in der mittelalterlichen Medizin findet, und dass es über Salerno nach Mitteleuropa kam. Zu den Salernitanischen Meistern war es theils durch Griechen, die ihre Schriften damit bereichert hatten, grösstentheils aber durch Uebersetzungen altägyptischer medicinischer Texte ins Koptische und vielleicht auch ins Griechische gelangt, die die Araber schon früh in ihre Sprache übertrugen."

⁷⁶ G. Ebers, *loc. cit.*, XXXVIII, 10, footnote.

⁷⁷ *Acta Sanct.*, I Oct., I, 135.

⁷⁸ C. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, II, p. 165.

⁷⁹ In the martyrdom of St. George, the magician Athanasius washes his face in one of the philtres he offers St. George. See E. A. W. Budge, *St. George of Cappadocia*, "The Martyrdom of St. George," p. 210.

⁸⁰ E. Amelineau (*Annales du Musée Guimet*) *Vie de St. Jean Kolobos*, p. 338. In the *Acta Sanctorum* the cases run into hundreds,—water in which a saint's clothes or relics had been washed; even water in which a saint had washed a leper's sores had the same virtue.

⁸¹ C. Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, p. 188, sect. XVII. Compare also sect. XXVIII. In sect. XXXI, a dying child is restored to health by being placed in the bed of Jesus.

in puellam ibi habitantem, cuius corpus lepra album erat, effudit, illamque ea lavit, quo facto, puella statim a lepra purgatus est." Of this belief, likewise, the earliest intimation is in the Pyramid Texts⁸² (Pepi II, 2475 B.C.): "A bowl of cool water before the door of this Neferkare,—every god washes his face in it! Thou washest thy hands, Osiris, thou washest thy hands, Neferkare, thou renewest thyself!"

Still another legend of which Egyptian origin is traceable, and which passed into the hagiography, may be noticed in passing: namely, the effect of martyr's milk and blood on plant life. The earliest record is in the *Tale of the Two Brothers*,⁸³ in which the blood of the slain Bata, falling on a door-post, transforms it into a persea-tree.⁸⁴ In the Coptic Martyrdom of St. Pantaleon, it is recorded that when milk and blood flowed from his wound, "the olive-tree to which he was bound, became loaded with fruit."⁸⁵ A Greek text has a similar story of St. Therapon of Said:⁸⁶

"ἀπλώθεις καταξέεται ράβδους τὰς σάρκας, καὶ πιανθεῖσαι ἡ γῆ τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ φυτὸν βαλάνον ἀνέδωκε μεγιστὸν λίαν, ὃ μέχρι τῆς σημέρον δείκνυται αἰείφυλλον ὃν πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν ἰώμενον."

It remains now to trace the possible origin of the legend that the wounds of martyrs shed milk for blood, and the significance of this belief for the development of the idea of sainthood.⁸⁷ As has been pointed out, the earliest record is in the Coptic Martyrdom of St. Paul,⁸⁸ that it is a bit of the marvel-lore of Egypt is at least probable. Yet as legends of this sort do not originate out of nothing, it must not be thought impossible to discover a historical background for any story, however far removed into the realm of the fantastic. In the case of the miracles of levitation by solar rays and resuscitation by reassembling a dismembered body, the etiology resolves itself into a case of literalization of types of religious symbolism. In the present instance, the miracle had its

⁸² K. Sethe. *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*, 2068.

⁸³ From a papyrus of Seti II (19th Dynasty).

⁸⁴ *Records of the Past*, Vol. II, "Egyptian Texts," p. 150.

⁸⁵ F. Rossi, *loc. cit.* (see note 4).

⁸⁶ *Acta Sanct.*, 27 May, VI, 680.

⁸⁷ Sainthood in general was an extension of the martyr-cult. It conveyed with it the connotation of a type of life in which the experiences of the senses and the reason no longer constituted valid criteria for the truth. See my article "Saints and Sainthood," *The Open Court*, Jan. 1914, pp. 46-57.

⁸⁸ This fact is not rendered less significant by the evidence that Greek was the original language: the Copts never were mere translators, but embellished as well. No assurance is forthcoming that our ninth century Greek text represents the original.

origin in certain physiological theories filtered down through the minds of ignorant monks whose ideas were dominated by *die Lust zu fabulieren*.

The medical writers, from Hippocrates to Galen, who drew at least some of their information from Egyptian sources,⁸⁹ held to a view of the intimate connection between blood and milk. According to Galen,⁹⁰ "Milk is developed from blood, undergoing a very slight change in the lactiferous glands." Hippocrates also believed in the existence of an abnormal condition, manifested in the secretion of milk by a *nullipara*.⁹¹ Such a tradition obviously preceded the accounts of the several instances in which the mutilated breasts of a virgin were said to have yielded milk.⁹²

It is but a little longer step to suppose a condition in which the blood of a man might be suddenly changed to milk, as in the case of St. Paul and others. That such a condition was believed to be obtainable in the case of male animals through magic, is attested by a passage in the life of St. Columba relative to milk obtained by magic from a bull:⁹³ "(maleficus) a sancto iussus, de bove masculo qui prope erat lac arte diabolica expressit... Vir itaque beatus, vas, ut videbatur, tale plenum lacte, sibi ocus dari poposcit... et continuo lacteus ille color in naturam versus est propriam, id est, in sanguinem."⁹⁴

* * *

The results of the foregoing investigation may now be summed up as follows:

1. The tradition that milk instead of blood flowed from the wounds of St. Paul and other martyrs, appears first in a Coptic text which goes back to the fourth century.

2. The martyr-cult, as Shenute testifies, became important in

⁸⁹ G. Ebers, "Wie Altägyptisches in die europäische Volksmedizin gelangte," *Zeit. für ägypt. Sprache*, XXXIII, 1.

⁹⁰ Galen, XV, p. 394 (ed. Kuhn): "ἐξ αἵματος δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ γάλακτος, ὡς εἶπον, γένεσις ὀλιγίστην μεταβολὴν ἐν μαστοῖς προσλαβόντος."

⁹¹ Hippocrates, III, 744 (ed. Kuhn): "ἦν γύνη μὴ κύουσα, μηδὲ τετοκυῖα, γάλα ἔχουσα..."

⁹² Cf. St. Christina, St. Cyprilla, St. Sophia. The story of St. Sophia has been rewritten by Hrotsvitha, ("Sapientia," *Pat. Lat.*, CXXXVII, 1054): "*Fides: Inviolatum pectus vulnerasti, se me non laesisti; En pro fonte sanguinis fons erumpit lactis.*"

From the hagiography, the belief in maidens' milk passed into the popular tradition of Europe.

⁹³ *Acta Sanct.*, 9 Jun. II, 217. Written by Adamnanus Scotus, c. 704.

⁹⁴ Cf. *Acta Sanct.*, 8 May, II, 336 ("Miracula S. Petri Tarent.," 6) for a story of a cow that gave blood for milk till the animal was turned over to the monks.

Egypt during the fourth and fifth centuries, being one of the most significant expressions of popular Christianity.

3. The Egyptian type of hagiographic romance dates soon after the Arian atrocities in the Thebaid (c. 350) as shown by the use in Coptic of the word *hermetarion*, the word current among the Arians as the name of the rack, and also by the references to the torture of women by the unhistorical Roman governor, Arianus (i. e., Arian).

4. Egyptian stories entered into the hagiographic tradition,—witness the legend of the resuscitation by reassembling the parts of a dead body.

5. The origin of the miracle of martyrs' milk is to be traced to medical theories (perhaps Egyptian) of the development of milk from blood.

MISCELLANEOUS.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

A HISTORY OF JAPANESE MATHEMATICS. By *David Eugene Smith* and *Yoshio Mikami*. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1914. 8vo. pp. v, 288. Price \$3.00 net.

Not many years ago the typical English attitude towards foreign philosophies of life and customs of life was of the crudest simplicity—the philosophy was heathen and the customs were uncivilized. The doubt whether “civilized” is or is not a laudatory epithet: and the conviction that the doctrine of life which has produced the east and west ends of London, for instance, cannot belong to the last stage of human progress has profoundly modified this attitude.

The marvelous capacity of adopting western ideas which the Japanese have shown has produced very humanly, though not perhaps very logically, a profound respect for the native civilization of Japan. But the evidences of this civilization are disappearing fast, partly like the flora of St. Helena, under the competition with methods developed under conditions of greater stress, partly from such fortuitous circumstances as the frequency with which books and manuscripts have disappeared in the flames to which the wooden dwellings of old Japan are so liable. Thus Smith and Mikami are sure of appreciative readers of their well timed effort to record a very characteristic development of the Japanese genius.

In considering the relative progress of European and Japanese mathematics there are two topics in which the Japanese made greater progress than the West. First comes the idea of a negative number. This appears in the second century B. C. and was probably even more ancient (p. 48) and is embodied in the use of red (+) and black (—) pieces on the *sangi* board or abacus. It is not too much to say that the educational mathematics of the West has not yet gained so firm a grasp of the use of the negative number as the Japanese had in the seventeenth century. The second important advantage gained by the Japanese was the method (equivalent to Horner's method) for the solution of numerical equations. The *sangi* or *soroban*, the abacus which the Japanese still employ, gave useful aid. The question whether the abacus in elementary education may not prepare us for the day when a calculating machine will cost less than a bicycle is an open one. The Japanese at present keep to the *soroban*, with such a reason in mind.

The conspicuous deficiency in the earlier Japanese mathematics seems to have been in formal geometry. This too is a feature of pedagogic interest.

Have the violent opponents of systematic or formal geometry in this country always taken a wide and far reaching view of the position? Several geometrical problems involving arithmetical results of great complexity, were dealt with and the numerical value of π received much attention.

The same tendency towards keeping back methods while disclosing results which has been so injurious to the progress of western mathematics operated in Japan, and it is not at all clear by what methods the very accurate values of π were obtained.

For instance an ingenious rule was as follows. Start with any fraction (e. g., $\frac{1}{2}$). If it is less than π add 4 to the numerator and 1 to the denominator. If it is greater than it add 3 to the numerator and 1 to the denominator. Continuing this progress a series of fractions are obtained ultimately approaching π , though of course any one is not necessarily better than its immediate predecessors.

The series of fractions

$$\frac{3}{1}, \frac{7}{2}, \frac{10}{3}, \frac{13}{4}, \frac{16}{5}, \frac{19}{6}, \frac{22}{7}, \frac{25}{8}, \frac{29}{9},$$

may be shown by successive horizontal and vertical steps and the movements zig zag across the line whose slope is π . The method obviously presupposes a knowledge of the value of π .

It is known that, despite all difficulties and prohibitions, some intercourse with Europe took place during the seventeenth century, but opinions have differed as to the amount of mathematical knowledge, if any, which reached Japan from the West. The authors have collected the available materials for forming an opinion, but in their judgment the question requires closer investigation. The authors' final summary of the place of Japanese mathematics in general history of human thought is that "the mathematics of Japan was exquisite rather than grand." "When we think of Descartes's *La Géométrie*, of Desargues's *Brouillon Projet*, of the work of Newton and Leibniz on the calculus, . . . we do not find work of this kind in Japan. But in execution the work was exquisite in a way which is unknown in the West. For patience, for the everlasting taking of pains, for ingenuity in untangling minute knots and thousands of them, the problem-solving of the Japanese has never been equaled."

The authors have conferred a real service on all mathematics by the loving care with which they have set out the story of mathematics in Japan.

C. S. JACKSON.

CHINESE AND SUMERIAN. By C. J. Ball, M.A., D.Litt. London: Oxford University Press, 1913. Pp. 151. Price 2 pounds 2 shillings net.

Prof. C. J. Ball, Assyriologist in the University of Oxford, England, has summed up his labors on the connection between the Chinese and the Sumerian languages in an elaborate book containing plates and comparative collections of words which go very far in establishing the common origin of both systems of writing. The theory of a connection was proposed many years ago, first by A. Terrien de Lacouperie, but the proposition of the latter was not sufficiently supported by facts and may be characterized as a bold guess, whereas Professor Ball's theory is well grounded, and we do not see how any one in the face of the diligent comparisons of Sumerian and Chinese characters, can

entertain any further doubt. A mere glance through the sign-list in which the old forms of Chinese characters (called *ku wên*) are compared with Sumerian congeners or prototypes is convincing and henceforth we may regard the theory as established.

The connection between Sumerian and Chinese being proven, it becomes probable that the ancient Chinese civilization started in prehistoric times from the ancient Sumerian in lower Mesopotamia, the same root from which western culture has sprung. A tribe of Sumerians must have left their home in the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris, and must have wandered east into the fertile fields of China, where they settled and developed a culture of their own. The cause of the emigration may have been the intrusion of the Semites, who gradually adopted the Sumerian civilization and crowded out the original inhabitants as it appears in a peaceful competition, presumably by outnumbering them and adopting their religion, as well as their mode of living.

Professor Ball's investigations will lay the basis for further research in the line of comparative studies of the prehistoric ages, and the interconnection of the several branches of human civilization. The volume before us is large quarto, and considering the difficulty of presenting the tables in a sign list the price of two guineas is not too high.

CLEAR GRIT. A Collection of Lectures, Addresses and Poems by *Robert Collyer*. Edited by *John Haynes Holmes*. Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1913. Pp. 328. Price \$1.50 net.

This collection contains a few lectures which were delivered to many thousands of people from the public lyceum platforms throughout the country, and a number of more informal addresses given to Dr. Collyer's own congregation on various Sunday evenings. Their subjects are largely of general human and literary interest: Cathedrals, Westminster Abbey, Martineau, The Pilgrims, The Human George Washington, The Human Heart of Martin Luther, Robert Burns, Charles Lamb: Genius and Humor, Hawthorne, Whittier, Thoreau and the like. There are only half a dozen poems included. One of these is a hymn written for the dedication of the new Unity Church in Chicago after the great fire of 1871. The first and last stanzas are as follows:

"O Lord our God, when storm and flame
Hurled homes and temples into dust,
We gathered here to bless thy name,
And on our ruin wrote our trust.

"Thy tender pity met our pain,
Thy love has raised us from the dust;
We meet to bless thee, Lord, again,
And in our temple sing our trust,"

The volume is accompanied by a beautiful portrait of Dr. Collyer as frontispiece.

P



THE MIRAGE.

Peace on Earth is a beautiful vision which noble dreamers of mankind
behold above the clouds.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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ENGLAND AND GERMANY.

(Reprinted from *The Saturday Review*, London, September 11, 1897.)

THE OLD WISE MAN of Europe has spoken. And there should fall on England the silence of reflection and preparation. "The chief topic of conversation between the Emperor and the Tsar," said Prince Bismarck, as quoted by the *Times*, "must have turned on the subject of England." The old statesman has watched the growth of the grafts they planted on the Prussian stock, and knows that the principalities and provinces of the German Empire are united into a vigorous and organic whole. He knows that Russia, shapeless and vast, an incompressible but docile fluid, may be quietly held off the flanks of Germany, to creep slowly and irrepressibly through the Balkans to the sea. There, in a corner remote from German interests, it may meet the enemies of Germany with explosive violence. And France? Does he not remember how, when the difficulty France appeared to have in accepting the *fait accompli* of the integrality of the German Empire inspired in him a "prudent mistrust," he said to Ferry: "Seek some compensation. Found colonies. Take outside of Europe whatever you like; you can have it. And Ferry, without my ever having sought to create for him the slightest embarrassment—quite the contrary—obtained Tunis," and, he might have added, Tonkin? France busy with her Tunis and her Tonkin, Russia quietly pushed to the east and the south, and there was left for Germany the simple task of sitting peacefully on her bulging coffers, while her merchants captured the trade of England and her diplomatist guided the diplomatists of England into perpetual bickerings with other countries.

Prince Bismarck has long recognized what at length the people of England are beginning to understand—that in Europe there are two great, irreconcilable, opposing forces, two great nations who

would make the whole world their province, and who would levy from it the tribute of commerce. England, with her long history of successful aggression, with her marvelous conviction that in pursuing her own interests she is spreading light among nations dwelling in darkness, and Germany, bone of the same bone, blood of the same blood, with a lesser will-force, but, perhaps with a keener intelligence, compete in every corner of the globe. In the Transvaal, at the Cape, in Central Africa, in India and the East, in the islands of the Southern Sea, and the far north-west, wherever (and where has it not?) the flag has followed the Bible and trade has followed the flag, there the German bagman is struggling with the English pedler. Is there a mine to exploit, a railway to build, a native to convert from bread-fruit to tinned meat, from temperance to trade gin, the German and the Englishman are struggling to be first. A million petty disputes build up the greatest cause of war the world has ever seen. If Germany were extinguished to-morrow, the day after to-morrow there is not an Englishman in the world who would not be the richer. Nations have fought for years over a city or a right of succession; must they not fight for two hundred million pounds of commerce?

There is something pathetic in the fashion in which the aged statesman sees at once the swift approach of the catastrophe he was the first to anticipate, and the crumbling away of the preparations he had made against its event. Take first the approach of the event. Ten years ago, except to the Prince himself, and perhaps to one or two watchful Englishmen, the idea of a war between the two great Protestant Powers, so alike in temperament and genius, would have seemed impossible. Three years ago, [in 1894] when the *Saturday Review* began to write against the traditional pro-German policy of England, its point of view made it isolated among leading organs of opinion. When, in February 1896, one of our writers, discussing the European situation, declared Germany the first and immediate enemy of England, the opinion passed as an individual eccentricity. A month later the German flag was hissed at a London music-hall, and when on a Saturday night in April an evening paper sent out its newsboys crying "War with Germany!" the traffic of Edgeware Road stopped to shout. The outrageous follies of William the Witless, the German schemes in the Transvaal, the German breaches of international law in Central Africa, what Bismarck calls the "undue nagging of the English" in all diplomatic relations, the notorious set of German policy in the council of Ambassadors at Constantinople, and above all, the fashion

in which England has been made to learn the real extent of German commercial rivalry, have all done their work; and now England and Germany alike realize the imminent probability of war. What Bismarck realized, and what we too may soon come to see, is that not only is there the most real conflict of interests between England and Germany, but that England is the only Great Power who could fight Germany without tremendous risk and without doubt of the issue. Her partners in the Triple Alliance would be useless against England; Austria, because she could do nothing; Italy, because she dare not lay herself open to attack by France. The growth of Germany's fleet has done no more than to make the blow of England fall on her more heavily. A few days and the ships would be at the bottom or in convoy to English ports; Hamburg and Bremen, the Kiel Canal and the Baltic ports would lie under the guns of England, waiting until the indemnity were settled. Our work over, we need not even be at the pains to alter Bismarck's word to Ferry, and to say to France and Russia: "Seek some compensation. Take inside Germany whatever you like, you can have it."

Against the approach of such a disaster to Germany and such a triumph for England, Bismarck sees no hope in the negotiations between France and Russia. "I fear all these efforts have been made quite in vain. A serious active working *entente*, with a very definite program and a great deal of penetrating insight and tenacity, would be required to reach a result capable of moderating English pretension. I am perfectly sure that Germany will not compass it." And again, "Certainly, it would be a very good time to recover the Suez Canal and Egypt from the English. But I do not believe that in France there is any passionate interest in this question. They are right there, perhaps, to wait for us Germans to become still more deeply involved in our foreign policy. For at present we have neither leadership nor principles, in fact nothing, nothing whatever. It is a case of general groping and waste of the stores of influence which I had accumulated."

It was inevitable that England should have been the subject of discussion between the President and the Emperor: but, even under circumstances most favorable to Germany—that is to say, were Bismarck himself pulling the strings of Europe—there could have been only an attempt to moderate the pretensions of England. To this pass has the muddling of the German Emperor brought Germany, and at a time when England has awakened to what is alike inevitable and her best hope of prosperity.

ENGLAND'S BLOOD-GUILT IN THE WORLD WAR.

BY ERNST HAECKEL.

HORRIFIED, overwhelmed, the civilized world has, during the past week, been prostrated by one of the greatest catastrophes in all history, the sudden outbreak of a world war, the fearful consequences of which no man can predict. All that suffering humanity has hitherto endured in the misfortunes of war, all the horrors of wholesale massacre, devastation, and the destruction of families, that wars have entailed in the past, fade into insignificance before the universal world-conflagration which threatens to engulf the laboriously acquired culture of six thousand years. This terrible fact is driven home to every enlightened and clear-thinking man on unbiased consideration of the present situation, especially considering the astonishing strides that modern science and technology have made in the last half-century, even during the last thirty years.

It can no longer be doubted that this dreaded "European War" which, directly or indirectly, must also affect all other parts of the earth and thus develop into the first real "World War," will far eclipse in its course and character all wars of the past. We need but remember the modern perfection of arms of all sorts, rapid-firing artillery, air craft, the conquest of time and space through the modern development of machinery and electricity, and the various agents, formerly undreamed of, which the mighty advance of science, and above all of physics and chemistry, has placed in the hands of the belligerents. The sacrifice in blood and wealth, in human lives and potentialities that we must now make, will far eclipse all such sacrifices of the past. And immediately we ask ourselves, and with right, what the real causes are of this frightful world-conflagration, what people, or what guiding spirit, will have

to bear the unprecedented blood-guilt of this international war of annihilation.

The parliament and the press of the hostile Triple Entente, the English, French and Russian newspapers, are endeavoring at present, but in vain, to throw the whole blame upon Germany. The falsity of this accusation is so patent to every one who knows the facts, that it needs no refutation. Emperor William II has, in the twenty-six years of his reign, done everything within his power to preserve for the German people the blessings of peace, and rightly was he celebrated, at the twenty-fifth jubilee of his reign, last year, as the "Emperor of Peace." Time and again he has even been charged with having carried too far his policy of concession and reconciliation toward revengeful France, arrogant England, and Panslavistic Russia. Similarly, the other two members of the Triple Alliance, Austria-Hungary and Italy, have ever endeavored to preserve the precious blessing of peace and avoid European complications. Rather does the whole responsibility for the outbreak of this world war fall on that mighty triple coalition, the *Entente Cordiale*, arranged some years ago, that freak trio of brigands in which Russia, France and England have sworn to destroy the Triple Alliance of Middle Europe, and above all, Germany's position among the great powers.

In the splendid speech from the throne with which Emperor William II opened the German Reichstag on August 4, he showed, in a terse and striking manner, the real causes that drive the enemies of our German empire to their insidious attack: envy of the prosperity of our dear fatherland, jealousy of its growing power, chagrin at our successful competition in the arts of peace.

When we consider the unprecedented sacrifice of life and property, the prolific loss of the treasures of culture, which this world war will inflict on all civilization, the author of this calamity is, in these fateful days, rightly considered as the greatest criminal in all history. So it is important for us to establish clearly in the beginning on which of the mighty members of this cursed band of brigands the greater part of the blood-guilt falls. Is it the French or the Russian or the English nation that bears the burden of responsibility and that we have most to fear?

At present, fourteen days after the outbreak of the war, the greater part of the responsibility is commonly imputed to Russia, because of its having in the beginning of August opened the attack on the mid-European Triple Alliance and, in fact, its having been the first to declare war. But the weak Czar Nicholas, who, as abso-

lute autocrat, the people believe is before all others responsible, is but an involuntary tool in the hands of the blood-thirsty grand dukes and officers in coalition with the Russian bureaucracy, an institution which for its corruptibility and greed bears the worst reputation in European government circles. The Russian people is, by far the greater part, even to-day so uninformed that it is incapable of forming a judgment of the war which its government has forced upon it. Even hatred for Germany (to which country, however, it owes the best of its culture) is not so powerful as is Panslavism, which would bend all Eastern Europe under the Russian knout. The protection of the Serb band of murderers which, directly, through the assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne, and his wife, gave the first impetus to the war, is likewise for Russia only the natural corollary of her egoistic, Panslavistic principles.

France is, indeed, fired even yet to a large extent by her national thirst for revenge and, at the same time, as creditor of deeply indebted Russia, is closely bound up with Russian interests. Yet the greater part of the French people are in no way animated by a desire for war, and would even now have gladly avoided the outbreak of the world-conflict, especially as their preparation for it is still inadequate. In France, as in Russia, it is, at the bottom, only a small but powerful party that now urges war with Germany, especially the ambitious generals and officers and those narrow Chauvinists who consider the *Grande Nation* alone as entitled to world sovereignty and even look with disdain upon their ally (but so profoundly different in her national character!), England.

So on England, and on England alone, plainly rests the greater part of the burden of responsibility for the outbreak of this world war. On the same fourth of August, on which day the German Reichstag unanimously voted the necessary money for the defense of the empire, England, a few hours later, declared war on Germany,—ostensibly because of the violation of the neutrality of Belgium, but, in reality, because the longed-for moment appeared at last to have arrived for the carrying out of the long-planned attack on the German empire. "Perfidious Albion," whose hypocritical politics reflect most clearly her inconsiderate "nationalism," her brutal egotism, has thus once again exercised her "practical morality," solely and alone to strengthen her world-power, with no application whatever of that Christian altruism which she theoretically inscribes on her banners, with absolutely no thought of the weal or woe of the rest of mankind, and especially of her German sister nation. Protected by her isolated geographical position, sup-

ported by the greatest sea power, almighty in her widespread colonial possessions, she can laugh at all appeals to justice and righteousness.

Our imperial chancellor, whose strong and clear course of action in these troublous times is deserving of special praise, said, in conclusion, in the memorable session of the Reichstag: "The fourth of August will rank for all time as the greatest day in the history of Germany"—and rightly did he say this, for in those fateful hours all party differences, all distinction of class or creed, came to an end in the solemn pledge to sacrifice life and property for the preservation of the dear fatherland which has been so treacherously attacked.

With equal justification we can say, likewise, of our formidable enemy, Great Britain: "The fourth of August will rank for all time as one of the darkest days of England,"—for on that day the English government issued its declaration of war against Germany, a declaration which had long been in readiness, and on the very next day the British Parliament was induced by the hypocritical speeches of its intriguing minister, Sir Edward Grey, to vote, almost unanimously, the money necessary for waging war against Germany. Only a solitary member of Parliament had the courage to raise a dissentient voice. Yet, doubtless, many thousands of sensible, thoughtful and honorable Englishmen share his opinion and would preserve neutrality. Among them are numbered three of the leading members of the British Cabinet, including the famous John Morley, and these resigned their positions a few days later, washing their hands of responsibility for this mad war.

On the fourth of August the fate of the entire world hung in the balance. It was in England's power and in that of her government and parliament, in their epoch-making decision, to cast the die for peace, justice, and right, or to cast it for war, crime and evil. On the fourth of August—on that memorable day—England decided for the latter, and thus incurred the responsibility for the greatest crime mankind has known, the terrible and far-reaching results of which no one can foresee. The curse of millions of unhappy human beings is on the head of Britain, whose boundless national egotism knows no other aim than the extension of British dominion over the whole world, the exploitation of all other nations for her own advantage, and the swelling of her insatiable coffers with the gold of all other peoples.

And yet this proud British nation dares, in its hypocrisy, to parade in the guise of Christianity! It is proud of its innumer-

able missionaries, its pious Bible societies which are supposed to bless all peoples with the light of the gospel, the gospel of the brotherhood of man, the altruism of which stands out in the sharpest contrast with the British egotistic principles of world-domination and world-exploitation.

* * *

And not only for us Germans but for the whole civilized world is this unholy decision of England's of tremendous significance. When Russia in the beginning of August declared war on Germany and Austria, it meant for us but a difficult European war, with its front on two borders, the east and west. Yet serious as this war would have been, we should still have had every hope of victory, defended by our keen and tried sword, and in the consciousness of a just cause and a clear conscience. By England's declaration of war against us, however, on August 4, the political and strategic situation was entirely changed. Now we are compelled to carry on a death-struggle on three frontiers; we must face two mighty armies, in the east and west, and in addition we must combat the world's greatest sea power which threatens our fleet, our sea coasts, our foreign colonies, with destruction. For this reason—through England's fault alone—the dreaded European war has grown to a universal world war of unprecedented extent. For now all other nations on the globe, whether they will or not, must also become more or less directly involved.

And if we would point to the one person of place and power at whose door lies this responsibility in blood and lives, it is neither the weak Czar Nicholas II, nor is it the ambitious president of the French republic, Poincaré, but singly and alone the intriguing British minister, Sir Edward Grey, who, through long years, has been weaving his net of steel by which Germany is to be surrounded and strangled. And now he deems the appointed time is at hand to tighten the noose, employing as his accomplice in the murder of detested Germany the natural arch-enemy of England, Slavic Russia.

Sir Edward Grey is, however, but the executor of the late King Edward VII, that execrable prince of German blood whose momentous activity during the whole of his reign consisted in the complete "isolation of Germany." Through many long years this prince of Coburg resorted to every possible means to bring about the coalition against the hated German empire,—this same brother of the German Empress Frederick and nephew of Duke Ernest II of Coburg who earned much praise for his part in the

foundation of the German empire, and, in 1860, at the first German *Turnfest* (which I attended personally in Coburg) was celebrated as champion shot, and, indeed, as heir apparent to the German imperial throne. The "Christian morality" of this talented Edward VII was indeed of a peculiar variety, according to our ideas, for he enjoyed himself best in luxurious Parisian restaurants with charming French coquettes and in gambling in the "best" English society. That he chanced to be caught at professional gambling (baccarat), and brought before court, did not hurt his great popularity in England, for he was such a "blameless gentleman"; he pursued with ability every prominent sport, and on countless occasions delivered brilliant speeches in which he impressively reminded his British people of their God-given mission of world-domination.

The dazzling goal of a British universal empire found vigorous expression two years ago in the English Parliament, when the leading ministers declared, amid loud applause, that Great Britain not only now possessed the best and most powerful of all fleets, but would maintain for all time sole domination of the seas. That brings to mind vividly the proud words of the last (blind!) King of Hanover, who declared, in 1866, at the outbreak of the Prusso-Austrian war: "My house and my kingdom shall stand forever" (!). A few weeks later they were swept away at the battle of Langensalza.

History teaches us with sufficient clearness that a world-domination by one people is not possible. How long did the Grecian empire of Alexander the Great endure? How long the world empire of the Roman Cæsars, the Spanish empire of Philip II, or the Gallic empire of Napoleon I? In the twentieth century, when the national interests of peoples, and their international relations, are more manifold and complicated than ever before, and when the greater civilized states are endeavoring to bring about a tolerable equilibrium, the dream of an all-dominating universal empire seems more chimerical than ever.

Finis Germaniæ! The annihilation of the independent German empire, the destruction of German life and works, the subjection of the German people to British domination, that is the proud dream of the English government, and for its realization it has allied itself with a hostile Slavdom, a power that seriously threatens its own supremacy in Europe as well as in Asia. Germans against Germans! A people that has produced Bacon and Shakespeare, Newton and Darwin, at war with a related people that counts Luther and Copernicus, Schiller and Goethe among its own!

But the inspiring unanimity with which the German people, forgetful of all political and religious differences, have rallied around their Kaiser, the boundless spirit of self-sacrifice with which all ranks and classes are offering their lives and property for the protection of house and home, community and country, are sure auguries of victory. But should victory, in spite of the justice of our cause, not rest with us, then will we still seek to free ourselves from the English tyranny, fortified by the same perseverance with which our fathers a hundred years ago shook off the despotism of France. Better death than slavery.

Finis Britanniae! The annihilation of an independent England, the destruction of her particular nationality and her contribution to civilization, we wish none of these things; but complete liberation from the unbearable yoke under which the British empire would bend all other peoples, this we demand. And in this we shall find powerful allies among all those nations which already bear this yoke and know so well its dangers. Just as the United States of North America, in 1789, freed themselves from their tyrannical mother country, so will Canada and Ireland, India and Australia, Egypt and South Africa, sooner or later follow their example. To what end should all these rich countries which naturally are developing their own individual characters ever further from the parent stock, why should they sacrifice their powers and resources for their self-seeking mother-land, that but sinks deeper and deeper in her national egotism, and, as mistress of the seas, would bend all nations under her will?

PROFESSOR BURGESS ON BEHALF OF GER- MANY.

[For the benefit of those readers who may desire a calm, authoritative and able argument on the causes of the European war, immediate and remote, we here reproduce a long letter written to the *Springfield Republican* by Prof. John W. Burgess.

Professor Burgess, now in his seventieth year, is dean of the faculties of philosophy and of political science and constitutional law in Columbia University, a position he has filled with distinction for almost twenty-five years. He comes of the purest English stock, but was educated and has taught in Germany as well as in the United States. He is able, therefore, to comprehend and deal fairly with both sides of the great war. A learned historian and a famous scholar, he is qualified by long training to put reason and truth above prejudice in analyzing a momentous but delicate question. These considerations will naturally lend force to Professor Burgess's conclusions, which relieve Germany and the Kaiser from the sole blame for this Armageddon, and place the lion's share of the responsibility on British diplomacy and commercial jealousy, on Russian pan-Slavism and France's desire for revenge.

The case for Germany has been stated before, but by men of German birth or German descent. It is well to have a dispassionate statement from a great scholar who describes himself as "an Anglo-American of the earliest stock" whose "European cousins of to-day are squires and curates in Dorsetshire."

Professor Burgess's letter is long but it is well worth reading in its entirety. Whether one agrees or disagrees with his conclusions, his argument brings out the vast and complex problem of European politics in bold relief and will give the casual student of the war a clearer comprehension of a situation that is absorbing the attention of the entire civilized world.]

THIS is no time and no subject when, or upon which, one should speak lightly, ignorantly, or with prejudice. It is one of the world's most serious moments and the views and sympathies now formed will determine the course of the world's development for many years to come. Heavy indeed is the responsibility which he incurs who would assume the rôle of teacher at this juncture, and it is his first duty to present the credentials which warrant his temerity.

First of all, I am an Anglo-American of the earliest stock and the most pronounced type. I have existed here, potentially or actually, since the year 1638, and my European cousins of to-day are squires and curates in Dorsetshire. Moreover, I admire and revere England, not only because of what she has done for liberty and self-government at home, but because she has borne the white man's burden throughout the world and borne it true and well.

On the other hand, what I possess of higher learning has been won in Germany. I have studied in her famous universities and bear their degrees and in three of them have occupied the teacher's chair. I have lived ten years of my life among her people and enjoy a circle of valued friendships which extends from Koenigsberg to Strasburg, from Hamburg to Munich and from Osnabrueck to Berchtesgaden, and which reaches through all classes of society from the occupant of the throne to the dweller in the humble cottage. I have known four generations of Hohenzollerns and, of the three generations now extant, have been brought into rather close contact with the members of two of them. While, as to the men of science and letters and politics who have made the Germany of the last half-century, I have known them nearly all and have sat, as student, at the feet of many of them, I must concede that of English descent though I am, still I feel somewhat less at home in the motherland than in the fatherland. Nevertheless, I am conscious of the impulse to treat each with fairness in any account I may attempt to give of their motives, purposes and actions.

It was in the year 1871, in the midst of the Franco-Prussian war, that I first trod the soil of Germania and it was from and with those who fought that war on the German side that I first learned the politics and diplomacy of Europe. Almost from the first day that I took my seat in the lecture room of the university, I imbibed the doctrine that the great national, international and world-purpose of the newly-created German empire was to protect and defend the Teutonic civilization of continental Europe against the oriental Slavic quasi-civilization on the one side, and the decaying Latin civilization on the other.

After a little I began to hear of the "pan-Slavic policy" of Russia and the "*revanche* policy" of France. For a while the latter, the policy of France for retaking Alsace-Lorraine, occupied the chief attention. But in 1876, with the Russian attack upon the Turks, the pan-Slavic policy of Russia, the policy of uniting the Slavs in the German empire, the Austro-Hungarian empire and in the Turkish empire with, and under the sway of, Russia was moved

into the foreground. All western Europe recognized the peril to modern civilization and the powers of Europe assembled at Berlin in 1878 to meet and master it.

The astute British premier, Lord Beaconsfield, supported by the blunt and masterful Bismarck, directed the work of the congress, and the pan-Slavic policy of Russia was given a setback. Russia was allowed to take a little almost worthless territory in Europe and territory of greater value in Asia; Rumania, Servia and Montenegro were made independent states; Bulgaria was given an autonomous administration with a European Christian prince, but under the nominal suzerainty of the Turkish sultan; and the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, then almost free zones infested by bandits, were placed under the Austro-Hungarian administration, also subject to the nominal suzerainty of the sultan.

With this the much suspected and dreaded activities of Russia were directed toward Asia, and Russia was now for more than twenty years, from 1880 to 1902, occupied chiefly with the extension of her empire in the Orient. The German empire and the Austro-Hungarian empire were delivered for a moment from this great peril enabled to pursue the line of peaceful development and progress. The greater security to the eastern borders of these states, thus established, also helped to reduce the force of the French spirit of revenge, as the prospect of its satisfaction became more distant.

It was during this period, however, that Germany developed from an agricultural to a manufacturing and commercial community, that is, became a competitor of Great Britain and France, especially Great Britain, in world industry. Her marvelous growth in this direction excited soon the jealousy, the envy and then the hostility of Great Britain. We in the United States, however, reaped great advantage from the industrial and commercial competition between the two great powers and we were amused at the pettishness of Great Britain in representing it as something unfair and illegitimate. We little suspected to what direful results it would lead.

When Edward VII came to the throne, in the year 1901, he saw Great Britain's interests in the Orient threatened by Russia's policy of extension in Asia and her commercial interests throughout the world threatened by the active and intelligent competition of the Germans. He, as all rulers at the moment of ascension, felt the ambition to do something to relieve the disadvantages, to say the least, under which in these respects his country was laboring. He began that course of diplomacy for which he won the title of

peace-lover. The first element of it was the approach to Japan and encouragement to Japan to resist the advance of Russia. This movement culminated in the war between Russia and Japan of the years 1904-1905, in which Russia was worsted and checked in the realization of her Asiatic policy and thrown back upon Europe.

The next element in the diplomacy of the peace-loving king was the fanning into flame again of the *revanche* spirit of France by the arrangement of the quasi-alliance, called the *entente*, between Great Britain, France and Russia, aimed distinctly and avowedly against what was known as the triple alliance of Germany, Austria and Italy, which had for thirty years kept the peace of Europe. The third and last element of this pacific program was the seduction of Italy from the triple alliance, by rousing the irredentist hopes for winning from Austria the Trente district in south Tyrol, which Italy covets.

It is hardly necessary for me to call attention to the extreme peril involved in this so-called peaceful diplomacy to the German and Austro-Hungarian empires. I myself became fully aware of it on June 27, 1905. On that day I had an extended interview with a distinguished British statesman in the House of Commons in London. I was on my way to Wilhelmshoehe to meet His Majesty the German emperor, to arrange with His Majesty the cartel of exchange of educators between universities in the two countries. When I revealed this fact to my host the conversation immediately took a turn which made me feel that a grave crisis was impending in the relations of Great Britain to Germany.

I was so firmly impressed by it, that I felt compelled to call my host's attention to the fact that the great number of American citizens of German extraction, the friendliness of the German states to the cause of the union during our civil war, and the virtual control of American universities by men educated at German universities, would all make for close and continuing friendship between Germany and the United States. When I arrived in Germany, I asked in high quarters for the explanation of my London experience and was told that it was the moment of greatest tension in the Morocco affair, when all feared that, at British instigation, France would grasp the sword.

The larger part of the next two years I spent in Germany as exchange professor in the three universities of Berlin, Bonn and Leipsic, also as lecturer before the bar association at Vienna. Naturally I formed a really vast circle of acquaintances among the leading men of both empires, and the constant topics of con-

versation everywhere, at all times and among all classes, was the growing peril to Germany and Austro-Hungary of the revived pan-Slavic policy and program of Russia, the reinflamed *revanche* of France and Great Britain's intense commercial jealousy.

In the month of August, 1907, I was again at Wilhelmshoehe. The imperial family were at the castle and somewhere about the tenth of the month it became known that King Edward would make the emperor a visit or rather a call, for it was nothing more cordial than that, on the fourteenth.

On the afternoon of the thirteenth, the day before the arrival of the king, I received a summons to go to the castle and remain for dinner with the emperor. When I presented myself, I found the emperor surrounded by his highest officials, Prince Buelow, the chancellor of the empire, Prince Hohenlohe, the imperial governor of Alsace-Lorraine, Prince Radolin, the German ambassador to France, Excellency von Lucanus, the chief of the emperor's civil cabinet, General Count von Huelsen-Haeseller, the chief of the emperor's military cabinet, Field Marshal von Plessen, Chief Court Marshal Count Zu Eulenburg, Lord High Chamberlain Baron von dem Gnessebeck and the *Oberstallmeister*, Baron von Reischach.

The dinner was on the open terrace of the castle looking toward the Hercules heights. At its close the empress and the ladies withdrew into the castle, and the emperor with the gentlemen remained outside. His Majesty rose from his seat in the middle of the table and went to one end of it, followed by Prince von Buelow, Prince Hohenlohe, Prince Radolin and Excellency von Lucanus. His Majesty directed me to join the group, and so soon as we were seated the chief of the civil cabinet turned to me and said that he was afraid that our good friend, President Roosevelt, unwittingly did Europe an injury in mediating between Russia and Japan, since this had turned the whole force of the pan-Slavic program of Russia back upon Europe. All present spoke of the great peril to middle Europe of this change.

Then both the German ambassador to France and the governor of Alsace-Lorraine spoke discouragingly of the great increase of hostile feeling on the part of the French toward Germany, and, finally the part that Great Britain had played and was playing in bringing about both of these movements was dwelt upon with great seriousness mingled with evidences of much uneasiness. King Edward came the next morning at about 10 o'clock and took his departure at about 3 in the afternoon. Whether any remonstrances were made to His Majesty in regard to the great peril, which he,

wittingly or unwittingly, was helping to bring upon middle Europe, I have never known. It seemed to me, however, that after that date he modified considerably his diplomatic activity. But he had sown the seed in well-prepared ground and the harvest was bound to come. The three great forces making for universal war in Europe, namely, the pan-Slavic program of Russia, the *revanche* of France and Great Britain's commercial jealousy of Germany, had been by his efforts brought together. It could not fail to produce the catastrophe. It was only a question of time.

The following year, the year 1908, saw the revolt of the young Turkish party in Constantinople which forced from the sultan the constitution of July, 1908. According to this constitution, all the peoples under the sovereignty of the sultan were called upon to send representatives to the Turkish parliament. Both Bulgaria and Bosnia-Herzegovina were nominally subject to that sovereignty, according to the Berlin congress of the powers of 1878. For thirty years Bulgaria had been practically an independent state, and during thirty years Austro-Hungary had poured millions upon millions into Bosnia-Herzegovina, building roads, railroads, hotels, hospitals and schools, establishing the reign of law and order, and changing the population from a swarm of loafers, beggars and bandits to a body of hard-working and prosperous citizens.

What now were Bulgaria and Austro-Hungary to do? Were they to sit quiet and allow the restoration of the actual sovereignty and government of Turkey in and over Bulgaria and Bosnia-Herzegovina? Could any rational human being in the world have expected or desired that? They simply, on the self-same day, namely, October 5, 1908, renounced the nominal suzerainty of the sultan, Bulgaria becoming thereby an independent state and Bosnia-Herzegovina remaining what it had actually been since 1878, only with no further nominal relation to the Turkish government. Some American newspapers have called this the robbery of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary, and have made out Austro-Hungary to be an aggressor. I have not seen, however, the slightest indication that any of these have the faintest conception of what actually took place. Europe acquiesced in it without much ado. It was said that Russia expressed dissatisfaction, but that Germany pacified her.

Four more years of peace rolled by, during which, in spite of the facts that Austro-Hungary gave a local constitution with representative institutions to Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Alsace-Lorraine was admitted to representation in the federal council, as well as the

Reichstag of the German empire, that is, was made substantially a state of the empire, the pan-Slavic schemes of Russia, the French spirit of revenge and the British commercial jealousy grew and developed and became welded together, until the Triple Entente became virtually a triple alliance directed against the two great states of middle Europe.

Russia had now recovered from the losses of the Japanese war and the internal anarchy which followed it; France had perfected her military organization; Turkey was now driven by the allied Balkan states out of the calculation as an anti-Russian power; Bulgaria, Austro-Hungary's ally, was now completely exhausted by the war with Turkey and that with her Balkan allies, now become enemies; and Great Britain was in dire need of an opportunity to divert the mind of her people away from the internal questions which were threatening to disrupt her constitution.

The practiced ear could hear the buzz of the machinery lifting the hammer to strike the hour of Armageddon. And it struck. The foul murder of the heir of the Hapsburgers set the civilized world in horror and the Austro-Hungarian empire in mourning. In tracing the ramifications of the treacherous plot, the lines were found to run to Belgrade. And when Austro-Hungary demanded inquiry and action by a tribunal in which representatives from Austro-Hungary should sit, Servia repelled the demand as inconsistent with her dignity. Believing that inquiry and action by Servia alone would be no inquiry and no action, Austro-Hungary felt obliged to take the chastisement of the criminals and their abettors into its own hands.

Then Russia intervened to stay the hand of Austro-Hungary and asked the German emperor to mediate between Austro-Hungary and Servia. The emperor undertook the task. But while in the midst of it he learned that Russia was mobilizing troops upon his own border. He immediately demanded of Russia that this should cease, but without avail or even reply. He protested again with the like result. Finally, at midnight on the 31st of July, his ambassador at St. Petersburg laid the demand before the Russian minister of foreign affairs that the Russian mobilization must cease within twelve hours, otherwise Germany would be obliged to mobilize.

At the same time the emperor directed his ambassador in Paris to inquire of the French government whether, in case of war between Germany and Russia, France would remain neutral. The time given expired without any explanation or reply from Russia and without any guarantee or assurance from France. The federal

council of the German empire, consisting of representatives from the twenty-five states and the imperial territory of Alsace-Lorraine, then authorized the declaration of war against Russia, which declaration applied, according to the sound principle of international jurisprudence, to all her allies refusing to give guarantee to their neutrality.

As France could move faster than Russia, the Germans turned the force of their arms upon her. They undertook to reach her by way of what they supposed to be the lines of least resistance. These lay through the neutral states of Belgium and Luxemburg. They claimed that France had already violated the neutrality of both by invasion and by the flying of their war airships over them, and they marched their columns into both.

Belgium resisted. The Germans offered to guarantee the independence and integrity of Belgium and indemnify her for all loss or injury if she would not further resist the passage of German troops over her soil. She still refused and turned to Great Britain. Great Britain now intervened, and in the negotiations with Germany demanded as the price of her neutrality that Germany should not use her navy against either France or Russia and should desist from her military movements through Belgium, and when the Germans asked to be assured that Great Britain herself would respect the neutrality of Belgium throughout the entire war on the basis of the fulfilment of her requirements by Germany, the British government made no reply, but declared war on Germany.

And so we have the alignment. Germany, Austria and probably Bulgaria on one side, Russia, Servia, Montenegro, Belgium, France and England on the other, and rivers of blood have already flowed. And we stand gaping at each other, and each is asking the others who did it. Whose is the responsibility, and what will be the outcome? Now if I have not already answered the former question I shall not try to answer it. I shall leave each one, in view of the account I have given, to settle the question with his own judgment and conscience. I will only say that, as for myself, I thank John Morley and John Burns, the man of letters and the man of labor, that they have rent the veil of diplomatic hypocrisy and have washed their hands clean from the stain of this blunder crime.

Finally, as to the outcome, not much can yet be said. There is nothing so idle as prophecy, and I do not like to indulge in it. Whether the giant of middle Europe will be able to break the bonds, which in the last ten years have been wound about him and under whose smarting cut he is now writhing, or the fetters will be

riveted tighter, cannot easily be foretold. But, assuming the one or the other, we may speculate with something more of probable accuracy regarding the political situation which will result.

The triumph of Germany-Austro-Hungary-Bulgaria can never be so complete as to make any changes in the present map of Europe. All that that could effect would be the momentary abandonment of the Russian pan-Slavic program, and relegation to dormancy of the French *revanche* and the stay of Great Britain's hand from the destruction of German commerce. On the other hand, the triumph of Great Britain-Russia-France cannot fail to give Russia the mastery over the continent of Europe and restore Great Britain to her sovereignty over the seas. These two great powers, who now already between them possess almost half the whole world, would then, indeed, control the destinies of the earth.

Well may we draw back in dismay before such a consummation. The "rattle of the saber" would then be music to our ears in comparison with the crack of the Cossacks knout and the clanking of Siberian chains, while the burden of taxation which we would be obliged to suffer in order to create and maintain the vast navy and army necessary for the defense of our territory and commerce throughout the world against those gigantic powers with their oriental ally, Japan, would sap our wealth, endanger our prosperity and threaten the very existence of republican institutions.

This is no time for shallow thought or flippant speech. In a public sense it is the most serious moment of our lives. Let us not be swayed in our judgment by prejudice or minor considerations. Men and women like ourselves are suffering and dying for what they believe to be the right, and the world is in tears. Let us wait and watch patiently and hope sincerely that all this agony is a great labor-pain of history, and that there shall be born through it a new era of prosperity, happiness and righteousness for all mankind.

THE EUROPEAN WAR.

BY THE EDITOR.

PANSLAVISM.

WAR, a most terrible war, is now raging in Europe, and the most powerful nations have combined to break Germany's ascendancy. Germany is threatened by Russia from the east, by France from the west, and her extended commerce on the seas in all parts of the world has become a prey to Great Britain and Japan.

And why? What is the cause of the war? Because a short time ago the heir apparent to the throne of Austria and his wife were assassinated by a Servian with arms from the Servian arsenal.

Germany has nothing to do with the incident that occasioned the war, but we must know that this particular occurrence is a symptom only of the real reason. The assassination of a prince and his wife might have passed by and be forgotten if there did not exist a condition which made the war an unavoidable necessity. Though the occasion is an incident of secondary importance, it throws light on the political situation of Europe.

Austria-Hungary is a dual state represented by a double headed eagle as its coat of arms, and the Austrian emperor, formerly a Roman emperor of German nationality, is the monarch. In addition to the German Austrians and the Hungarians, the Magyars, there are a number of other nationalities most of which are Slavic: the Czechs in Bohemia, the Slavonians south of Hungary, then the Bosnians, the inhabitants of Herzegovina, the Poles in Galicia, and also some Servians. The Saxons of Transylvania again are Teutons surrounded by Hungarians, Slavs and Rumanians. It would be easy enough to solve the problem of the races if they lived in separate communities, but the trouble is that they live in the same countries and cities, and there are for instance about as many

German Bohemians as Czechs living in Bohemia, and the Saxon Transylvanian farmers employ as farm hands Slavs and other races, among them also Gipsies.

Austria is about as large as Germany and France, but it is weak on account of its lack of internal unity and the hatred among the different races. The Austrian army can not develop the efficiency which other armies possess where the same language is spoken by all the troops.

The race problem in Austria is a calamity but it becomes worse by the propaganda of Pan Slavism, which means that all the Slavs should be united under the most powerful Slavic state, Russia. Pan Slavism would ultimately lead to the ruin of Austria and to the suppression of the German elements now sprinkled over all the Austrian dominions. Pan Slavism has been advocated mainly by Russia, whose agents have been at work all over the world, also in non-Slavic countries, in Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet, India, China, and even in the United States. The rise of Slavism is proclaimed by them as the power to come; such is at least the intention of Russia, and Peter the Great, the founder of modern Russia, has sketched in his last will and testament a plan to expand Russia and make her the mistress of the world—a bequest holy to the patriotic Russian and a danger to European civilization.

The Slavs are upon the whole a hot-blooded and excitable race. They are good-natured but often thoughtless; they live in the present and trouble little about the future. Their money affairs are usually in great disorder; they do not save and are quite irresponsible. The most numerous of them are the Russians, and we may fairly well say that among the Slavs, the Poles are the most intelligent, while the Balkan Slavs are least civilized. The Russians are easy going and lack judgment. They are mostly extremists, either slavishly submissive to authority or nihilists and anarchists, unamenable to law and order. The leaders of Russia, that clique which runs the government of which the Czar is a helpless tool, are unscrupulous. They are descendants of Germanic invaders, but Russified, and their helpers mostly recruit themselves from German immigrants.

The Poles are not friends of the Russians. They know the government too well. The Poles live in those portions of Europe which were formerly inhabited by the Goths and it is more than probable that the common people are the remnant of the old Gothic population. We begin to understand the migratory movement of Europe better now than before and it seems that these expeditions

of conquest were never what historians formerly thought them to be—emigrations of whole peoples. It appears that the emigrants sold the acres which they owned, and the others who remained were too weak in number to resist invaders. The aristocracy of Poland is a well-built brunette race, Slavic in temper and rather small in stature, like the French in character, also jolly, amiable and especially shiftless, while the common people are blue-eyed, blond, tall and often thrifty. Are we justified in drawing conclusions from these facts? Are the two classes of different descent?

When Poland became Russian, the Poles became acquainted with Russian rule; their treatment has been approximately the same as the Irish have received from the English. Though Slavs themselves, they could never become enthusiastic over the Panslavic ideal.

The Finlanders and Germans of the Baltic provinces, perhaps also the intellectual classes of the Russians proper, have plenty of experience with broken promises of the Russian government, and Russian intrigues have done much harm even in the countries of Russia's friends. Think for instance of the Dreyfus-Esterhazy embroglio in France, which implicates Russia, not Germany, in the spy system, and also of the Russian attempts to alienate Asiatics from England.

If Austria breaks down, Germany will be surrounded by enemies on all sides. If the German portion of Austria together with Hungary should become a part of the Panslavic empire, the German race would have little chance of survival, especially as France has not yet forgotten her defeat of 1870-71, and is constantly clamoring for revenge. Under these conditions it is but a policy of self-preservation that the Germans are determined to support Austria against the Panslavism of Russia. The triumph of Panslavism implies the downfall of Germany.

The horrible death of the archduke and his wife was not due to the deed of a fanatic individual, it expresses the sentiment of the Servian nation which seems to have been supported by the Servian authorities. Yea, there are indications that these methods of procedure have been instigated by Russian agents and Austria insisted that investigations should bring out the truth. The conspiracy was well supplied with money and can not have been limited to a few private individuals. The report reads:

"So well laid was the plot that there was little chance of escape. Had the pistol shots failed to take effect, another bomb was ready to be thrown in the next block, while under the table at which the

archduke was to lunch two others were discovered. In the chimney of the Duchess of Hohenberg's apartments still another bomb was found, while the railway over which it was expected the imperial party would leave Sarajevo was literally mined with dynamite."

The roots of the conspiracy spread into Servia, and Austria insisted that an investigation should bring out the truth.

Servia promised an investigation, but since Austria did not trust the Servians to be impartial, Austria issued an ultimatum demanding Austrian representatives in court. This, however, was indignantly refused, and the refusal strengthened the suspicion that both the Servian and Russian governments were co-guilty of the criminal conspiracy. While Germany recognized the justice of the Austrian demand, Russia supported the Servian cause and the result was war—a war of the Slav against the Teuton, the object being the Panslavistic ideal of Russia, and in this war Russia was supported by France and England, according to the Triple Entente.

According to the British *White Book*, Sir Edward Grey sided with Servia in its refusal of Number Five of the Austrian ultimatum saying that it "would be hardly consistent with the maintenance of Servia's independent sovereignty if it (Austria's demand) were to mean that Austria-Hungary was to be invested with the right to appoint officials who would have authority within the frontiers of Servia."

That sounds very fair; but would Sir Edward use the same argument if the Prince of Wales had been assassinated and some little nationality on the moral level of Servia were for good reasons suspected of having helped in the deed and plotting renewals of the crime so as to endanger the British government and its royal family? That would have been different.

How can any one defend Russia's protection of assassins, or who can glance over the history of these events without suspecting the leaders of Panslavism of having instigated the deed? But that England rushed at once to the support of the methods of Panslavism is incomprehensible except on the assumption that England favored the plan of a most stupendous war in which Germany's prosperity, her manhood, her civilization, would be buried under the armies of the invading Russ.

Panslavism and the Russian Czar are to be helped by the French, and both are to be supported by the British fleet. The ruinous march of the Gallic foe in the time of Napoleon the First, about one hundred and nine years ago, is to be repeated but is being made more effective by the Slavic ally. What reason have the English

for joining such a war? They will rid themselves of an inconvenient competitor; and they feel safe in undertaking the war, for they believe success can be gained without much risk to Albion.

The Kaiser is a peaceful man. If any one deserves the Nobel peace prize, it is he. Since his ascent to the throne he has preserved the peace of Europe, often under the most difficult conditions. The bellicose party of Germany has often been disgusted with the Kaiser's policy and called him William the Pacific. If he declares war, war must be inevitable indeed—and what a war! He has to face the most powerful nation, Russia, with its army of uncounted and almost uncountable numbers, of enormous resources, unexhausted and inexhaustible. In Russia human lives are not only plentiful but cheap, and Russia is supported as a matter of course by France with her well-drilled impetuous men, both in turn being encouraged by England, the undisputed mistress of the seas!

Germany is supported by Austria-Hungary whose weakness is well known. Who can believe that Germany wanted a war of such dimensions, that she has provoked it, or ventured into it for lust of fame or with an expectation of conquest? What can she gain and how can she be benefited even if she keeps her enemies out of the fatherland? And yet her enemies blame the emperor for being responsible for the war!

Germany has been cut off from the rest of the world. America has not received any news of the war except from London, Paris, Petrograd (the new name of St. Petersburg) and Rome. We are informed that the Germans are beaten, and yet they advance. There is some news from Berlin, via Copenhagen or Rotterdam, of recent date, which shows the progress of the war in a very different light.

The murder of the archduke is not the real or only reason of the war; it is the symptom of Panslavism, and Panslavism is the reason why Russia has gone to war. But there are two other reasons: one is the French lust for revenge, the other England's determination not to allow Germany to appear in the field of commerce as her rival, which from the English standpoint means that Germany is England's "first and immediate enemy."

Great Britain has declared war on the ground that Germany would not respect the neutrality of Belgium, but the real reason lies deeper and appears in the anti-German policy of the British government which has established the principle that for every keel the emperor lays down, England will lay down two, and Sir Arthur

Conan Doyle says: "The first fruit of the new German fleet was the Entente Cordiale."

A BREACH OF NEUTRALITY.

Germany's breach of neutrality in Belgium was England's official and ostensible reason for war, but even in England the feeling prevails that this is a mere pretext, not the real and ultimate motive, for England herself has too often broken neutrality in her past history to take a breach of neutrality seriously.

Think of the unjustifiable bombardment of Copenhagen by Nelson, of the annexation of Dutch colonies, especially the seizure of Capetown and other unexpected attacks upon peaceful nations. Who believes that the English would have declared war on France, if soon after the beginning of the war the French had broken through Belgium to outflank the German army? Did Great Britain find fault with Japan for disregarding the neutrality of China? The United States too belongs to the signatory friends of the Chinese empire, and we have reason to dislike the Japanese policy, but we have preserved our attitude of "watchful waiting."

At the beginning of the Boer War, the English broke the neutrality of the Portuguese colony, the state of East Africa, by landing their troops in Delagoa Bay solely because the British army wanted to save going the roundabout way through British territory. There was no other excuse, no urgent need, no threat that the Boers had conspired with the Portuguese, or could break neutrality later on. In the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th ed., s. v. "Neutrality," Vol. XXXI, p. 131) the incident is called "an important precedent."*

What an atrocity of Germany not only to begin hostilities against France at once as soon as the war was plainly in sight, but even to trespass on Belgian territory and become guilty of a terrible breach of neutrality! What an atrocity! But there is one advantage for the English. As a result they were furnished with an excuse to justify their declaration of war, and the Germans, at the same time, had also to face the army of Belgium.

There is no need of discussing the atrocity of a breach of neutrality, because it is an acknowledged principle that in case of war the natural law of self-preservation demands of every power the completion of the war that has arisen or is about to arise, with the utmost dispatch and by the easiest method. In the present case the

* The author of the article is Dr. Thomas Barclay, vice-president of the International Law Association.

Germans have carried the war through Luxemburg and Belgium because that was to them the straightest and safest way of attack. They would have been satisfied to have the Belgian assent to their march through the country and would have gladly paid every penny for food and forage or occasional destruction of property; but the Belgians refused and joined the French.

We do not know all the secret occurrences of European politics, but the probability is that the Belgians had agreed to allow the French to march through Belgium without any objection at whatever moment it would suit them; and that the Belgians intended to favor the French is fully proved through facts, mainly through the presence of French officers, prior to the declaration of war, in Liège, where they helped their Belgian neighbors to modernize the Belgian fortifications and acted as general advisers for the approaching hostilities.

Under the consideration that Belgium would be drawn into the war at a moment when it would suit the French best, it was preferable to the Germans to anticipate the French move and take Belgium first, and it is probable that the Germans were prepared to find the Belgians absolutely on the side of the French.

The neutrality treaty of Belgium had been signed by England, France and Prussia, not Germany, for the present German empire did not yet exist at the time. But since Germany has inherited Prussia's policy, we are told that it was very objectionable for Germany to become guilty of this breach of neutrality.

Indeed? But why should Germany keep this treaty concerning the Belgian neutrality under conditions so obviously changed? When Germany recognized this treaty, the German authorities believed that Belgium would try to be truly neutral and the hostility of Belgium seemed to be excluded. On the other hand the mere suspicion of a Franco-Belgian *entente* is sufficient to attack France through the territory of the Belgian frontier. There is no diplomat who denies the established right of any power to break all peace treaties in case of war—especially if conditions have changed to such an extent that to keep them would be dangerous.¹

The duty of neutrality toward a buffer state like Belgium presupposes in its turn also the duty of a strict neutrality on the part of Belgium. Belgium has not maintained a rigorous neutrality but concluded a friendship with the Triple Entente, especially with France, and this canceled Germany's obligations. Never-

¹ Note here Mr. Roosevelt's criticism of peace treaties which under serious conditions will have to be broken or might become disastrous.

theless, Germany was ready even then to respect Belgian independence, provided Belgium would allow the German army a free passage through the country into France. If England had been fair and if she had first of all considered the welfare of Belgium, she would have advised Belgium to abstain from war under these circumstances and to be satisfied with a formal protest. The attitude of Belgium during the war has justified German suspicions.

The German side of the question is set forth in a German telegram addressed to Prince Lichnowsky, the German ambassador at London:*

"Please impress upon Sir E. Grey that the German army could not be exposed to French attack across Belgium, *which was planned according to absolutely unimpeachable information.*"² Germany had consequently to disregard Belgian neutrality, it being for her a question of life or death to prevent French advance."

Why, when Germany, as stated in this message, claimed to know that the French were about to break Belgian neutrality, did not England then guarantee Belgian neutrality? Germany might not have believed England, but it would have been worth proving whether England was serious on this point of preserving the independence of Belgium. However, England gave no such assurance in time, for the declaration of Sir Edward Grey came too late.

Afterwards Sir Edward Grey declared in his answer to the German Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg that England would have fought France to save Belgium but even Englishmen will find it hard to believe this statement of their leading statesman.

Would the king of Belgium be ready to deny on his royal word of honor the fact that French officers had visited Belgium and had been in collusion with Belgian officers? Facts are becoming known which indicate that even the English themselves have broken neutrality. Dr. David S. Schaff of Allegheny, Pa., one of the leaders of Protestantism in the United States, who like myself had been a friend of England, writes to *The Independent* (Sept. 21, 1914) as follows:

"On August 1 the British Ambassador was asked a second time whether England would remain neutral in case Germany respected the neutrality of Belgium and guaranteed the integrity of France and also her colonies. Here England again said she must be free to act.

"And, if the letter of the staff correspondent of the *New York Evening Post* in London is to be accepted for the statement that Lord Kitchener was in Belgium two weeks before the war began

* Quoted from the British *White Book*.

² Italics are ours.

'to make dispositions for English troops'—was not Belgian neutrality broken in principle?

"An American student just returned tells me that he saw two trains of prisoners and wounded passing through Marburg the first days of the siege of Liège and Frenchmen were mingled with the Belgians, having been there before the declaration of war.

"I was intensely adverse to Germany at first, threw up my hat when England declared war, but I have changed my mind. Mr. Carnegie's second dispatch to the *London Times* is in the right direction."

Both France and England had broken Belgian neutrality before the Germans. What right have they to complain about it?

In the present instance the Germans did not do the English government the favor of being beaten as easily as was expected of them, and as a result official explanations have been proclaimed, how England had "the choice only between war or dishonor." and "was bound to fight for Belgian independence." Sir David Lloyd-George in a reference to the case of Serbia, quoting Czar Nicolas as having boasted to the emperor of Austria, "I will tear your ramshackle empire limb from limb," and, added Sir David, "he is doing it." These are the *ipsissima verba* of Great Britain's chancellor of the exchequer!

It is commonly believed that England stirs others to war but is careful to keep out of it herself.

In 1864 the English encouraged Denmark to resist Prussia and Austria on account of Schleswig-Holstein, and the Danes, relying on English assurances refused any compromise, the result being that they lost the duchies. A Danish friend of mine expressed himself very vigorously in condemning British statescraft, saying that the warfare of Prussia was square and honest, but the attitude of England was unpardonable. The English did not want Prussia to lay the foundation of a naval power, so they proposed to protect the Danes, but they did not do it. If the English, said my Danish friend, were not willing to fulfill their promises they ought not to have made them.

The British *White Book* gives us a psychological insight into the manner in which the Russian minister induced Sir Edward Grey to join the French-Russian alliance. We read there that according to Russian opinion, the Germans would never believe that the English would fight. The English had supported Serbia in diplomacy, and the Russians hinted that after all the English would not be credited with making good by joining the fight, and it seems that

the Russian suggestion helped to bring the English into line. The Russians remembered that the English had encouraged the Japanese to fight Russia but the English kept out of the fray.

A stray notice in the North German Gazette states on the authority of the Belgian Ambassador at St. Petersburg that Russia did not venture into the war against Germany until England had given a definite promise to take an active part in it.

This time the English meant war and were ready to join France and Russia. England's intentions can not have been very pacific, for according to a statement published in the French paper *Gil Blas* of February 25, 1913, England had stored in the fortress of Maubeuge large deposits of ammunition for the English artillery in case of a Continental war. Maubeuge is situated between Paris and the Belgian frontier, and what was the purpose of this unusual act?

There is another objection hurled at the Germans; it is this: that they should not have started the war and should not have mobilized their army before the first enemy had dared to trespass on German territory. But such criticism can be made only by people who do not know that priority of attack may decide the whole war and the advantage of a position may save the lives of hundreds of thousands. If the Germans had waited until the French had joined the Belgians and surprised the Germans by a sudden and unexpected attack on Treves and Cologne, the first situation of the war would have presented greater difficulties to the general staff of the Kaiser, and being confronted by other foes in the east might easily have led to ultimate defeat.

We ought to add here that later reports announce that Russians trespassed upon Prussian territory on the day before the declaration of war; and how did they behave! One Russian general, now a prisoner in German hands, had the whole male population of a Prussian village slain, and some Russian officers had adopted the custom of carrying on their persons the fingers of their slain enemies, both male and female.

It has become apparent that the Germans anticipated the French plan of campaign. A newspaper clipping on the subject reads thus:

"We may assume that the French, just as did the Germans, during times of peace prepared a complete plan of campaign, and when hostilities began they naturally attempted to carry out this plan, in order to be able to fight their battles on territory selected by themselves, which always means a considerable advantage over the adversary.

"That such a plan was in existence is certain, and, as has been

declared repeatedly from Berlin since the beginning of the war, the German general staff has proofs that this plan not only included a march through the alleged neutral territory of Belgium, but also that a real military convention with the Belgian government was in existence under which Belgium granted free passage through her country to the French, but was going to resist by force a passage of the German troops, the French promising help in such a case. If this original plan of the French general staff had been realized, Germany actually would have been in a very bad position. Progress of the French to the Rhine could not have been prevented and the German troops certainly would have been compelled to evacuate Alsace-Lorraine.

"Contemporaneous with the passage of the French forces through Belgium an attack upon Alsace and later upon Lorraine had also been planned.

"The grand success of the German army is based upon the fact that its leaders succeeded in throwing over the whole plan of campaign so splendidly elaborated by the French, by appearing first on the place where the Frenchmen intended to be in Belgium. The French mobilization probably did not proceed quite as smoothly as the German.

"For, instead of bringing help to their hard pressed allies in Belgium, their southern neighbors kept back for weeks and gave sufficient time to the Germans to make that country the base of their operations. The advance of the Germans showed itself as so strong that the approaching French armies and reinforcements were not able to withstand the attacks, but were pushed back step by step.

"The knowledge of the French plan of campaign possessed by the German general staff, the preparedness of the German army and the irresistible momentum of the German masses put into the field suddenly ended the hopes of the French general staff, right at the beginning of the war, for the realization of their own plans and indirectly enforced very soon the evacuation of Upper Alsace by the French, without any larger battles at that point.

"Notwithstanding all the apologies for the facts, as they have been offered by the French commander in chief, Gen. Joffre, the French have been restricted to a defensive war policy at nearly all points right from the beginning of the war. The Germans have fought their battles exactly where they intended to, have driven their opponents where they wished to and will succeed in further driving them to a place where they can defeat them in the easiest manner. Upon the execution of this plan the splendid success of the

German arms is founded: upon the inability of the adversary to see beforehand the moves of the enemy or to cross them, the reverses of the French find their explanation."

THE ENGLISH POINT OF VIEW.

The English people remained strictly neutral during the war between the French and the Germans in 1870-71, and if there was any sympathy in Albion it was rather on the side of the Germans, not only because the English and the Germans are closely akin in blood, in civilization and in religion, but also because the two ruling houses are intimately related. The present Kaiser is the grandson of Queen Victoria. In the nineteenth century a war between the two nations would have seemed impossible, but the sentiment has changed in the twentieth century, not because either the English or the German people are much different from what they formerly were, but because a propaganda has been started to sow the seeds of hatred, of jealousy, of envy and discord in England and to denounce Germany's growing power as a menace to England. This propaganda had its origin and impetus in influential circles, and may have started in the government itself. One thing is certain: it took a firm hold on King Edward VII who favored the anti-German policy and prepared the way for a war of extermination to be carried out by Russia, France and England. The English propaganda found an echo in Germany, and old Bismarck after his discharge sounded the alarm.

The anti-German policy in England was first proposed in articles that appeared in the English *Saturday Review* in 1897, and it has made headway ever since. In order to represent the English tendency that has led to the war through the policy of the anti-German party of England we have republished the article "England and Germany" from the *Saturday Review* (London) of September 11, 1897. It is apparently inspired by the British government and its tendency has gradually become the guiding principle of English policy. Official representatives of the British government enunciated this plan again and again until the public became accustomed to it, and now it has brought on the war.

We need not mention that "the wise man of Europe" referred to in the mooted article is Bismarck in his advanced age. Bismarck foresaw the British danger and warned the Germans. On the other hand we learn from the *Saturday Review* article that while in February 1896 the idea of regarding Germany as "the first and immediate enemy of England" was considered "an eccentricity," the

propaganda against the Germans spread quickly, so that a month later the German flag was hissed at in London. Afterwards the anti-German movement led to the Triple Entente, formulating the program for the present war.

True, Germany has become a competitor of England. German industry has gradually developed into a rival of English industry, yea has even outdone it in many branches, and the Germans have built up a navy which is intended to protect their trade. The German navy is nearly half as strong as the English navy and if it continues to grow it may by and by be equal to it. The British government, backed by public opinion, decided that that must be prevented, for the British have so far lived up to their popular hymn "Britannia, Rule the Waves" which is the indispensable condition of a dominion over the world. Now Germany comes in as a rival trying to gain her share of the world market. That is a sin and should not be tolerated. Therefore German progress must be checked in time in order to preserve Britannia's monopoly in commerce. England still rules the waves and England can fight Germany, as our English author trusts, "without tremendous risk, and without doubt of the issue."

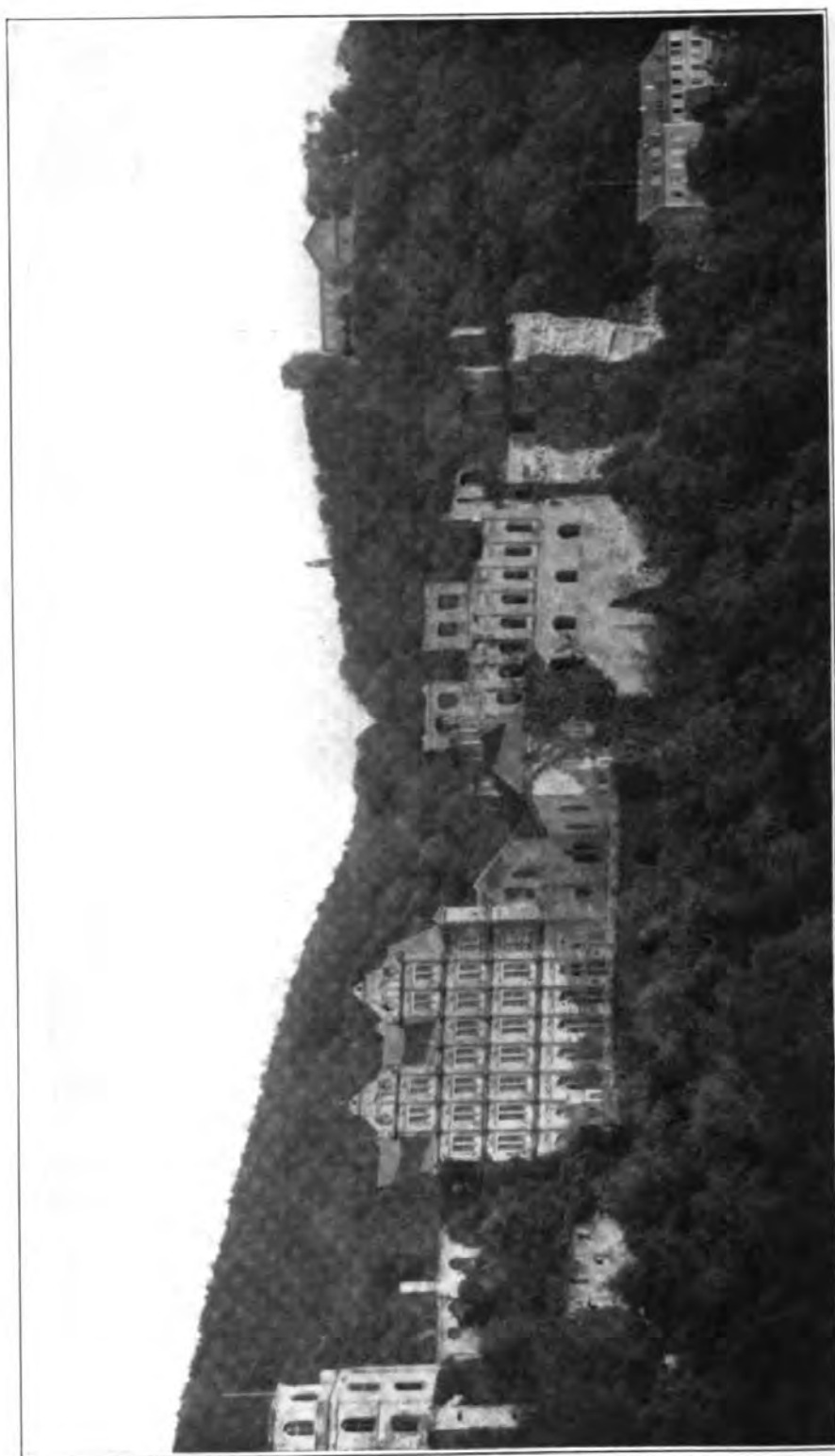
This means in plain language that the English own the world of commerce and will not share its dominion with anybody. Our author declares that "If Germany were extinguished to-morrow, the day after to-morrow there is not an Englishman in the world who would not be the richer."

This policy is not only egotistical and barbarous, not only unfair and narrow, but it is also stupid. It is the logic of a villain and the error that so often props up the arguments of a criminal.

Public opinion in England to-day finds no fault with Germany as a center of art and science. The Germany of Goethe and Schiller in the days of her political weakness was harmless, but modern Germany in its political strength, Prussianism, militarism, imperialism, is most objectionable. Nor should Germany build up industries and increase her commerce. Germany would be quite delightful if it had no army, if it were without a navy, in short if it were defenseless. But do not let us forget that Germany has learned by long and bitter experience that she needs Prussian leadership, she needs an army. Undoubtedly she would abolish her militarism if her neighbors, the French and the Russians, would disarm, and if the English would sell their navy as old iron. The English want their navy to be bigger than any two other navies together, but Germany should remain defenseless.



MONUMENT OF THE BATTLE OF LEIPSIK.



RUINS OF HEIDELBERG CASTLE.
Devastated in 1688 by the French under Melac, previous to the establishment of militarism.

We grant that Germany's progress is a danger to England. So far England has enjoyed an undisputed dominance in the world of commerce, and she has gained her advantages by her progressive methods and by unrivaled energy; but in her safe control of the seas she has become self-sufficient and stagnant. England is at present conspicuously unprogressive. The proper method of combating rivals in the field of industry and commerce does not consist in the extermination of the new competitors but by beating them with their own weapons. England should have raised herself from her lethargy, should have followed the example of Germany, should have built schools or reformed her antiquated system of education in order to fit her citizens to compete with German industry. That, however, would be too much to expect from the English. They want leisure and prefer their traditional stagnancy, still believing that the best policy is not to aspire to surpass a rival, not to excel him, but to call him an "enemy" and to conquer him by exterminating him.

Our English author knows that the issue between England and Germany is a commercial question. He says: "Nations have fought for years over a city or a right of succession: must they not fight for two hundred million pounds of commerce?"

According to Dr. Richet, statistician of the University of Paris, Germany has an annual export of \$331,684,212 and an import of \$188,963,071; Austria an export of \$23,320,696 and an import of \$19,192,414. All this is stopped and will remain stopped through the war so long as Great Britain has command of the seas. But British trade does not suffer any direct interference. That is a great advantage for England; but is it really so great as to involve the world in a most tremendous war and risk serious reverses?

The Italian senator, Count San Martino, was present at a dinner on July 22 where he met Sir Edward Grey and Sir William Edward Goschen and heard the remark made that a civil war could not be avoided except through a war with Germany. The statement was published recently in the *Giornale d'Italia* and similar contentions have been made in other papers. Did the Count let the cat out of the bag? Let us hope that even if there be an element of truth in the statement, the ministers merely noted a convenient coincidence, and did not follow a preconceived plan.

THE GERMAN CAUSE.

And what are the Germans fighting for? Our British author tells us that for the sake of securing these two hundred million

pounds Germany must be exterminated. That appeals to the thoughtless, but what does it mean for the Germans? It implies that the Germans have to fight for their very lives, and the Germans know it. They feel that they fight for their civilization, for their right to labor and to earn a fair living, for progress and for the right to progress, for the right to do better than others, for the right to play a prominent part in the development of humanity, for their homes, their hearths, their liberty, their manhood, their national existence, for "all they have and are."

There have been so many lies in French and English papers, e. g., that Dr. Liebknecht, the Social Democrat, had been shot, that a revolution of the Social Democrats was impending, that the Kaiser's throne was tottering; but the reverse is true. The liberals, like all the political opponents of the government and of the aristocratic or conservative faction, stand by the Kaiser in their faithful devotion to the German fatherland, and the *furor teutonicus* comes *unisono* from all ranks. In glancing over journals of a recent date we find a poem coming from the pen of G. Tschirn of Breslau, a freethinker whose political confession approaches more nearly that of a democrat than that of a monarchist, a man who is against militarism in any form, an advocate of the ideal of peace on earth; but he sees that Germany is fighting for her existence and so he calls his poem "The Battle Wrath of the Friend of Peace," which ends thus:

"Jetzt gilt es, Notwehr zu üben	[Onward with courage to battle
In tapfer-tapferstem Streit	Into the heart of the strife,
Für alles, was wir nur lieben,	Defending all that is dearest,
Was das Dasein zum Leben erst weiht.	All that will consecrate life.
"Drum auch durch Donner und Blitze	So afar, 'mid fire and slaughter
Schreitet der Friedensheld,	The guardian of peace will raise
Dass er wahre, rette und schütze	His standard, defending, preserving
Unsere Zukunftswelt."	Our homes for the oncoming days.]

The Social Democrats are against militarism and imperialism and oppose war as a matter of principle, but in the present case, they have declared in support of the government, because they are opposed to the Czar and his friends. They do not believe that the Russians and their allies take up arms to bring them deliverance from the yoke of social injustice, and they propose to fight them, not to uphold the Kaiser but to defend their homes.

Germany, faced by the danger which the Triple Entente has brought upon her, has risen in all her greatness, and holy wrath

has come over her. Germany is seized with the determination to meet her foes and die rather than yield, a spirit which is well expressed in the following lines:

"For all we have and are,
For all our children's fate,
Stand up and meet the war—
The Hun is at the gate.

"Our world has passed away,
In wantonness o'erthrown;
There's nothing left to-day
But steel and fire and stone.

"Though all we know depart,
The old commandments stand.
In courage keep your heart,
In strength lift up your hand.

"Once more we hear the word
That sickened earth of old:
No law except the sword,
Unsheathed and uncontrolled.

"Once more it knits mankind,
Once more the nations go
To meet and break and bind
A crazed and driven foe.

"Comfort, content, delight—
The ages' slow-bought gain—
They shriveled in a night.
Only ourselves remain

"To face the naked days
In silent fortitude,
Through perils and dismays,
Renewed and renewed.

"Though all we made depart,
The old commandments stand.
In patience keep your heart,
In strength lift up your hand.

"No easy hopes or lies
Shall bring us to our goal;
But iron sacrifice
Of body, will, and soul.

"There's but one task for all,
For each one life to give.
Who stands if freedom fall?
Who dies if freedom live?

These lines have been written by Rudyard Kipling, and are meant to stir English patriotism, yet so far they have not lured many volunteers to the British colors. In quoting them we have changed but one word in the last line, inserting "freedom" where the English poet writes "England." Otherwise the poem might serve the purpose of any nation that is ready to defend her highest ideals, her liberty and her very existence, but it does not fit the English. The hymn might have been sung by the Boers when attacked by the British army, it might inspire the Hindus when asserting their independence of the English yoke, it might express the patriotism of the many Irish who laid down their lives for Ireland; it might have been written by an American minute-man when joining George Washington in his fight for independence, but it seems out of place in the mouth of a British poet, who ought rather to have sung in the present case that they will fight

"For the market which we want,
For two hundred million pounds,
For the ruin of other commerce—
For *this* our bugle sounds."

The war was not begun by England for the sake of protecting

the English nation, but for ruining the trade of brethren on the European continent, and it was begun because victory seemed easy.

The English have gradually found out during the course of the war that the Germans are not so easily conquered and that the tables might be turned. The English wanted the Hun to appear at the gate of Germany, but suddenly the possibility rises that the Germans may knock at the gates of England, and now the German is called the Hun.

Some time ago the right to hold slaves was declared "liberty" by the slave-holders of the United States, and the Romans called the suppression of a country under the Roman yoke its pacification. When the Celts were conquered the Roman historian used the phrase *Gallia pacata*. In the same sense the English poet laureate speaks of England as "Thou peacemaker," and this variety of peace-making is called "glory" by the old French conqueror while in England it is praised as "honor." The Germans having become ambitious to develop a nationality of their own, independent of England, are regarded as disturbers of the peace and are called "slaves of monarch Ambition." Here is the poem of Robert Bridges who complains that England is too pleasure-loving. Her monopoly is endangered and she will have to fight for the liberty of owning slaves. He says:

"Thou careless, awake!
Thou peacemaker, fight!
Stand, England, for honor,
And God guard the right.

"Thy mirth lay aside,
Thy cavil and play,
The foe is upon thee
And grave is the day.

"The Monarch, Ambition,
Has harnessed his slaves,
But the folk of the ocean
Are free as the waves.

"For peace thou art armed,
Thy freedom to hold,
Thy courage as iron,
Thy good faith as gold.

"Through fire, air and water
Thy trial must be,
But they that love life best
Die gladly for thee.

"The love of their mothers
Is strong to command;
The fame of their fathers
Is might to their hand.

"Much suffering shall cleanse thee,
But thou through the flood
Shalt win to salvation
To beauty through blood.

"Up, careless, awake!
Yea, peacemakers, fight!
England stands for honor,
God defend the right."

We say "Amen! God guard the right and God defend the right." But we do not believe that in the present war the right is on the English side.

It is difficult to say when the English have waged a righteous war. Was the Opium War in China righteous? And how shall we ex-

cuse General Gordon's suppression of Chinese Christianity,² called the T'ai Ping movement? Was the Boer war undertaken for the protection of English homes, and English liberty? Was the treatment of Ireland fair? Was the subjection of India an enterprise for English honor? And what shall we say of General Cornwallis's Hessian soldiers in the English colonies of North America?

THE FOES OF GERMANY.

The plan of the English government has for a long time been to make other nations carry on wars intended to benefit Great Britain. A short time ago this method caused them to use Japan for the purpose of humiliating Russia, and, soon after the Russo-Japanese war, the same principle led to the formation of the Triple Entente between England, Russia and France.

In her anxiety for revenge France has looked for an ally ever since 1871, and has courted Russia, although the French know very well that Russia is in every respect antagonistic to French ideals of republicanism, liberty and progress. Yet it was a foregone determination that should Russia ever attack Germany, France would fall upon her enemy from behind.

Russia is an inveterate enemy of England, for Russia endangers the spread of English influence by subtle intrigue so characteristic of Russian policy, which has shown itself in Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet and China, and even in India. It was considered very clever of Edward VII to make Russia join England, and, in company with France, to establish the Triple Entente. The English people should have known that Russia would never abandon her intrigues against England, and it is excluded that she would help to establish England's supremacy on sea; as a matter of fact the Russians have never ceased to continue their anti-British policy. Russia meant to use the English for her own advantage, just as Edward VII hoped to make Russia subservient to England. The English have not yet learned that smart tricks are boomerangs.

France was easily induced to join Great Britain and Russia, for France is a monomaniac nation dominated by the hope for revenge.

² The English claim that the T'ai Ping possessed a spurious Christianity, for the T'ai Ping believed only in the sermon on the mount; according to Chinese notions they called Christ the Elder Brother, i. e., the authoritative son who represents God the Father. They worked out a Chinese conception of Christianity and did not belong to the Anglican church. That was enough to condemn their Christianity as spurious.

The French are like big children. They are amiable and really lovable. They are enthusiastic and, like their Gallic ancestors, excitable in character. Cæsar found it easy to subdue them because, like children, they were unsteady, and lacked the serious insistency of their Teutonic neighbors.

The Romans used the same methods in Germany that Cæsar employed in Gaul, and were to a certain extent quite successful, but when the Germans discovered that a Romanization of Germany meant an end of German institutions, of German language, and of a development of the characteristic traits of German nationality, they became roused to the danger and beat the Romans in the battle fought in the Teutoburg Forest, a battle which saved not only Germany, with its germs of a national civilization, but also England. It will be well for the English to remember that England's fate, too, depended on the victory of Arminius, for at that time the Saxons were still living in Northern Germany, and if the Germans had been Romanized, England would never have risen, and the very roots from which English speech developed would have been destroyed 458 years before they were transplanted to British soil.

France is no longer purely Celtic in blood, but the conquerors of the country, first the Romans, then the Franks and other Teutonic invaders, have changed into Gauls, and even to-day the people who settle in France, mostly Germans, acquire the Celtic characteristics. France has become Teutonic in all the most important spots, but the childlike nature of their inhabitants remains the same. Charlemagne was a Frank, his children and children's children behave like Celts. The Visigoths settled in the southwest, the Burgundians in the southeast, other German tribes in Lorraine, the Norsemen in the north, but all of them acquired the childlike gayety of the Celts; and the same can be observed to-day. There is a continuous stream of German immigration going on still, but the children of the German immigrants are indistinguishable from their French fellow citizens, while the French Huguenots have become Germans in Germany.

The French, like big children, are vain. Flatter them and you can dupe them easily. They are also theatrical. Note for instance how theatrical was the deportment of the great Gallic chief, Vercingetorix, when he surrendered to Cæsar, and also how Thiers behaved when he signed the peace treaty in 1871. All proclamations made by the French government to the French people, of any event, even of the enemy's progress, are appeals to their vanity. They are

assurances of French greatness, even when retreats or defeats are announced. They praise French gallantry, French triumphs, French deeds of valor and prophesy ultimate victory. Read for instance the transfer of the capital from Paris to Bordeaux. There we gain the impression that the Germans are beaten and the French army intact, but the government prefers a change of air for the good of the country and so it moves to Bordeaux.

The great Corsican, Napoleon the First, brought up in France, was a typical Frenchman, at least in vanity, and it is his vanity which proved ruinous to him when dealing with the Czar. When these two most powerful monarchs of the age met at Erfurt in 1812 Czar Alexander was bent on outwitting the great conqueror, and he succeeded by flattering his enemy. When the two met, Alexander turned round to his aide-de-camp and whispered, careful at the same time to be overheard by Napoleon, "How beautiful he is. If I were a woman I would fall in love with him." In further conversation, Alexander pretended to be overwhelmed by admiration for Napoleon's genius and, sitting at his feet, he pretended to be his faithful disciple. It was this attitude of Alexander which influenced Napoleon's plan of the Russian campaign. Napoleon thought that a victorious battle or a bold rush into the interior of Russia or some display of his dashing genius would most easily convert Alexander to make peace. So he ventured to capture Moscow and—lost the war.

The French clamor so much for revenge that the world has become accustomed to it, and whomsoever it suits, he encourages this clamor. But let us see first what right the French have to demand revenge.

First, as to the war of 1870-71: Was it not a war undertaken by Napoleon III with the loudly expressed acclamation of the people who paraded through the streets of Paris shouting "*à Berlin*"? And the cause of the war was the unjustifiable demand that the King of Prussia should humiliate himself before the French Emperor. He should beg pardon for a Hohenzollern prince of an entirely different line because the Spaniards had offered to the latter the crown of Spain. As Napoleon was beaten he received the fate he had deserved, and the French, having approved the war, have lost their right to complain about their defeat.

Secondly, as to the conditions of peace: The surrender of Alsace and a small piece of Lorraine was demanded by the victors for the sake of rounding off the lines of Germany's defense, and incidentally it was remembered that the people of Alsace were Ger-

mans, that Alsace had belonged to the German empire and its people even in the year 1871 were still speaking German. The French had appropriated Strasburg and other cities some time previously, without even taking the trouble to apologize for their robbery. But having taken Alsace-Lorraine, and having held it in their possession for almost two and one-half centuries, the French claim to be justified in their sentiment of revenge.

If that revenge were proper, why should not England constantly clamor for revenge because the United States were once English colonies? Why should not the Spanish clamor for revenge to regain Gibraltar? Why should not Sweden use every opportunity to drive the Russians out of Finland? There is no need of swelling the number of instances from the books of history, ancient and modern, but the French policy of revenge and the clamors of the French people for the re-occupation of Alsace-Lorraine have surely the very slightest foundation.

The real interest of France would naturally lie in an alliance with Germany. France and Germany have common interests in the establishment of mutual business relations and a mutual protection of their colonies against England. This has often been recognized by the Germans, but the French are blinded by their vanity, their vaingloriousness and their narrow-minded hope for revenge. Like big children, they became an easy prey to the British King who ensnared them to fight the battles of Albion, and to suffer more than the English themselves, for whose benefit they are willing to sacrifice themselves only in the expectation that England and Russia will support their lust for revenge.

Even to-day the French are theatrical and vain. Every defeat is represented as a glorious retreat, and every German victory is a disgrace to the enemy. In their rhetorical style the surrender of a fortress always appears as a deed of valor, a patriotic act for the glory of France, and is sure to lead to ultimate victory. Every position abandoned is an advantage gained, and the forts either taken by the enemy or evacuated are of no strategic importance. When it can no longer be denied that the enemy marches into the interior of the country, we are informed that his advance will lead him into a trap, where he is sure to be annihilated. The Germans seem to lack intelligence, for they walk into the French traps; but instead of being caught, they somehow smash the trap to pieces. Even their victories are symptoms of the barbarism of these hordes.

The French well know why they have their war news ornamented with a most exaggerated optimism, for they know that under

the gloom of truthful reports, their troops are not likely to display overmuch courage, and a little lie is condoned if it buoys up the soldiers in battle. For assuring the publication of the desired variety of reports the office of a strict censorship has been instituted.

It is strange that the English have learned from their allies this principle in spreading war news. Though the English people are gradually beginning to resent this kind of censorship, it is still most faithfully adhered to, and the war news coming from Paris, London and Petrograd has proved so unreliable that in certain circles in the United States it is now accepted as a joke.

It is interesting to note the contradictory character of the war news. So for instance the Prussian guards have three times been absolutely annihilated, but they are fighting still; and *The Scoop*, the organ of the Chicago Press Club, publishes a humorous poem by J. F. Luebben of Buffalo, N. Y., on the treatment of the German army in newspaper reports. We read in *The Scoop* for Saturday, Sept. 26, p. 1068:

"The German soldiers, strenuous men.	Five million Germans in the war,
In peace and war and thunders,	With officers and chattels,
Have not been killed by French or Russ,	What will the press soon do for men
But by newspaper blunders.	To fight the German battles?
Ten thousand they must die a day	The German, every inch a man,
(They cut such funny capers);	Is doing some good walking.
They do not die from cannon balls,	He's fighting now to beat the band,
But from big wads of papers.	And lets us do the talking.
Ten thousand dying day and night,	Now news comes flying through the
According to the guesses—	air,—
They dip them all in printer's ink,	Although they've cut the cables,
And squeeze them in the presses.	The Germans found the wireless,
	And <i>that</i> may turn the tables."

The Franco-British reports praise the English and the French troops. They speak of the superiority of the French artillery and the excellence of French gunners; yet by sheer luck the Germans hit. The Germans are inferior in every respect, they are repulsed, they have heavy losses; they are losing battle after battle. And yet they advance. It is almost a miracle, and we newspaper readers in the far west wonder how a defeated army can take one position after another and enter into the territory of the victors!

Germany is at such a tremendous disadvantage; why must lies also be employed to run down that poor nation? And, as if it were not enough to be faced by the three greatest powers of the world, England, France and Russia, not to mention Belgium, which has been in the fight from the start, there is still in the distant

Orient the little nation of the farthest East, Nippon, who plays the pick-pocket on Germany, and steals the Kaiser's possessions while his hands are full and he cannot whip the little urchin for his impudence. Japan's behavior is cowardly, but, encouraged by England, the bold Asiatic feels that he can act with impunity. Such are thy allies, proud Albion!

It is strange that the English boast of their own free institutions and characterize the Germans as abject slaves, but any one who knows England will understand that the poor of England have scarcely any influence on the British government. Not so the Germans! The Reichstag is elected by universal suffrage. The Germans know what they are fighting for, and they are willing to fight! Young men in Germany who had formerly been rejected from military service, have offered themselves at the recruiting stations to the number of one million three hundred thousand, while in England about one hundred thousand joined the colors when volunteers were urgently requested.

The emperor has been characterized as an autocrat, a czar, a tyrant, but one thing is certain: among all the monarchs of the world the Kaiser is most closely in touch with his people, much more closely than King George is with the English people; and the reason is this, that no one doubts that the emperor's soul is filled with the idea of duty; even where he errs he acts with the intention of doing the work that God requires him to do, and he feels the responsibility of his high position.

JAPAN.

Japan has joined the war.

The action of Japan has been received in the United States with feelings of deep distrust. On the one hand it seems an indication that the English cause must be very weak if Japan's help is needed, and on the other hand it seems to open the possibility of drawing the United States into the war. We have sympathized with Japan during the Russo-Japanese war, but since then the Japanese have shown a strange antagonism towards the United States in the Philippines, in Honolulu, in Mexico, and now they manifest an ambition to take possession of German China as well as of the German islands in the Pacific. Their assurance that they do not enter the war for the sake of self-aggrandizement has been officially believed by President Wilson and Secretary Bryan, but finds little credence among the people.

Here are some sentences quoted from the *Chicago American*.

showing William Randolph Hearst's reflections on this subject, views which have found an echo all over the United States:

"The intrusion of Japan into the European war is a matter to excite the especial interest and attention of the American public. Japan has no quarrel whatever with Germany or Austria, no reason, as far as surface indications are concerned, for injecting herself into the European situation. What, then, was the secret or subterranean reason for Japan's action?

"Great Britain has often assured the government and the people of the United States that no such intimate alliance with Japan existed, but the plain facts and Japan's frank acknowledgment are incontrovertible. The action of Japan is wholly inexplicable upon any other assumption.

"Never before in the history of the country has the far-seeing wisdom of George Washington in enjoining our government to keep free from entangling alliances with foreign powers been more apparent.

"But if, in order to keep free from conflicts like that now raging in Europe, we must not enter into any alliance with any other nation, then must we all the more depend on our own resources and have resources sufficient to depend upon.

"But we should have a great navy.

"Furthermore, we should have a Panama Canal owned by the United States, controlled by the United States, fortified by the United States and in time of war at the service of the United States alone.

"If the people of our nation imagine that the reason we are not involved in this war is because of any special diplomatic inspiration of our government, or because of any impregnable situation of our country, they are as absurd in their assumption as the ostrich, who thinks if he hides his head in the sand he will not be hit by the hunter.

"We always are and always will be anxious to avoid war, but in the light of recent events it is evident that no country can tell when it will be compelled to defend itself. A great navy is our best protection and all far-seeing citizens of the United States hope that the party now in power at Washington will end its foolish and dangerous "no navy" policy and proceed promptly to give our country the protection it needs and demands."

The attitude of Japan and her procedure against Germany is a warning. Might we not over night have a war on hand on account of the secret treaties between Japan, England, and Russia in which

Mexico and the South American republics would join just for the fun?

ANTI-MACCHIAVELLI.

Some centuries ago statecraft was deemed an intricate and profound science and was assumed to have an ethics of its own. The men in power were either voluptuaries by God's grace or crafty intriguers, and the principles which guided the latter, the successful princes, were presented by Macchiavelli (1469-1527) in a book entitled *Il Principe*, which has been, and in certain circles is still, regarded as the primer of statecraft, and every statesman was expected to follow its precepts.

According to Macchiavelli a prince should keep up quarrels between the factions of his own state in order to preserve his dominion, and he should also stir up war between other states in order to profit by the difficulties and perplexities thus caused; or as the Latin formula runs: *Divide et impera*, that is to say, Cause dissensions and keep the balance of power.

A piece of practical statecraft in perfect agreement with Macchiavelli's unscrupulous maxims, is preserved in the testament of Peter the Great* from which we will here reproduce a few specimens to show our readers what it means to support Russia and how little any one can rely on Russian faith. The clauses 9-11 read thus:

"Clause 9.—Russia must incessantly extend herself toward the north along the Baltic Sea, and toward the south along the Black Sea. Our kingdom must advance as far as possible toward Constantinople and the East Indies. Whoever shall reign there will be the true master of the world. Therefore we must excite continual wars, sometimes with Turkey, sometimes with Persia; create dockyards on the Black Sea; take possession, little by little, of that sea, as well as of the Baltic, which is a point doubly necessary for the success of the project; we must hasten the downfall of Persia; penetrate as far as the Persian Gulf; re-establish, if possible, the ancient commerce of the Levant through Syria; and advance as far as the Indies, which is the emporium of the world. When once there we can do without the gold of England.

"Clause 10.—Russia must carefully seek and keep up the alliance with Austria; apparently second her design for future domination over Germany; and we must excite underhand against her a jealousy of the princes. We must incite each and all of

* Peter the Great ruled from 1689 to 1725.

these to seek succor from Russia, and exercise a sort of protection over the country, which may prepare our future domination.

"Clause 11.—We must interest the House of Austria in the expulsion of the Turk from Europe, and neutralize her jealousy after the conquest of Constantinople, either by exciting a war between her and the old states of Europe, or by giving up her part of the conquest, to retake it from her afterward."

The last will and testament of Peter the Great, proposing the plan to expand Russian influence, to Russify the whole world, and make the Czar supreme on earth, is Russia's sacred heirloom, but Russia accepted also the Triple Entente, not with an idea of benefiting England or France, but because she discovered a plan of thus using France and England for the enhancement of the grand Russian ideal. How shortsighted was Edward VII not to understand the situation, nor to suspect that he gave Russia a chance to further the Czar's ambitions!

Russian policy has been and will continue to be directed mainly against England, and the English know it; but the recent fear of growing Germany caused Edward VII to form the Triple Entente, a coalition based on Macchiavelli's principles of statecraft. English people are honest, but they do not seem to realize that the English government is guided by the policy of Macchiavelli, that they are befriending a dangerous enemy with which they will later have to reckon.

In the thirties of the eighteenth century, a new view of statecraft, first proclaimed anonymously under the title *Anti-Macchiavelli* proposed the principle that a prince would hold his own best if he performed his duty, if he made himself indispensable to his subjects by giving them the best possible service, and soon the secret leaked out that the author of the tract was Frederick, the brilliant young crown prince of Prussia. The news created a sensation in the European courts, for Prussia, a small upstart state of Germany, had just aroused wide-spread suspicion on account of its vigorous militarism. But now all fear was allayed; the world became convinced that the Prussian crown prince was a visionary; he loved art and science and manifested literary—especially French literary—interests; he believed in honesty in politics; he wished to be honest to other states and also to his own subjects, and indeed, in his later life as a king, he regarded himself as the first servant

* In one English paper I find that Bernard Shaw understands this point and prophesies that after the downfall of Germany, the English will be confronted with Russia. But it does not seem so certain that the English will crush the Germans.

of the state, *le premier domestique de l'état*. How silly that principle must have appeared to the admirers of the grand and pompous Louis XIV, who is reported to have said, *L'état c'est moi!*

It is noteworthy, however, that Frederick's principle of honesty in statecraft included militarism in the proper sense of the term, i. e., the obligation to keep a country in a state of strong defense and to be prepared to fight enemies who might grudge its growth and attack it. The first act of his government consisted in maintaining his claim to Silesia in two wars against Austria.

In 1756, Austria, Russia, France and the German empire united to crush him and wipe Prussia from the face of the earth. The situation seemed absolutely hopeless for the young king. How could he defend himself against the whole world?

At that time Saxony was implicated in the alliance, and so Frederick broke the neutrality of Saxony because he saw the necessity of anticipating the crushing onslaught of his enemies. The result is known. He remained victor, and history honors him by calling him Frederick the Great. There is no need to tell the story of his life, his difficulties, his occasional defeats and his final triumph.

The spirit of Frederick the Great has not yet died out; on the contrary it has grown; it spread all over Germany; it founded the German empire and it animates the German people of to-day. It is Frederick's spirit which is now branded by the enemies of Germany as "militarism."

The Kaiser's idea that he is king of Prussia and emperor of Germany by God's grace may be based on an antiquated and superstitious notion of his divine dignity, but we must grant he interprets it in the sense that as king and emperor he is responsible to God for his government and even the Social Democrats do not doubt that he acts according to his conscience.

BISMARCK'S VIEW.

Bismarck foresaw the origin of the Triple Entente and feared the results of it. Would he have been able to prevent its evil results?

Here is a discussion of this topic by Dr. George L. Scherger, professor of history at the Armour Institute of Technology. He quotes some prophetic utterances of Bismarck:

"The following remark, made as early as 1875, has been fulfilled literally:

"'Mighty Germany has great tasks; above all, to keep peace

in Europe. This is my chief consideration also in the oriental crisis. I do not intend to interfere if there is any way to avoid it, for such an interference might cause a European conflagration, especially if the interests of Austria and Russia should clash in the Balkans. If I should take the side of one of these powers France would immediately join with the other, and a European war would break out. I am trying to hold two mighty beasts by the collar, in order that they may not tear each other to pieces, and in order that they may not combine against Germany.'

"As regards Russia, Bismarck says again and again that Germany would not have the least interest in waging a war with her, nor would Russia with Germany, because neither has any antagonistic interests.

"Russia's Asiatic interests are not in any way dangerous to Germany, although they are to England. If Russia should defeat Germany she could only take from her a strip of territory along the Baltic which would really be a nuisance to her because its inhabitants are very democratic. Germany, on the other hand, could only hope to increase her undesirable Polish territory.'

"Bismarck even stated that he would have no objection to Russia's taking Constantinople, and thought that with the possession of this gate to the Black sea she would be even less dangerous to Germany than at present. Of course he knows that this would endanger England's possession of Egypt and the Suez canal, both of which she needs as much as her daily bread.

"Not less striking are Bismarck's observations concerning France:

"If the French are willing to keep peace with us until we attack them,' he says, 'then peace is assured forever. What should we hope to get from France? Shall we annex more French territory? I was not even strongly inclined in 1871 to take Metz because of its French population. I consulted our military authorities before I reached a final decision. It was Thiers who said to me: "We will give you your choice between Belfort and Metz; if you insist upon both we cannot make peace." I then asked our war department whether we could give up our demand for either of these and received the reply: "Yes, as regards Belfort, but Metz is worth 100,000 troops; the question is whether we wish to be weaker by that many men in case we should ever have another war." Thereupon I said: "We will take Metz."'

"If Germany became involved in war with France, it would not be necessary to expect Russia to strike Germany, but if Russia

should strike first, France would be sure to join her in attacking Germany'—a most remarkable forecast of what has now actually taken place.

"As early as 1887 he said: 'Russia and France will sooner or later attack Germany.' He added that in this case the Germans could put 3,000,000 men into the field within ten days, 1,000,000 on the French border, another 1,000,000 on the Russian, and 1,000,000 reserves. There would be arms and clothes for 4,500,000. The next war would signify that either France or Germany would be wiped out of existence.

"Concerning England, Bismarck says: 'As regards foreign countries, I have had sympathy only for England, and even now am not without this feeling; but those folks do not want to be loved by us.' At another time he remarked: 'The English are full of anger and jealousy because we fought great battles—and won them. They do not like to see us prosper. We only exist in order to fight their battles for pay. That is the opinion of the entire English gentry. They have never wished us well, but have done all they could to injure us.'

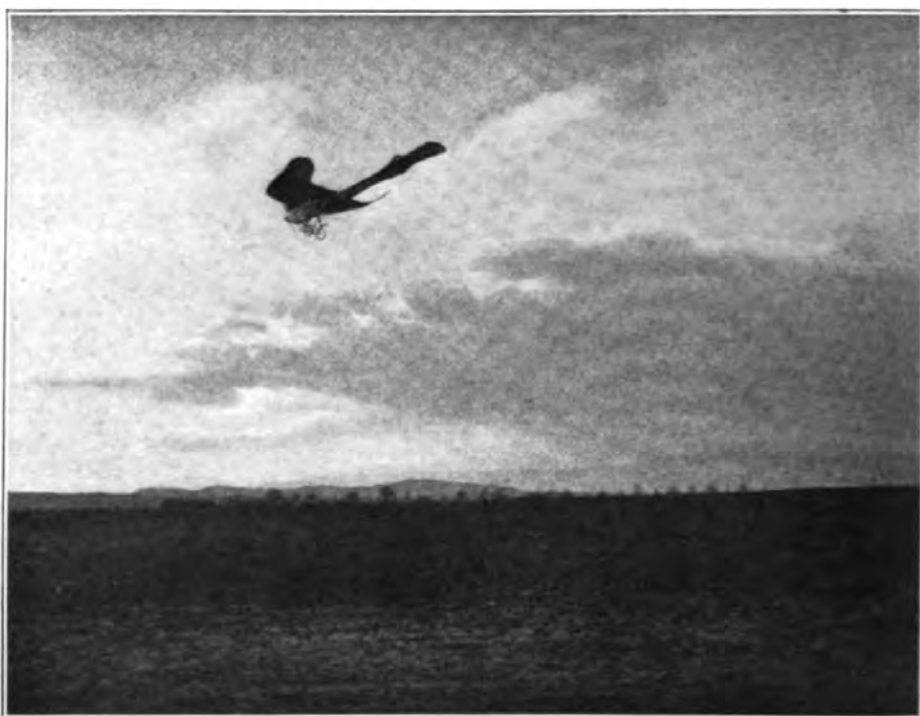
"Bismarck commented upon the traditional English policy of stirring up trouble on the continent, according to the principle that when two quarrel the third may be glad. Especially desirous had she been to get Germany and Russia embroiled, so that she herself would not need to fight Russia. This is the very game England has succeeded in playing in the present war. Bismarck acknowledges that he would do the same thing if he could find some strong and foolish fellow who would fight for him.

"Bismarck thought that England, having only a few thousand troops of the line, was, when standing alone, really a negligible power, which, by playing the part of a guardian aunt, had gained a certain artificial influence, but ought some day to be limited to its proper domain. If England and France should combine against Germany, the English might destroy the German navy, which at the time was still in its infancy, but Germany would in that case make France pay the bill.

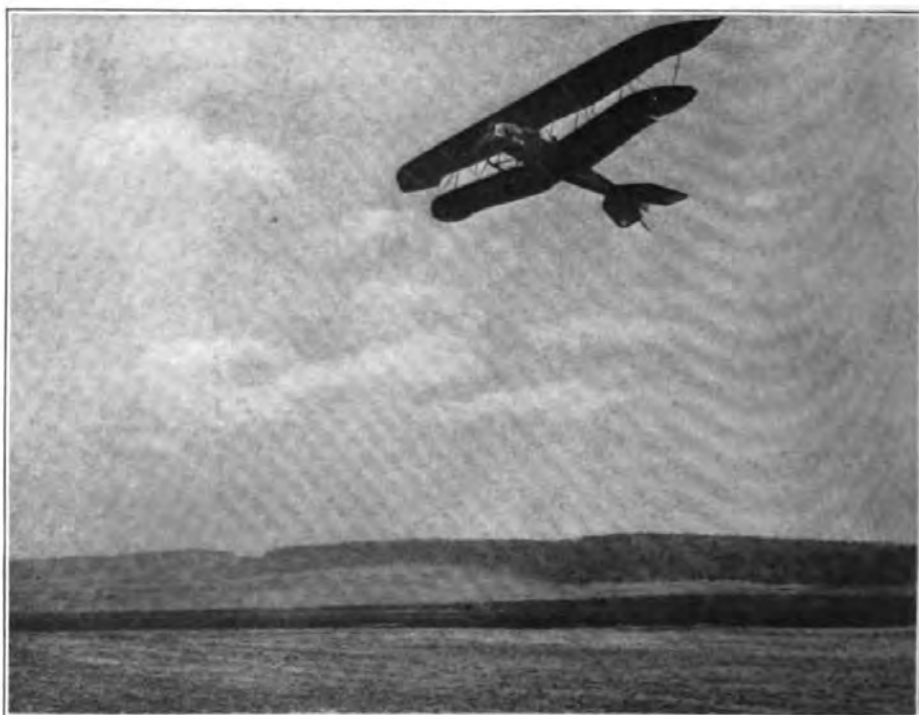
"Bismarck said: 'The Germans are like bears in this respect; they do not attack of their own accord, but they fight like mad when they are attacked in their own lairs. An appeal to fear will never find an echo in the German's heart. The German is easily betrayed by love and sympathy, but never by fear. The Germans will not start the fire. Some other nation may, but let any nation that provokes Germany beware of the *furor teutonicus*. We Ger-



PETER THE GREAT.



BIRD OF WAR DESCENDING.



MILITARY BIPLANE.



PANORAMA OF NUREMBERG.



PEACE.
From a photograph.



CASTLE OF NUREMBERG.
Southern view.



CASTLE OF NUREMBERG.
Northern view.

mans fear God, but nothing else in the world; and the fear of God induces us to love and seek peace. Whoever breaks the peace will soon realize that the same patriotism which called weak and down-trodden little Prussia to the standards in 1813 has to-day become the common property of united Germany, and that whoever attacks the German nation will find her presenting a united front, every soldier having in his heart the firm faith: God will be with us.

“Our soldiers are worth kissing; every one so fearless of death, so quiet, so obedient, so kindly with empty stomachs, wet clothes, little sleep, torn shoes; friendly to all; no plundering and wanton destruction, they pay for all they can and eat moldy bread. Our people must have a deep fund of religion, otherwise all this could not be as it is.”

It almost seems that the war was unavoidable because the three great powers, Russia, France and England were determined not to allow Germany to grow too big. Perhaps Bismarck would have been able to prevent the Triple Entente.

MODERN WARFARE.

What wrong notions prevail about warfare can be seen in almost every American newspaper. In the opinion of many people, including reporters in America as well as abroad, the purpose of war seems to be to kill as many of the enemy as possible, and the losses of the victor are sometimes described and emphasized as if the vanquished army had got the best of the battle. This might be compared to a game of chess in which he would be the victor who loses the fewest pieces. It is true that every party laments the loss of men for humanitarian reasons and also on account of weakening its forces, but for the significance of the war the purpose of a battle is to gain a position which dominates the roads and places the enemy's country at the invader's mercy.

For this reason the Germans have introduced the use of bullets making clean wounds from which a healthy man may easily recover. There is no advantage in massacring the enemy, but it is very desirable to put great numbers of them *hors de combat*. The humanitarian motive of sparing the lives of the enemy is not uppermost in this idea, but the practical advantage of burdening the enemy with the care of their wounded men.

For the same reason, the principle has been adopted in the international agreements as to the rules of warfare that all expanding rifle bullets shall be strictly barred. It is sufficient to hit an enemy and wound him: it is unnecessary to cause him to die in

agony, or to inflict upon him wounds that are incurable. Dumdum bullets are no factor in the decision of victory in battle and are barbarous and inhuman.

A French report informs the French public that only two percent of their wounded soldiers die, which means that 98 percent, i. e., almost all of them, survive; and the writer of that note adds that the Germans are poor riflemen; they cannot shoot, and when they hit they do not kill.

Victories may be gained without a battle, by forced marches; for a victory consists in gaining a dominant position. How little the British generals know of warfare appears from the report of General French who finds himself in an untenable position and is proud of having escaped annihilation. Tommy Atkins is brave in battle, but he must be placed in the right position or his courage will manifest itself in his "brilliant retreat." Courage is an essential element in the winning of a victory, but leadership cannot be dispensed with. A general should at least be familiar with the fundamentals of warfare.

There is another superstition prevalent which is that the results of war may be calculated by seeing troops on paper. England will find out that material consisting of raw recruits is not dangerous to her enemies. A new army of one or several hundred thousand may be raised to serve as food for cannons, not to turn the tide of German triumph. In war, as everywhere, it is quality that counts and not quantity, efficiency, not numbers.

Still another error is repeated *ad nauseam* in British and French papers. Whenever the Germans are to be recognized for advantages gained, they are accused of unintelligent energy, slavish obedience, or the display of brutal force with their superiority of numbers. As to numbers, there is no question that the Germans are by far inferior in this respect to their enemies, the allied troops; but it is an important principle in warfare that at the critical point there must be a display of superior strength, and it is the part of strategy to recognize the decisive point and concentrate there a superior number of men. This is not brute force but superior intelligence. By and by the English will learn more of warfare and will gradually appreciate the part which intelligence plays in battle.

Modern warfare is based upon the principle that the armies should fight, not the citizens. When the citizens of a village or a city attack soldiers from their windows, thus taking part in battle, they forfeit the right to have their lives and their property respected, and the enemy punishes them by burning their houses. Strict neu-

trality on the part of civilians is universally considered an indispensable rule because only in this way can an invading army be expected to confine its attack to the hostile soldiers. If invading troops were obliged to regard every inhabitant as an enemy who may shoot from an ambush, they would have to massacre every one in sight in self-defense. The participation of civilians in the fight is of no assistance to their country, for they are necessarily unorganized bodies of fighters; though they inflict damage, they suffer more in return. Thus they would renew the savage condition in which hostility between two nations becomes a struggle for mutual extermination. For this reason a civilized army can not allow civilians to take up arms and participate in the war; nor can any government let such occurrences go unpunished, first because it must protect its own men, and then because a combat of civilians leads back to a most terrible barbarism.

Now the Germans claim that while the Belgians made a sortie from Antwerp, some patriotic Belgians distributed rifles among the citizens of Louvain, who thereupon suddenly attacked the small force of Germans in their midst. After a battle in the streets they were overpowered and for punishment the city or part of the city was doomed to destruction. It is stated, however, that the quaint old City Hall was spared. The incident of Louvain, having occurred simultaneously with an Antwerp sortie, seems to have been inspired by Belgian government officials acting in concert with military authorities at Antwerp. Similar outbreaks of the same kind have happened before and the King of the Belgians officially expressed his thanks for the brave resistance not only of the army but also of the people against the invader.

King Albert, of Belgium, has given the military golden cross to Private J. J. Rousseau of the Fourth Belgian Chasseurs for killing Major General von Buelow after the battle of Haelen. It must have been a lonely spot on the battlefield where the German general appeared unfolding a map and studying the geography of the place. Rousseau was lying on the ground among the wounded; he fired and mortally wounded the general. The newspaper account adds: "On the general's person the Belgians found besides a number of dispatches \$33,000 in currency which money was turned over to the Red Cross." Disguised with the helmet of a Prussian cuirassier, Rousseau escaped. The deed was confessedly done from ambush, not in open battle, so it is difficult to appreciate its heroism; and the appropriation of the dead man's property is scarcely defensible.

The government of France has been guilty of similar offenses.

The French have preached revenge in their schools and have praised the brave *francs-tireurs*, thus encouraging a repetition of civilian hostility against the Germans by sowing hatred against them in the minds of the children and fostering the barbarous habit of allowing the participation of the populace in war. To reproach the Germans for burning Louvain is the more unfair, as under the same circumstances every other army would have done the same. Think of the treatment which the English accorded to their Hindu prisoners as presented in a most horrifying picture by Verestchagin!

The Belgian explanation of the occurrence in Louvain, to the effect that the Germans had shot upon their own men by mistake and had then attempted to cover up their error by accusing the inhabitants of Louvain, is strangely improbable and lacks verification as much as the accusations of other alleged "atrocities."

There are vulgar men in every army, but any one who is really acquainted with armies of different nationalities will grant that the German men are more cultured and of a higher moral standing than any other private soldiers the world over; and the reason is that they are not soldiers proper, but sons of honest citizens, children of home folks who perform their military duties while being themselves traders or craftsmen or laborers, who before and after military service earn their honest and peaceable living in some regular calling in the community. There are no soldiers of fortune among them, no adventurers, no warriors by profession.

Americans have heard only one side of the situation. The cable being cut, uncensored news begins to reach us very slowly, so the sympathy with Belgium has developed among us an unfair hostility towards Germany. Not only was it known to the Germans that the French would break Belgium's neutrality with the consent of the Belgian government, but hatred against the Germans was spread among the population, afterwards causing many civilians to take part in the fighting. Shortly before the actual beginning of the war the Germans were treated most barbarously in Antwerp. The *Chicago Herald* of September 15 contains a letter, written August 7, which Mrs. O. C. Buss, of 6104 Kenwood Avenue, received from her sister:

"In Belgium they are murdering Germans everywhere. They dragged German women out of their beds and through the streets by the hair. Threw little children out of windows while their mothers begged for them."

About happenings which took place during the war the same lady writes: "They fired on and killed Red Cross nurses and mur-

dered the wounded. They went into a house where three wounded German soldiers were and murdered them. At the railroad station when Germans and Austrians were leaving, they tore children from their mothers' arms, and the mothers have never seen them again. One poor fellow was wandering about with his hands tied behind his back, and his eyes gouged out. Others were found dead from the same treatment. All war news is given to the people through the police. Every policeman stands at the corner and cries out the news like a 'barker.'"

The French did not remain behind the Belgians in maltreatment of inoffensive Germans. We will quote only one statement of an American eye witness, dated New York, August 24, and published in the *Chicago Examiner*, August 25:

"It will never be known how many Germans were killed in Paris during the riots July 30 and 31 and August 1. The crimes of that period, could they become known, would shame the civilized world."

"This statement was made today by Henry M. Ziegler, a Cincinnati millionaire who has made his home in Paris for five years, but fled with the American refugees on the steamship *La France*. Describing the scenes in Paris during these three days, before martial law was declared, Mr. Ziegler said:

"It was unsafe for any foreigner, particularly one who could not speak French, to go on the streets. For a German it was little short of suicidal. I saw one German driving down a boulevard with a woman in a cab. The mob upset the cab. The woman fainted and was trampled on, but some one finally dragged her away.

"The man made a gallant fight for his life. With his back to the overturned cab he fought desperately for several minutes. He was a big fellow, too. He struck out right and left with his fists and bowled over his assailants as fast as they got within reach, but he was finally overpowered, trampled and stabbed to death.

"I know a family that had a German cook who had been with them many years. The sons went off to war, but that was no guarantee of protection for the woman. Some one told the mob, and my friends had to hide the old woman in the cellar to save her life.

"One evening a friend and I saw the mob chasing a German. He almost got away, but was caught in an alley. My friend recognized one of his employes in the mob. The next day his employe boasted that they not only got the German we saw them after, but three others. All were stabbed to death after being beaten into insensibility.

"One of the most noticeable things in Paris are the electric signs of a big milk distributor. He has upwards of 100 milk depots in Paris, and is worth more than \$5,000,000. He is a German who has lived in Paris for twenty years. The mob wrecked his electric signs and milk depots, and then some one started the report that he had poisoned the milk and was going to kill all his customers. The mob went hunting for him, but he escaped."

According to German testimony recorded in German papers, the cruelty of civilians towards helpless wounded German soldiers on the battlefield has become quite common in Belgium, and gouging out the eyes seems to have developed into a sport among a certain class of patriots who, when caught, are not treated very tenderly. It is the punishment of these offenders which has given rise to the stories of German atrocities, so far as they are based on facts.

Five American reporters, three of whom are residents of Chicago and all well known throughout the United States, write thus in a round robin about the alleged German atrocities:

"After spending two weeks with and accompanying the troops upward of one hundred miles, we are unable to report a single instance unprovoked.

"We are also unable to confirm rumors of mistreatment of prisoners or of non-combatants with the German columns. This is true of Louvain, Brussels and Luneville while in Prussian hands.

"We visited Chateau Soldre, Sambre, and Beaumont without substantiating a single wanton brutality. Numerous investigated rumors proved groundless. Everywhere we have seen Germans paying for purchases and respecting property rights as well as according civilians every consideration.

"After the battle of Biass (probably Barse, a suburb of Namur) we found Belgian women and children moving comfortably about. The day after the Germans had captured the town of Merbes Chateau we found one citizen killed, but were unable to confirm lack of provocation. Refugees with stories of atrocities were unable to supply direct evidence. Belgians in the Sambre valley discounted reports of cruelty in the surrounding country. The discipline of the German soldiers is excellent, as we observed.

"To the truth of these statements we pledge our professional and personal word. James O'Donnell Bennett, *Chicago Tribune*.

John T. McCutcheon, *Chicago Tribune*.

Roger Lewis, the Associated Press.

Irvin S. Cobb, *Saturday Evening Post*.

Harry Hansen, *Chicago Daily News*."

Some of these American reporters had been arrested for some time in the German lines. The subject is resumed in the *Tribune* of September 17 where we read on the first page in big print:

"That Mr. Bennett's fears of British censorship were well founded is made clear by the fact that the copy of the round robin sent by Mr. McCutcheon and himself direct to *The Tribune* has never been received in this office. The copy 'wirelessed' to the Associated Press from Berlin is the only one that got through."

Mr. James O'Donnell Bennett is very serious in his insistence that the truth shall come out because the untruth is spread with the obvious intent to injure the German cause. He speaks of the "round robin" as "a bare statement in which we expressed our earnest belief—a belief based on days of personal observations in the theater of war—that the reports of barbarities alleged to have been perpetrated by German troops on an inoffensive Belgian countryside are shocking falsehoods."

Referring to English censorship he speaks of that "thing as the vaunted English sense of fair play"; he mentions the "bundles of London newspapers" containing "column after column of the most harrowing and dreadful accounts of most infamous barbarities inflicted upon the Belgian peasantry by German troops." Trying to verify one case Mr. Bennett says: "Always on our march the facts relative to the German atrocities evaded us. Always it was in 'the next village' that a woman had been outraged, a child butchered, or an innocent old man tortured. Arriving at that 'next village,' we could get no confirmation from the inhabitants. 'No,' they would say, 'it did not happen here; but we heard that it was in the next village, messieurs.' But the next village would develop naught authentically—only wild stories, rumors, hearsay. At Soire-sur-Sambre, all around which there had been fighting on Sunday and Monday, the 23d and 24th of August, the burgomaster said to us in the late afternoon of Wednesday, the 26th: 'As reports come in from surrounding towns I am unable to verify these rumors of cruelties perpetrated against unarmed civilians, and I give no credence to them.'"

Much has been said also of the maltreatment of women, and this subject, too, is mentioned by Mr. Bennett who says:

"The most terrific outrage any of us has seen was seen by Cobb. With his own appreciative eyes he saw a laughing German soldier, who was crossing a street in Louvain, lean forward and imprint a kiss on the cheek of a Belgian girl who was bantering him. The girl promptly slapped his face. The soldier laughed the

louder. The girl began to laugh, too. The incident was closed. Cobb said it was as quaint and merry a scene in homely life as ever he saw. That was week before last."

Mr. Bennett in speaking of the falsehoods of the English reports of German atrocities blames the Louvain citizens themselves for the destruction of their city. Having mentioned another item he says: "A few days later Louvain lost its head. It went mad. Its civilians fired from ambush upon German soldiers. The deed was the supreme outrage against laws of civilized warfare. The punishment was terrible and it has put the fear of the Prussian god into every Belgian city and hamlet from Antwerp to Beaumont, from Ostend to Liège. To-day the ancient and renowned university city of northern Europe lies in ashes."

Louvain is not a "university city" in the usual sense of the word. Its great educational institution is called "the Catholic University," in contrast to modern scientific universities, and some young priests there appear to have taken a prominent part in the fight against the heretical Germans.

While I write, the German official report of the destruction of Louvain reaches me. It was published in Berlin August 30 and disposes of all the Belgian fables:

"The city of Louvain surrendered and was given over to us by the Belgian authorities. On Monday, August 24, some of our troops were shipped there, and intercourse with the inhabitants was developing quite friendly.

"On Tuesday afternoon, August 25, our troops, hearing about an imminent Belgian sortie from Antwerp, left in that direction, the commanding general ahead in a motor car, leaving behind only a colonel with soldiers to protect the railroad (*Landsturm Battalion* 'Neuss').

"As the rest of the commanding general's staff, with the horses, was going to follow, and had gathered on the market place, rifle fire suddenly opened from all the surrounding houses, all the horses being killed and five officers wounded, one of them seriously.

"Simultaneously fire opened at about ten different places in town, also on some of our troops just arrived and waiting on the square in front of the station, and on incoming military trains. That it was a designed co-operation with the Belgian sortie from Antwerp was established beyond a doubt.

"Two priests who were caught handing out ammunition to the people were shot at once in front of the station.

"The street fight lasted till Wednesday, the 26th, in the after-

noon (twenty-four hours), when stronger forces, which arrived in the meantime, succeeded in getting the upper hand. The town and northern suburb were burning at different places, and by this time probably have burned down altogether.

"On the part of the Belgian government a general rising of the populace against the enemy had been organized for a long time; depots of arms were found, where to each gun was attached the name of the citizen to be armed.

"A spontaneous rising of the people has been recognized at the request of the smaller states at The Hague conference, as being within the law of nations, in so far as weapons are carried openly and the laws of civilized warfare are observed; but such rising was only admitted in order to fight the attacking enemy.

"In the case of Louvain the town had already surrendered and the populace submitted without resistance, the town being occupied by our troops.

"Nevertheless the populace attacked us on all sides and discharged murderous fire on the occupying forces and newly-arriving troops, which came in trains and automobiles.

"Therefore it is not a question of the means of defense allowed by the law of nations, nor of a warlike ambush, but only of a treacherous attack by the civilian population all along the line. This attack is all the more to be condemned as it was apparently planned long beforehand to take place simultaneously with an attack from Antwerp; for arms were not carried openly, and women and young girls took part in the fight, blinding our wounded and gouging their eyes out.

"The barbarous attitude of the Belgian population in all parts occupied by our troops has not only justified our severest measures, but forced them upon us for the sake of self-preservation.

"The violence of the resistance of the populace is shown by the fact that in Louvain twenty-four hours were necessary to break down their attack.

"We ourselves regret deeply that during these fights the town of Louvain has to a large extent been destroyed. Needless to say, these consequences were not intentional on our part, and could not be avoided."

The truth leaks out more and more. Mr. Joseph Medill Patterson, editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, now on the theater of war, writes an explicit account of the alleged atrocities and says: "I firmly believe that all the stories put out by the British and French of torture, mutilation, assaults etc. by Germans are utter rubbish."

George F. Porter of Chicago, now in London, writes in the same spirit. Here is an account of one of his many personal investigations and the inkling of truth it contained:

"They did tell me, however, of a Belgian nurse at the St. Thomas Hospital here [London] with the tendons of her wrist cut. I went there immediately, saw the secretary of the hospital and found there was a nurse there, but that instead of the tendons of her wrists being cut she had burned her wrists badly by the explosion of a spirit lamp on which she was making tea. Here was a typical example of the way stories are fabricated out of nothing."

We learn from German papers that only about one-sixth of Louvain has been burned down. The rest has been preserved. Some churches and other valuable buildings were destroyed during the fight, but were not set on fire by the Germans. Some German officers did their best to save valuable pictures.

The lies of German atrocities are strangely offset by the great wrongs committed by the Belgians, not only in taking an active part in the war but also in the most heinous crimes of battle-hyenas. Many persons have been captured who found a pastime in torturing wounded German soldiers and indulged mainly in gouging out the eyes of their helpless victims.*

The Belgians complain of German atrocities, but they seem to think that private citizens are not bound to respect the rules of warfare. They deemed it right to drive German inhabitants out of Antwerp in a most cruel feud; and the French and English make use of dum dum bullets. The Kaiser made the following statement to President Wilson, to whom complaints had been submitted by the Belgians:

"I consider it my duty, sir, to inform you as the most notable representative of the principles of humanity—that after the capture of the French Fort of Longwy my troops found in that place thousands of dum dum bullets which had been manufactured in special works by the French government. Such bullets were found not only on French killed and wounded soldiers and on French prisoners, but also on English troops. You know what terrible wounds and awful suffering are caused by these bullets, and that their use is strictly forbidden by the generally recognized rules of international warfare.

"I solemnly protest to you against the way in which this war

* *The Chicago Herald* of September 22, page 1, contains an extract from W. Scheuermann's report of the cruelty of Belgian civilians, among them young girls.

is being waged by our opponents, whose methods are making it one of the most barbarous in history.

"Besides the use of these awful weapons, the Belgian government has openly incited the civil population to participate in the fighting, and has for a long time carefully organized their resistance. The cruelties practised in this guerrilla warfare, even by women and priests, toward wounded soldiers and doctors and hospital nurses—physicians were killed and hospitals fired on—were such that eventually my generals were compelled to adopt the strongest measures to punish the guilty and frighten the bloodthirsty population from continuing their shameful deeds.

"Some villages, and even the old town of Louvain, with the exception of its beautiful town hall (Hotel de Ville), had to be destroyed for the protection of my troops.

"My heart bleeds when I see such measures inevitable and when I think of the many innocent people who have lost their houses and property as a result of the misdeeds of the guilty."

The worst feature of the citizen's fight in Louvain is the attitude of the Belgian government in sending out official orders in writing to the leaders of the patriotic party. These misguided fanatics had hoped to exterminate the entire little garrison. That the Belgian government had taken an important part in this murderous work, may serve as an excuse to the citizens who ventured into the fight, but we can not blame the Germans for insisting on severe punishment. Apparently in the opinion of the King of Belgium there is no difference between war and assassination. He may be well-intentioned, but appears to lack judgment.

MILITARISM.

The term "militarism" is of recent coinage, and it may mean the German institution of universal military service, or the shortcomings of military institutions. The former is militarism as it ought to be, the latter are excrescences of military arrogance, a kind of social disease which will naturally and from time to time make its appearance, or develop into an epidemic. There is no need of explaining the disease of militarism which, as it seems, was contracted by some members of the officers' corps at Zabern, and which has been severely censured in Germany by the Reichstag. We will only say that militarism, in that sense, has always been of a transient nature and has never been worse in Germany than in other countries.

Militarism, as an institution of the German empire, established by law, with the full consent of the German people, for the sake

of national defense, is a state of things that can neither be condemned nor commended off-hand, but must be studied and understood. Only people who know it, not merely from experience but also in its history and actual efficiency, can really express an intelligent opinion regarding it.

If there is any one outside of Germany who can speak with authority on the subject, it is the writer of the present article. He is sufficiently informed as to its history during the last one hundred and six years; he has served in the German army and has been an officer in a Saxon artillery regiment; he knows the German needs, which demand the sacrifice of military service, and is well acquainted with the spirit of German patriotism which, for the sake of patriotism, assents to it.

The German army is different from any other, and especially from the English army. The official definition of the German army reads that it is "the German people in arms"—*das deutsche Volk in Waffen*. The fatherland does not enlist mercenaries; it calls upon every able-bodied man of the nation to appear at the colors and be ready for the defense of his country. The Kaiser is the leader, the lord of battle, who has the highest command, and to whom every soldier has to swear his oath of allegiance.

How often do foreigners misrepresent the state of things, and pity the German soldiers for allowing themselves to be enslaved in the service of a tyrant who will lead them to be slaughtered. What foolishness! Does any one believe that the German army could win its decisive battles if it consisted of slaves and were serving the private interests of a vainglorious monarch? Great battles can be won only by free men inspired by an idea, and the Germans of to-day do not fight for the possession of a few hundred million pounds sterling, not for dollars and cents, but for their homes, their liberty, their country. In order to defeat Germany, her enemies will have to slay the whole male population capable of bearing arms.

The origin of the present system of militarism dates back one hundred and five or six years, to the time when Napoleon I had humiliated Prussia. One of the conqueror's conditions of peace was that the Prussian army should be limited in numbers. So the Prussian general Scharnhorst kept on changing his soldiers; he had them trained and discharged, only to be replaced by new recruits, and when the day of liberation dawned, the inhabitants rose in great masses, not as raw recruits, but as trained men, in an army about four times as strong as had been permitted to be kept. This system of regarding the standing army as a school has been worked

out first for Prussia and then for Germany, to its present completion, not for the benefit of one man, but for the people; and the history of Germany has impressed the necessity of militarism upon the whole nation. The suddenness with which the present war broke upon Germany is but a new proof of the absolute necessity of a national defense.

Militarism in this sense, as a systematic defense of the nation, will not be abolished, as some ignoramuses predict, but will be more securely and permanently established than ever in the fatherland, and all the enemies of Germany will have to adopt it if they intend to have the same, or approximately the same, military efficiency.

France has introduced militarism, but the English newspaper writers find no fault with French militarism, although it is more severe than the German system, and lacks its intellectual advantages. I will only mention here the one-year service in Germany, reserved for youths of higher education, a distinction which is not permitted in France, on the ground that there ought not to be preference of any kind in a republic. But the preference shown is not that of a privileged class, it is not due to noble birth, nor to wealth; this preference is allowed to those who, by public examinations or in their course of education, prove themselves worthy of this distinction; any one can secure the privilege if he but reaches the required standard of education. From these volunteers for one-year service, the officers are chosen for the reserves. This privilege of a one-year service looks like an aristocratic institution. It is not, and, as a result, there is no one, not even among the Social Democrats, who finds fault with it. On the contrary it is a stimulus to education.

The German army is one of the most democratic institutions in the world. Its supreme law is efficiency, and that is being attained without respect to persons. The son of a duke, a prince, the millionaire's son, or any poor fellow from the lowest ranks of the peasantry, all are treated alike, all have to perform their duty, and from the beginning the best example has been set by the princes of the imperial house, the Hohenzollerns themselves.

And what is the result? The German people acquire an invaluable education in duty, in promptness, in accuracy, qualities in which all other nationalities, without exception, are sorely deficient. Even young men who do not serve are benefited by German militarism, for they inevitably imbibe its spirit.

How often has the criticism been made, that the German youths lose two or three years from the most important part of their lives,

in military service; but the truth is that the money annually spent on the army brings as great returns as that which is expended for public schools; this militarism is part and parcel of the German education, and sometimes men wonder where Germans have acquired those qualities of sturdiness, of a sense of duty, of exactness in details. A wealthy foreigner living in Germany, and wishing to engage a driver, will naturally first propose to a candidate for the position the question whether he has served in the army; for if he has done so, he will probably be the more efficient and the more reliable. Would not our American youths be better equipped for life if they had served in the army?

Germany's militarism does not suit Germany's enemies, for militarism, in the best sense of the term, has enabled Germany to withstand the attacks of her foes. While the Germans were absolutely peaceful, their neighbors fell upon the fatherland and tore off province after province from the empire, and those German tribes that found no support in the common fatherland became independent. Strasburg and other cities of Alsace-Lorraine became French, Pomerania fell to Sweden, the Netherlands and Switzerland became independent, and finally the entire German empire broke down. Thus the exigencies of national struggles developed German militarism so called, to supply the manhood of the country with a methodical training in self-defense.

Mr. H. G. Wells, the English novelist, declares that "every soldier who fights against Germany now is a crusader against war." He adds: "This greatest of all wars is not just another war; it is the last war!"

There are many apparently intelligent people who claim that England, France and Russia are not fighting Germany, but the militarism of Germany, and as soon as the power of this institution is broken, the era of universal peace will be at hand. There is scarcely any need of refuting the hypocrisy of this claim. One thing is certain: if in Great Britain every man were in duty bound to rally to the defense of his country, the British would not have rushed into war, and it is probable that if the German type of militarism were introduced throughout the world, there would be fewer wars, and none of them would be entered into with such frivolous and unscrupulous stupidity as the war of this year.

GROWING MILITARISM.

The advocates of peace are often peculiar people; they preach peace on earth, and their ideal is quite commendable; but each clam-

ors for his own peace. England will preserve peace so long as she owns the seas, and Germany's chief fault is the exasperating persistence with which she builds up a navy. Italians of the "peace" party condemn war, but they justify the conquest of Tripoli; and there are Americans, for example, Mr. William Randolph Hearst and Mr. Richmond P. Hobson, who demand a strong American navy to dominate the Pacific and the Atlantic.

Such views are often uttered. A certain famous "peace advocate" once said that he would shoulder the gun himself to keep the Japanese out of the United States, and Mr. Tschirn, whose German poem we have quoted above, also belongs to those who desire "peace at any price."

There are some in England who declare that the present war will be the last one: that it is commendable, because it is a war against militarism; but one Englishman, Mr. C. Cohen, a liberal and freethinker, prophesies that this war can not lead to peace, but is sowing future discord. He says: "Who is to say that there shall be no more wars? Is it England? Is it Russia? Is it France? Is it the three combined? Will any of these trust the others enough to depute the task? Are Russia and France and England in alliance with each other because of their mutual love or because of their enmity of others? Was it love of Russia that drove France into alliance, or hatred of Germany? And with Germany eliminated what bond is there that can unite the autocracy of the Czar and the republicanism of France?"

He continues: "An international agreement that would secure peace is a laudable ideal, but how is it to be secured? England, it may be assumed, will still demand the control of the seas. It suits us, and we say it is necessary to our existence. Very good; but can we expect every other country to submit to this ownership of the world's highway for ever and with good feeling? Why, this fact alone will drive other nations along the old line of offensive and defensive alliances, the fruits of which we are reaping in the present war. And alliances based upon such considerations as hold the Christian nations of the world together may be broken at any moment. Nor is there any power based upon force too strong to be overthrown. Of course, it may be said that it is to everybody's interest that some international agreement should be reached when this war is concluded, and such outbreaks prevented in future. Quite so; but, on the other hand, it is never to anybody's real

* See "The Metaphysical Point of View of Italy in the Turkish War" in *The Open Court*, XXVI, p. 190.

interest to go to war. Even to win is to lose. The truth is, that nations do not go to war because it really pays them, but because of misdirected ambitions and mistaken ideals; in other words, because of lack of intelligence and defective civilization.

"How wrongly the lessons of this war are being read, may be seen in the newspaper talk about 'blotting Germany out,' or 'wiping Germany off the map.' These are the greatest fools of all. If by 'blotting out Germany' is meant the destruction of the German navy and defeat of the German army, that may be done, and looks like being done—unless our press censorship is keeping us in the dark. But Germany remains, the German people remain, German ambitions remain, and there will also remain the memory of a crushing defeat. And the man is a lunatic, blind alike to the lessons of history and the facts of human nature, who imagines that a nation of seventy millions can be 'blotted out.' All the power of Russia has not been able to crush the sentiment of nationality in Finland. All the power of Russia, Germany and Austria has not been able to crush out the sentiment of nationality in Poland. After four centuries, England, in spite of all it could do, finds the sentiment of Irish nationality as active as ever. Short of an absolute, a complete massacre, a nation of seventy millions cannot be 'blotted out.' They remain, their ideals and ambitions, and their way of looking at life, must always be reckoned with.

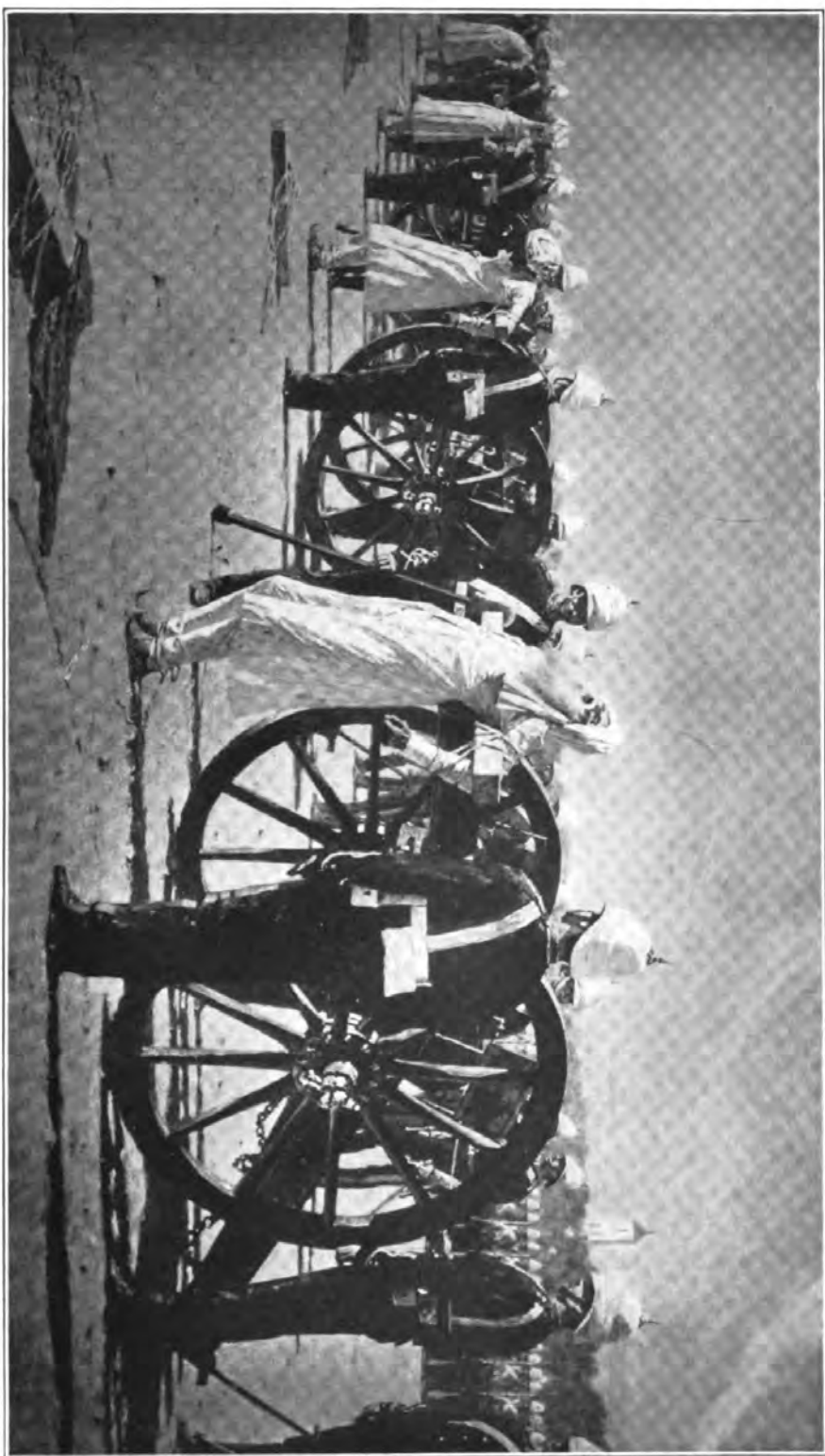
"Armaments will go on; of that I feel assured. although I should be only too pleased to find myself mistaken."

Note that Mr. Cohen expects Great Britain and her allies to win, but his belief is subject to a slight doubt. Certainly we agree with him in his conclusion when he says: "There is only one way to peace; and that is the growth of intelligence and humanity."

The peace advocates in England are certainly mistaken if they claim that this war is a war against militarism and that it will be the last war. There are symptoms of a growing militarism.

The British government has come to the conclusion that the war will not be so easy as originally supposed. It will need more soldiers, and so recruiting offices are opened. We read in the newspapers that Rudyard Kipling has offered his oratorical talent to persuade young men to join the army, and that he said:

"We must have many men, if we, with the allies, are to check the inrush of organized barbarism. We have only to look to Belgium to realize the minimum of what we may expect here. Germany's real object is the capture of England's wealth, trade and world-wide possessions."



INDIA PACATA.
By Verestchagin.



EXECUTION OF RUSSIAN PEASANTS.
By Verestchagin.

If you knew a little more about Germany and were a little less infected with English egotism, Mr. Kipling, you would be ashamed of what you have said!

Speaking at a great recruiting meeting in Liverpool, Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, said: "If the German navy does not come out and fight, they will be brought out like rats in a hole. . . . The English should have no anxiety about the result of the war."

No comment is necessary on this specimen of modern English, as spoken in these days by the men who are guiding English destinies. England's navy must be proud of the First Lord of the Admiralty.

In the second week of September another inducement to join the army appeared in London, on large bill-boards which read thus:

"We've got to beat Germany because her arrogant brutality is a menace to civilization; because she breaks treaties; because she murders non-combatants; because she destroys beautiful cities; because she sows mines in the open sea; because she fires on the sacred Red Cross; because her avowed object is to crush England.

"Men of England, remember Louvain.

"The fight is democracy vs. tyranny.

"Do you wish to share the fate of Belgium?

"If not, enlist now."

Why did the author of these posters not say: "The Germans are cannibals; they are coming to roast your babies for supper and will make boots of human skin!" Such descriptions of the Germans might have been more effective. They would not have been less false than the placard, and would have been more fanciful, more poetical and more romantic. In modern English newspapers, Germany is almost comparable to the ogre shouting:

"Fee, Fi, Fo, Fum,
I smell the blood of an Englishman.
Be he alive or be he dead,
I'll grind his bones to make my bread."

My dear English friends: If your liberty is really at stake, rush to the colors, have your names enrolled in your country's service, take up arms to defend England's honor; but I fear the honor of England has been tarnished, not by the Germans, but by your own ministers, by your statesmen, your diplomats, by those men who, by their secret treaties, by the machinations of the Triple Entente, have led you into a most perverse and stupid war. If your country needs defense, join the army, but first have your generals replaced by

capable men, men who are able to meet an enemy as great as your Saxon brothers of the continent. And, above all, see to it that you fight for a cause that is honorable, not merely a flimsy excuse to rid your shop-keepers of a dangerous rival, even though the sum at stake may average two hundred million pounds a year! Fight for a cause endorsed by men of understanding, by men of honor!

And if you fight, do not slander your enemy, do not discredit him, do not lie about him, do not brag about your own superiority, your greater prowess, your courage, your unrivaled heroism; history will correct your bravadoes and you are running the risk of making yourselves ridiculous. The writer of these lines has been your friend, your defender, your supporter. He feels ashamed now of the misjudgment he has shown, and even yet he feels inclined to defend you by saying that, in his opinion, you English people are perfectly honorable, and that it is only a very small diplomatic clique that has misled you. This small clique has brought on the war without the consent of the people, and even now your government establishes a censorship of news and propagates deliberate falsehoods for the sake of defending the war, and to induce English youths to prop up the blunders that have been made.

I would try to convince you that, by provoking the war, Great Britain has not only done wrong—a grievous wrong—but she has proved to be blind. The war policy leads you to your own ruin. You have made an enemy of a people that has been your friend, and, in Germany, you will have a most insistent and dangerous enemy. At present you do not care, but the time will come when you will regret having lost Germany's good will. I can not help seeing *greater danger in this war for England than for Germany*. Great Britain is scarcely prepared to face the danger.

As soon as war has begun, people, as a rule, become impervious to reason, and I fear that my friends in England have reached that stage. They have grown mad; they have become incapable of arguing calmly and impartially. They believe all, they hope all, they suffer all. They believe all accusations against their enemies, the most impossible ones. They hope for victories where there is but little if any chance. They suffer defeats with patience, in anticipation of a final triumph which they, in their vanity, think must be theirs.

In Germany, warfare has been developed into a science, and it is not left to a genius who is able to assume leadership. The German army is a school in which German youths are trained to be good soldiers, and the German general staff is also a school in which

officers are instructed in strategy. There is not a Moltke to lead them, but Moltke's spirit guides them all. Should one of them die to-day, even if he occupy the highest rank, there are dozens who can take up the work.

The indignation of the Germans against the English is tremendous. The Germans were prepared for French hatred and Russian impudence, but the bickerings between these brother nations were (at least in the writer's opinion) petty jealousies such as often exist among quarrelsome brothers. But now England declares war at a moment when Germany is in the greatest danger from the simultaneous attack of her two neighbors, in the east and in the west, the two mightiest land-powers next to herself. And at this critical moment for Germany, England casts in her lot with Germany's foes, in the hope of dealing a crushing blow. But England may be mistaken. Things may turn out differently from what is now expected. My good English friends, how I wish you had not been so rash in venturing into this war—this abominable war, this vicious, mean, ill-intentioned war, this most stupid war.

The Roman proverb says, *Quem Deus perdere vult eum dementat*. When surrounded by enemies, Ulrich von Hutten, the valiant knight of the age of the Reformation, exclaimed, *Viel Feind, viel Ehr!* Certainly, Germany, much honor is thine, for thine enemies are numerous, and England among them! What a glory for Germany! What a shame on England!

Quantilla prudentia Britannia regitur! How small is the wisdom with which Great Britain is ruled.

CONCLUSION.

A few personal comments may throw light on the fundamental conception upon which my opinion of the war rests. I have been, for almost my entire life, since I began to think, an advocate of the federation of the great Teutonic nations, as a guarantee of the peace of the world,—Great Britain and her colonies, Germany with Austria, and the United States.

This political ideal of mine is not founded upon pan-Germanism, though it does not in the least exclude it. Modern civilization has been worked out in England, Germany and the United States. Here are the centers of progress, here live the people from whom we may expect further progress, deeper thought, clearer science, and advancement in a conception as well as in a realization of noble humanity. Other smaller countries cluster about them; they are

either of kindred blood or kindred language and thought. They belong to them as younger brothers who look up respectfully to their elder brothers.

If these three groups of nations, centering about Germany, England and the United States, stand together, the peace of the world will be assured. So long as they do the right, all the smaller nationalities, states and groups of states will have to behave, and the peaceful realization of a highly cultured civilization will most assuredly be ours. But now this ideal—a by no means impossible one—has become an illusion. My hope of seeing it established has now, within a day, turned to despair. And why? Because one brother does not want another one to grow beyond his present stature. The Anglo-Saxon grew at first more quickly than the older German, but since, of late, the German has made a sudden start, and threatens to outdo the Saxon, the specter of war has appeared, and the two brothers face each other, sword in hand. And the end will be that one of them will fall. What a tragedy for mankind! Whatever the final result may be, mankind, with its ideals, will be the loser.

Woe unto those villainous advisers who have begun the war. They think themselves wise, but they are short-sighted. They appeal to the lowest and vilest motives of their countrymen, and hope to enrich their country by the ruin of their brothers. Woe unto them! The curse of their own people will most surely fall upon them. So far the English people seem only to have expected to see the Germans crushed between the French and the Russians. But what if Germany should rise beyond her present state, and develop a grandeur of untold strength? What if the spirit of God should come upon her, and she should smite her foes, and chastise them according to their deserts? What if, after conquering her Gallic enemy, she should overcome the giant Slav, and finally the Saxon, her own wicked brother beyond the channel?

My dear English friends! I love the English nation, and I wish that England could be regenerated. On my last visit to Europe I beheld with joy a new growth in France, but sensible thoughtful minds do not yet figure sufficiently in her politics. They are still in the minority. Any mob of self-styled patriots can cry them down, and if they should ever dare to utter an honest opinion they would be denounced as traitors.* In Germany I have witnessed an almost incredible advance in every line, and though there

* M. Jaure was against the war and he was shot by an unknown hand. No serious effort appears to have been made to punish the assassin.

are still many things which have not my approval, I must state my conviction that, upon the whole, the life of the nation is developing in the right direction. Even a hater of Germany cannot deny her his admiration. In England conditions are different; wretched poverty, almost unknown on the continent, is apparent in the very streets of London, and in the by-ways of the country. My dear good English friends, believe me, for the sake of your own best interests, that you cannot enrich your poor countrymen by ruining your German brothers on the other side of the channel. It will do you no good to wipe the Teuton, with his competition, off of the face of the earth, but it will be terrible to face him when he rises against you with all his might, in his just wrath. Why did Greece fall? Because Sparta and Athens hated each other. Will you not learn from history, and must you repeat the sin of older generations, only to reap the same punishment? The Germanic civilization, represented by Germany, England and the United States, is leading now, but the Slav hopes to take their place, and the Japanese, the most active people of the yellow race, are filled with ambition also to enter the field. An internecine war of the Germanic nations is apt to pave the way for both Slav and Asiatic ascendancy.

As a friend of the English, and also in the interest of the further development of the British empire, I cannot help feeling a grim dissatisfaction with English politics. The present war which Great Britain has undertaken against Germany and Austria-Hungary is against the real, the vital, and the all-important interest of Great Britain; hence I believe that the statesmen who, by their advice, their conduct, and their decisions, have brought about this war, have shown an obvious lack of judgment and have become guilty of gross criminality.

The war is unjust, the leaders of government affairs have not been fair to the German cause; but, in addition, they have neglected to acquire even the most superficial information about the ability of the German people to wage a war, and have thoughtlessly and unnecessarily changed a vigorous, powerful and friendly nation into a most formidable foe. The consequences of this action will endure into the most distant future, and can, under no circumstances, even in case of a victory, ever be or become favorable. And, in addition, England will, of course, have to suffer the usual curses which follow in the wake of war,—slaughter and ruin, the blighting of civilization and culture, of industry and commerce, and the death knell of the blessings of peace.

The men of England who have advocated the war and have

stirred the English people with hatred, are guilty of the blackest crime; they have committed the sin against the Holy Ghost, that sin which can never be forgiven. If I were an English citizen, I would advocate their removal from those high offices which they have so shamefully disgraced, and would even go so far as to have them indicted for high treason against Great Britain for their neglect of duty and because they have brought upon the British empire the curse of evil counsel.

* * *

The outbreak of war between Great Britain and Germany has proved to me the greatest and saddest disappointment of my life. I have investigated the conditions and motives which led to it with sincere impartiality, but I have come to definite conclusions which place the guilt first of all, mainly and almost exclusively at the door of English diplomacy. Should I be mistaken, I wish to be refuted not by general declarations against German militarism, by denunciations of Kaiserism and Prussianism, such as betray mere ignorance and prejudice, but by real facts or good, sound arguments. I am open to conviction and I shall carefully study all answers which contain actual points worth considering, yea, I will give publicity to them and, in case I shall have to change my views, promise to confess my errors openly and without reluctance.

MISCELLANEOUS.

OUR ILLUSTRATIONS.

While traveling through England last year (1913), I happened to pick up an attractive photograph taken and printed by Judges' Ltd., Photographic Publishers (Hastings), symbolizing peace by a cannon overgrown with ivy, and as this number of *The Open Court* discusses war, I use this photograph as a cover design because it symbolizes our hope which we, as neutrals, long for most anxiously.

Another photograph by the same firm shows sunlight spreading over an English coast town, probably Hastings, and above it in the clouds the mirage of a temple—an ideal vision in the heavens that appears to dreamers, as if it were possible to build up peace on earth and let good will prevail among men. On account of the intrinsic beauty of the scene over which the rays of light spread like a benediction, we have chosen it as our frontispiece.

Another picture in this number is the famous old castle of Heidelberg, one of the most glorious scenes of a romantic past, and once the palace of the Palatinate. In 1688, a French army, without warning and without reason, fell upon the rich and attractive valleys of the Neckar and the Rhine and ruthlessly devastated the country, plundering, ravaging and burning cities, villages and palaces. The tombs of the old emperors at Worms were desecrated and the dust of their dead bodies scattered to the wind. The Heidelberg castle shown in our picture has not been rebuilt, and its ruins are so very beautiful that it is famous as an historic point of interest known to tourists of all nations. It is a memento of Germany's frequent sad experiences before the development of her militarism.

We publish further three views of the quaint old city of Nuremberg, a peaceful unfortified town. It is almost forgotten that according to newspaper accounts, the first bombs were not dropped over Antwerp or France or England, but from French aeroplanes on this city of old German art.

Germany was overrun 109 years ago, in 1805, by the great conqueror Napoleon I, but after eight years his power was broken in 1813 by a desperate struggle, the great battle of the nations at Leipsic, in which weakened Prussia and Austria, supported by the Russians, beat the French invader. It is only a year ago that the Germans celebrated the centennial anniversary of this important victory and unveiled the monument at Leipsic.

The style of the monument is heavy and expresses gloom, or bereavement, a sentiment of sadness; it appears more like a mausoleum than a monument of triumph. The figures standing at the top are conceived as a death-guard, mourning the victims whose lives were sacrificed for German liberty.

Verestchagin's picture "India Pacata" possesses a peculiar interest. It was called by the artist "Blown from the Cannon's Mouth," and as we gaze on it, we behold a strangely impressive tragedy representing the execution of rebel

Hindus who are thus punished for their love of country and their hatred for British rule. In defense of this unusual punishment, it is claimed that according to Hindu religion, death would be no deterrent, because the Brahmans believe in immortality. Therefore their bodies were blown to pieces so as to destroy every chance of reincarnation.

Another painting by Verestchagin shows us to what terrible uses a sacred place may be put in war time. Here French grenadiers are seen executing Russian peasants inside a church, because they have somehow given offense to the invaders.

NOTES.

The story of the origin of the war has been misrepresented in English dispatches to such an extent that there are many people in English speaking countries who believe that Emperor William had a spell of madness, while in fact he was compelled to begin a tremendous war against his inclination. Formerly he was always friendly to the English, and with reference to the channel that divided the two nations, he declared repeatedly that "blood is thicker than water." (In 1896, 1900, and 1903. See Büchmann's *Ges. Worte*, 24th ed., p. 592.)

The Belgian delegates to the United States have published an account of the violation of the neutrality of Belgium and of the laws of war on Belgian territory under the title *The Case of Belgium*. It gives the impression that the Germans are brutal savages. Whereas the fight between the civilians and the German troops in Louvain was bitter and lasted two days (see p. 633 of the present number), our delegates claim that the Germans "were shot on entering the city by their own fellow soldiers who took them for enemies," and "the statement that civilians had fired shots is a pure allegation." Obviously this pamphlet has an ulterior aim other than the truth; it is a partisan statement and should be received, as President Wilson has done, with necessary reserve. Some of the stories are extremely improbable, others actually presuppose that the Germans have been shot at or killed from houses. The German side is never heard; sometimes it is mentioned but only to be dismissed as impossible. President Wilson received the delegates very kindly but refused "to form or express a final judgment."

The spirit of Chinese culture is against war. Confucius expressed his condemnation of warlike policy indirectly, and as a result China has been a victim of warlike nations. In fact at present she must suffer the breach of neutrality at the hand of her little neighbor, Japan. Confucius's rival, the old philosopher commonly called Lao-tze, was also in favor of peace but he was not against war. His views of war are expressed in Chapters 30 and 31 of his *Canon of Reason and Virtue*. He says:

"Where armies are quartered briars and thorns grow. Great wars unfailingly are followed by famines. A good man acts resolutely and then stops. He ventures not to take by force.

"Be resolute but not boastful; resolute but not haughty; resolute but not arrogant; resolute because you cannot avoid it; resolute but not violent.

"Arms are unblest among tools and not the superior man's tools. Only when it is unavoidable he uses them. Peace and quietude he holdeth high."



VASIL VERESTCHAGIN.
After a photograph taken in Chicago.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

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WAR ON WAR.

BY THE EDITOR.

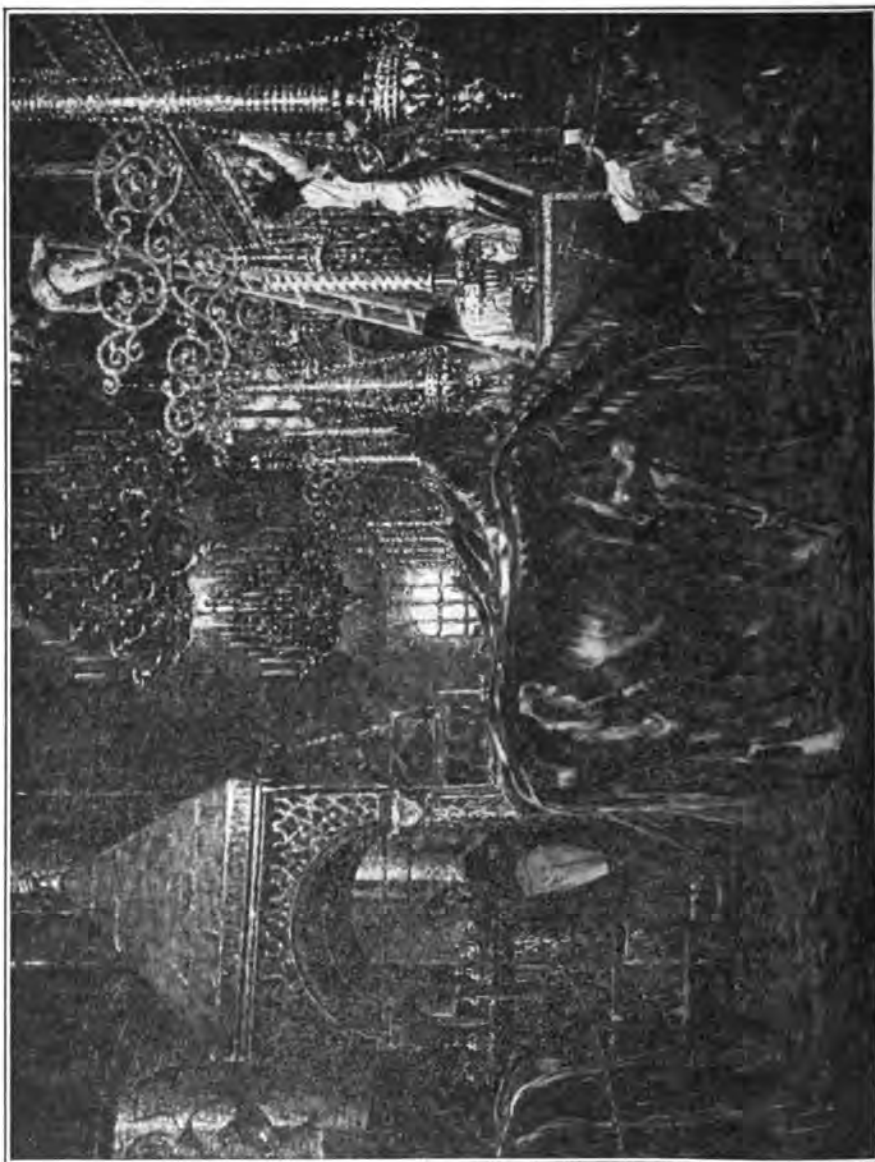
VASILI Vasilievitch Verestchagin is an apostle of peace. He was an officer who served in the Russian army and took an active part in many battles; but he was also a painter, and as such he devoted his brush to a "war on war" by picturing the horrors of battles with an overwhelming reality.

Verestchagin was born October 26, 1842, at Tcherepovez in the district of Novgorod, Russia. He attended the naval academy at St. Petersburg¹ and became an officer. At the same time he devoted himself with great zeal to painting, attending the St. Petersburg art academy. He undertook a journey to Germany, France and Spain and settled for a while in Paris where he became a pupil of Gerôme. During the years 1864-1866, he studied nature in the Caucasus. In 1867 and 1868 he joined General Kauffmann's military expedition to Turkestan and distinguished himself as an officer. After a second sojourn in Paris, he traveled to Siberia in 1869. In the seventies, we find Verestchagin in Munich where he was attracted by the painter Horschelt, well known as a connoisseur of the Caucasus. In 1874 he accompanied the Prince of Wales to India and on his return he settled in Paris. The Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 called him back to Russia to change the brush for the sword, and he was present at the battle of Plevna.

At this time Verestchagin's inclination to paint pictures of war became generally known in Europe through exhibitions which

¹ Now called Petrograd, or as the German joke calls it, Petro-krumm, "crooked Peter," in contrast to *grad*, "straight."

spread his fame as a specialist in the representation of battle scenes. It is difficult to say whence he had acquired his almost abnormal taste for picturing the horrors of war; it seems probable



THE OUSPINSKY CHURCH USED AS A STABLE BY FRENCH TROOPS.

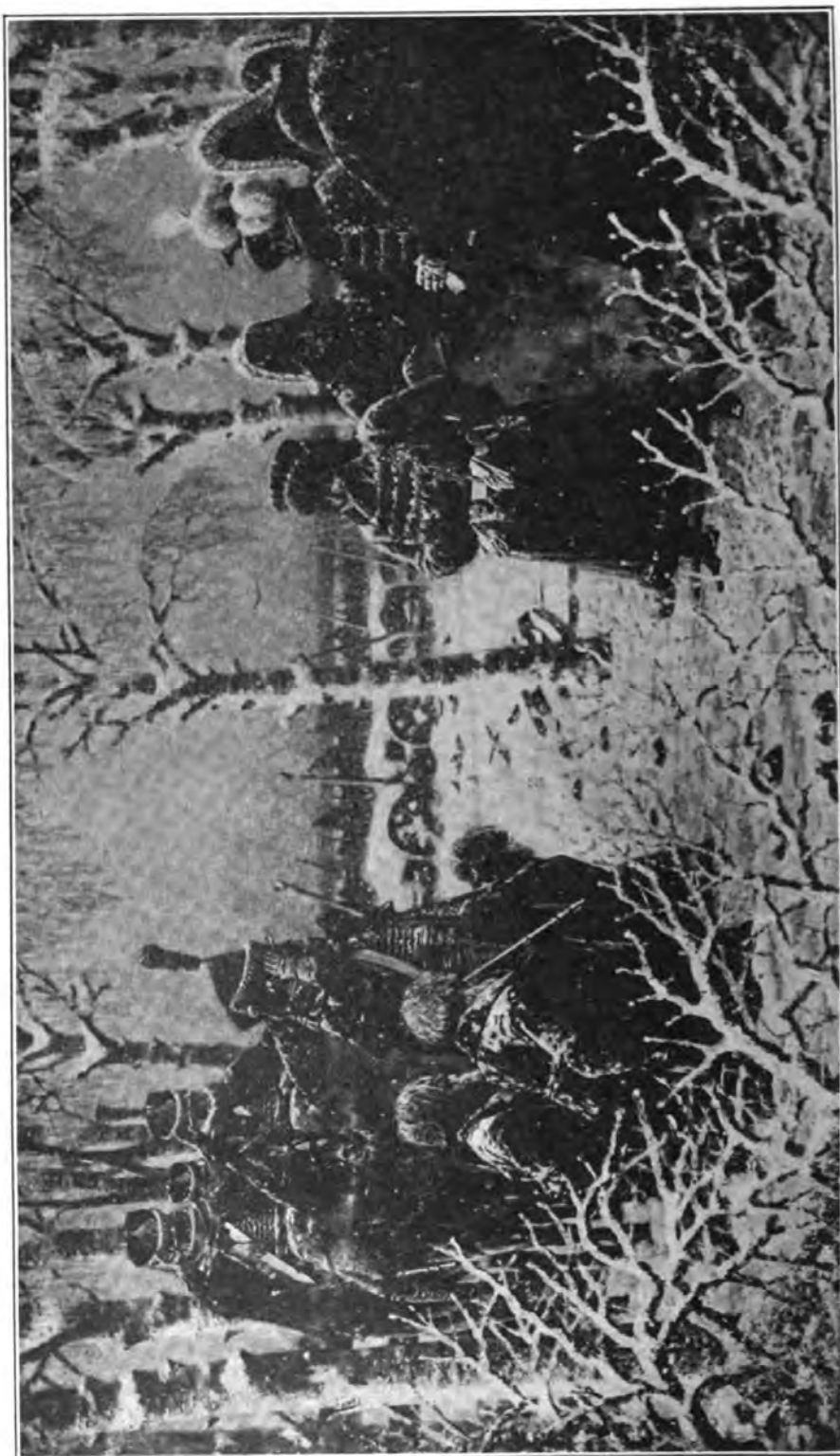
that it was innate in his constitution. Similar cases are not unknown. As an instance we mention Emil Neide of Königsberg² who became famous by painting scenes of horror, such as "Tired of Life," "At

²Neide is an unusually gifted artist of Slavic descent and German education. The original titles of the pictures here mentioned are "*Die Lebensmüden*," a pair of young lovers tied to each other at the moment when they

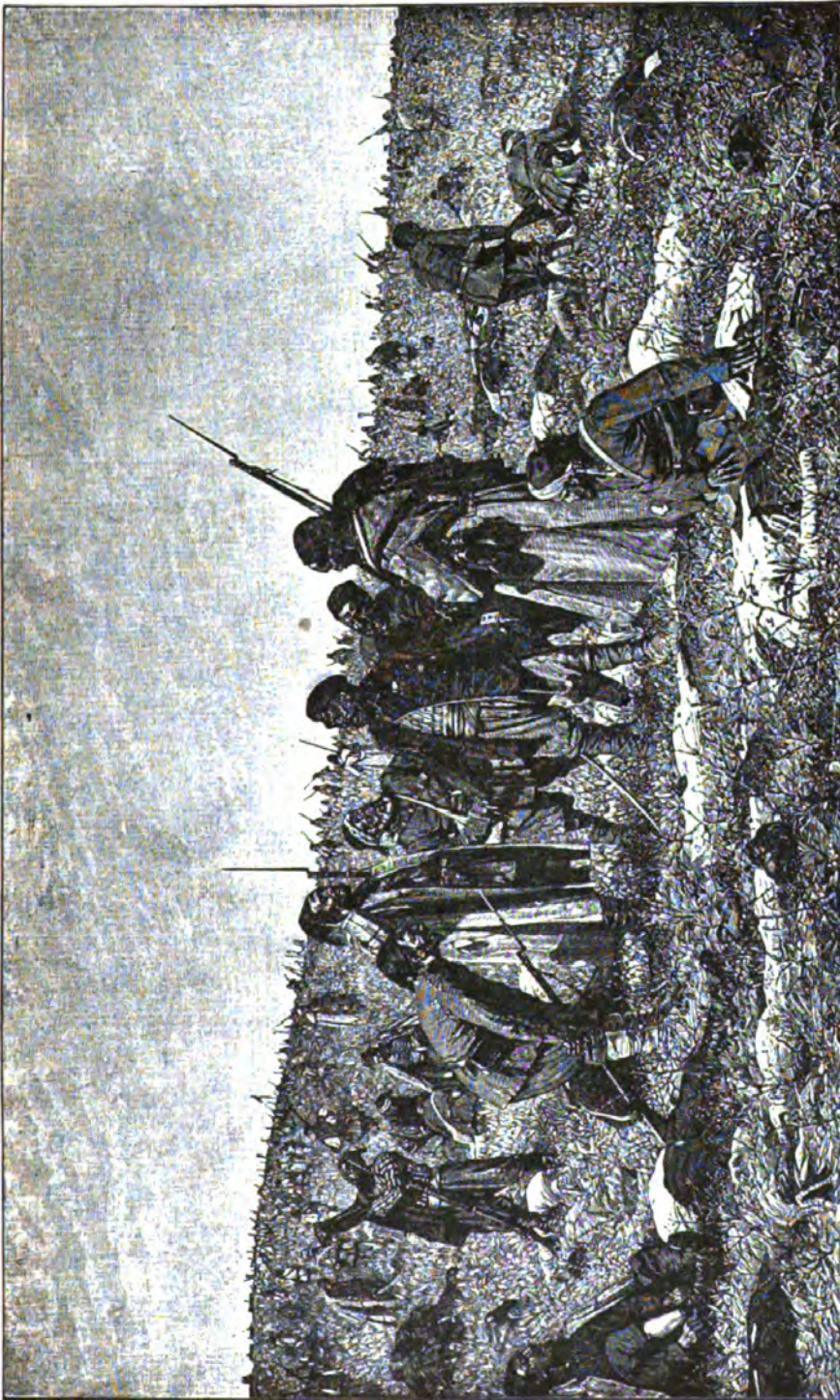


WATCHING THE BURNING CITY FROM THE WALLS OF THE KREMLIN.

are determined to drown themselves; *Am Orte der That*, a criminal with tied hands at a lonely place in the woods where a dead body is dug out by laborers in the presence of a magistrate of the court and a *gens d'armes*. The picture *Vitriol*, shows a pale girl with all the expression of hatred and jealousy holding a bottle of vitriol in her hands, standing behind a tree and lying in wait for her rival, a young lady who is led out from a brilliantly illuminated castle by a frivolous young officer. Like the works of Verestchagin, the pictures of Neide are distinguished by a wonderful technique and exactness of detail. Neide was also capable of painting beautiful subjects, such as "Psyche Crossing the Styx" in Charon's boat, and "Archimedes Teaching Astronomy." The latter is a fresco in the aula of the University at Königsberg.



CAUGHT—SHOT.



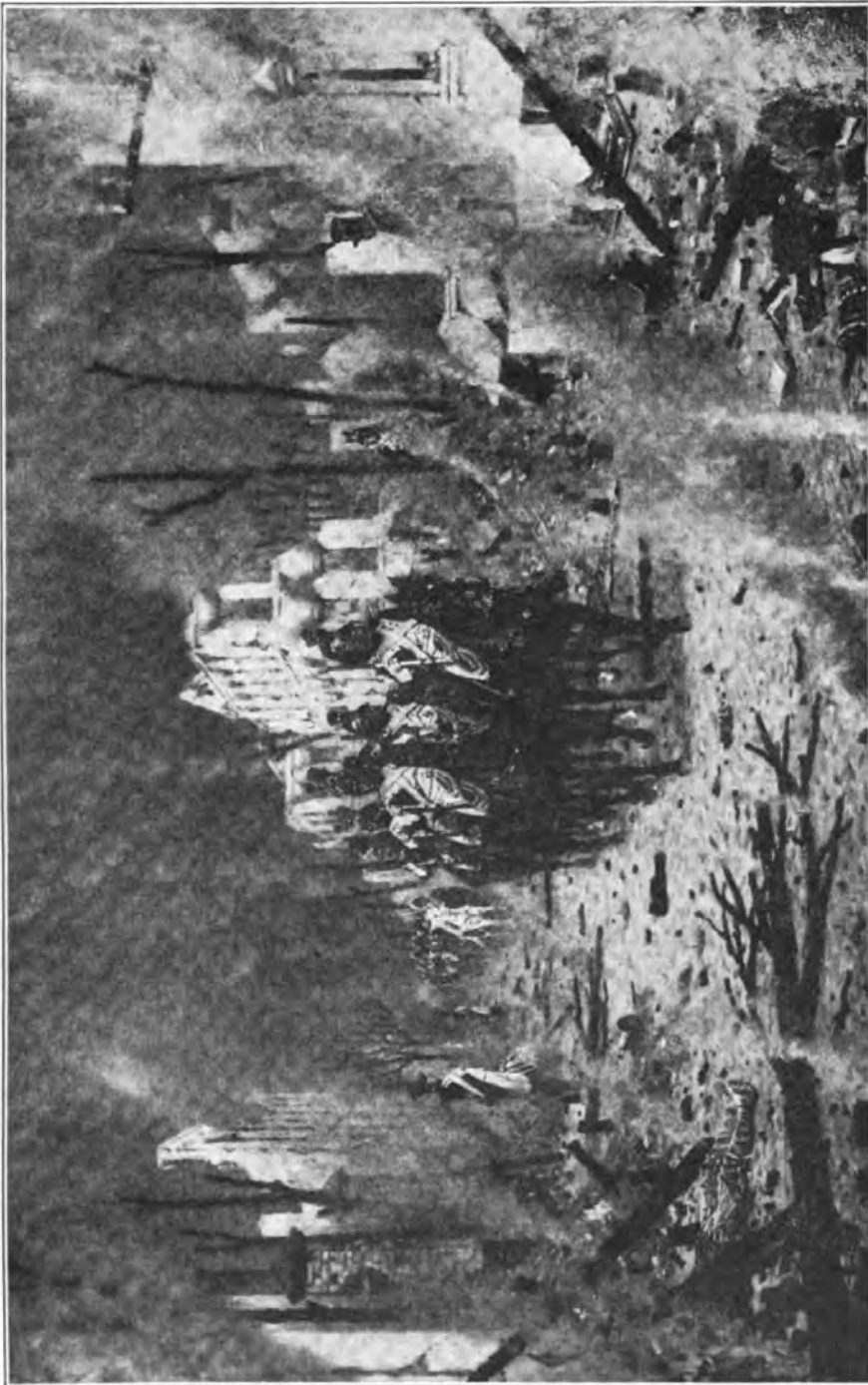
VICTORIOUS TURKS ON THE BATTLEFIELD.

the Scene of Crime," "Vitriol" and similar subjects. This same man, who had extraordinary talent, loved the grewsome and liked

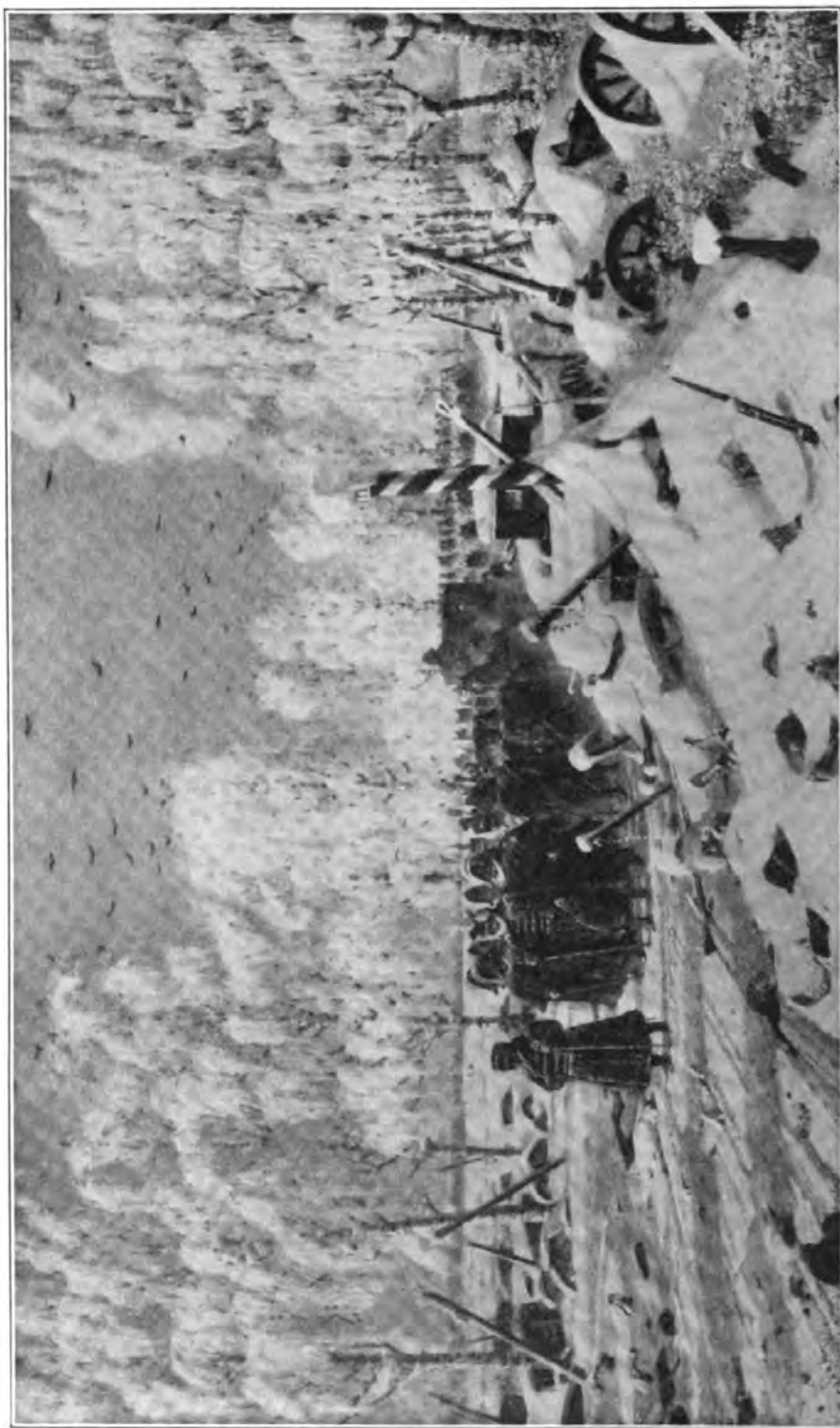


FROZEN TO DEATH.

to sit in the dark listening to ghastly stories that would make his flesh crawl and his hair stand on end. When he visited great



RETURN FROM PETROWSKI PARK.



RETREAT FROM MOSCOW.

cities, such as Berlin and Paris, the first places he would frequent were the morgues, and whenever there was opportunity of seeing a suicide or the victim of a murder, he hurried to the spot.

It is true that Verestchagin named the series of his pictures of the Russo-Turkish war with the significant title "War on War," but he also painted other scenes of horror, as the "Nihilists on the Gallows" and "Blown from the Cannon's Mouth,"³ the execution of Brahmins by English cannoneers.

In the nineties Verestchagin painted many pictures of Napoleon I in his Russian campaign and had them exhibited, with many others of his paintings, in almost all the large cities of Europe and the United States. His canvases are now scattered over the civilized world, but the richest collection is contained in the Tretjakoff gallery at Moscow.

We here reproduce a number of Verestchagin's pictures of the Napoleonic War, a monument of the artist's Russian patriotism and his accusation of French cruelty. The French have no regard for the holiness of sacred buildings, for the Ouspinski church at Moscow is changed into a horse stable as shown in one picture. On another we see Russian peasants led before Napoleon who is dressed in heavy winter garments, and the scene signifies that the poor fellows are condemned to die without investigation or even the pretense of a court-martial. The execution of men suspected as spies is represented in another picture, published in *The Open Court* for October on a plate facing page 641.

The winter of 1812 was unusually hard, and the victorious French army deemed itself fortunate to have entered Moscow; but the old Russian capital was mainly built of wood, and caught fire, whereby it became uninhabitable to the invaders. We see Napoleon watching the conflagration from the ramparts of the Kremlin, the old imperial castle of the Czars; in the background stand some of his generals.

The French could no longer stay in Moscow, and Verestchagin pictures the retreat in a series of paintings which exhibit the hopelessness of the victors and their doom in the frigid winter.

Verestchagin was also an author; he wrote the following books, "Sketches and Reminiscences"; "Sketches of my Trip to India" (two volumes written in company with his wife); "The War Correspondent" (a novel, published in Cotta's *Romanwelt* in 1894); "Military Excursions in Asia and Europe"; "Reminiscences of

³ A reproduction of this picture appeared in *The Open Court* of October, facing page 640.

the Years of my Youth," and "Autobiographies of Insignificant People."

When Russia declared war on Japan he could no longer stay at home but hastened to the Russian headquarters at Port Arthur, where he became a victim of a Japanese torpedo. On April 13, 1904, he accompanied the Russian admiral on the good ship *Petro-pawlowsk* and with it sank to the bottom, off the harbor of that stronghold.

AN APPEAL TO THE UNIVERSITIES OF AMERICA.

BY ERNST HAECKEL AND RUDOLPH EUCKEN.

WHEN half the world is falling upon Germany in a spirit of hatred and envy, it is a comforting thought to us Germans to feel that we may be sure of the sympathy of the American universities. It is to them, if anywhere in the world, that we must look for a correct comprehension of the present situation and the present attitude of Germany. Many American scholars have been educated at our universities and know of the excellent quality and the peaceful tendency of German work; the exchange of professors has increased the mutual understanding, and continuous intercourse in scholarly research makes us seem like members of one great community. This is why we entertain the hope that the scientific circles of America will not give credence to the slanders our enemies concoct against us.

Those calumnies accuse Germany above all of having brought about the present war, and of being responsible for the monstrous struggle which is extending more and more over the whole world. In reality exactly the opposite is the case. It is very much against our will that our foes have disturbed us in our peaceful work and forced the war upon us. We are engaged in a righteous war for the preservation of our existence and at the same time for the sacred ideals of humanity. The murder of Serajewo was not our work, it was the outcome of a widespread conspiracy pointing back, however, to Servia, whence for many years a strong feeling against Austria had originated which was supported by Russia. It was Russia therefore that took the affair of the assassination and the assassins under her protection and weeks before the war broke out she had promised her assistance to that bloodstained state. It was Russia alone that gave a critical turn to the event, and Russia alone is to blame for the outbreak of the war. The

German emperor has proved his love of peace by a peaceful reign of more than twenty-five years in the face of increasing danger. He tried most zealously to mediate between Austria and Russia; but during his negotiations with the Czar, Russia was engaged in mobilizing a gigantic army along the German frontier. This necessitated an open and decisive inquiry that led to the war, but war followed only because Russia wanted it so, because she wanted to rouse the Moscovites against the Germans and Western Slavs, and to lead Asia into the field against Europe.

France too might have remained at peace, as the decision rested solely with her. The security of Germany demanded that she should inquire what France would do in the impending war; the answer of France unmistakably betrayed her intention of taking part. As a matter of fact it was not Germany but France that commenced the war.

Before the war England was closely allied to France. From the very beginning she has clearly shown that she by no means wanted to keep absolutely neutral. From the very beginning she has endeavored to protect France against Germany. The German invasion of Belgium undoubtedly served England as a welcome pretext openly to declare her hostility. In fact neutrality had been violated by Belgium in favor of the French before the German invasion. It has been officially stated, for instance, that not only before but also after the outbreak of the war French officers were in Liège for the purpose of instructing Belgian troops in the defence of fortifications. England's complaint of the violation of international law is the grossest hypocrisy and the vilest Pharisaism. Just as English politics have without scruple always disregarded all legal standards as soon as England's interest was touched, so during the last few weeks has the same method been sufficiently manifest in the unlawful capture of the Turkish warships, and still more in the instigation of the Japanese to undertake the detestable raid upon German territory in China which can only end in strengthening the power of that Mongolian nation at the expense of Europe and America.

How is it possible for a nation that has so betrayed valuable interests of western civilization as soon as it could benefit thereby—how is it possible for such an accomplice of Japanese depredation to assume the rôle of guardian of morality?

We Germans did not want this war, but as it has been forced upon us we shall carry it on bravely and vigorously. In the face of all envy and hatred, all brutality and hypocrisy, Germany has

the firm conviction that she is serving a righteous cause, and in the struggle for self-preservation as well as for the sacred ideals of humanity, that she is indeed defending the progress of true civilization. This consciousness gives her inflexible strength and the absolute certainty that she will repulse every attack of her enemies. In this conviction our people do not stand in need of any encouragement from abroad, but rely absolutely upon themselves, trusting in the justice of their cause.

Nevertheless it is important and comforting to us to know that the thoughts and sympathies of our American friends are with us in this gigantic struggle. We feel fully justified in expressing this openly as the conviction of all German scholars, since both of us are closely bound by so many scientific and personal relations with the universities of America. These universities know what German culture means to the world, and so will stand by Germany.

POOR BELGIUM.

BY THE EDITOR.

WAR is terrible, and all our compassion goes out to the poor sufferers, especially to the poor Belgians who, we are told, are innocent and have been dragged into the fray against their will. Indeed, England declared war for the ostensible reason that Germany had broken the neutrality of Belgian territory. In fact much of the objection commonly brought against Germany is based on this same ground, and the German chancellor himself expressed his hesitation at violating Belgian neutrality and condemned the act as being an infringement of international law. At the same time, however, he declared that the Germans were forced to cross the Belgian frontier because they had positive and definitely reliable evidence that France intended to cross that country and attack them in the rear by entering the Rhenish provinces.

Before the war began it was known that French officers were in Belgium in collusion with the Belgians. Soon afterwards it became known that the English general, Lord Kitchener, had been in Belgium shortly before the war for the purpose of conferring with the Belgian authorities and to look over the field to inform himself concerning the best ways of arranging military operations.

Subsequent events have justified Germany's action, for it becomes more and more apparent that the Belgians had broken their neutrality with both France and England long before Germany crossed the Belgian frontier. So Belgium has forfeited the right to have its neutrality respected, and we must point out here that the case is even worse for Belgium. The Belgian people showed a hostility which presupposes a widespread propaganda against Germany, for civilians were trained to act as *francs tireurs* and many German soldiers became the prey of snipers. Why did not the Luxemburg people act in the same way? Why did *they* behave like peaceful citizens? They did not like the invasion either, but they did not prove assassins. The Duchess of Luxemburg was satisfied

with a simple protest against the German breach of neutrality and as a result Luxemburg was treated well by the invaders, no punishment of snipers, no destruction of property occurred. Luxemburg was to the Germans like a friendly country, and Germany paid an indemnity for trespassing on its territory. The people have suffered no more by the war than other neutral countries like Holland and Denmark that experience a general depression of business.

The Germans had offered Belgium to respect private property if the citizens would abstain from violence, but they preferred war to the utmost and, in spite of repeated warnings, the civilians used treachery in addition to the resistance of the army in open battle.

Was it necessary to carry warfare to this extreme? Was it advisable and does this procedure not presuppose that the government encouraged the heinous spirit of this savage resistance? Yea it is known that arms and ammunition were distributed by official agents, and orders in writing were found which had been sent out to prominent citizens to act as leaders in the insidious fight at Louvain to be undertaken simultaneously with a sortie from Antwerp.

All this has justified this breach of neutrality and has proved that the Belgian people are not so innocent as it appeared in the beginning to outsiders. Things proved even worse for the allied nations and especially for the English, when the Germans discovered in the state archives at Brussels documents which prove that the allies, both the French and English, had planned to pass through Belgium and cooperate with the Belgians since 1906.

It is known that the Triple Entente had been made against Germany, but it is now known that detailed arrangements had been made, how, where and from what points in cooperation with Belgium, Germany should be attacked. The papers quote the following report from the German general headquarters:

"German military authorities, searching the archives of the Belgian general staff at Brussels, discovered a portfolio inscribed 'English Intervention in Belgium,' which contains some important documents.

"One of these is a report to the Belgian minister of war dated April 10, 1906, which gives the result of detailed negotiations between the chief of the Belgian general staff and the British military attaché at Brussels, Lieutenant Colonel Bernardiston.

"This plan is of English origin and was sanctioned by Lieutenant General Sir James M. Grierson, chief of the British general staff. It sets forth the strength and formation and designates land-

ing places for an expeditionary force of 100,000 men. Continuing it gives the details of a plan for the Belgian general staff to transport, feed and find quarters for their men in Belgium and provides for Belgian interpreters.

"The landing places designated are Dunkirk, Calais and Boulogne.

"Another confidential communication declares that the British government, after the destruction of the German navy, would send supplies and provisions by way of Antwerp. There is also the suggestion from the English military attaché that a Belgian system of espionage be organized in the Prussian Rhine land.

"A second document is a map showing the strategic positions of the French army and demonstrating the existence of a Franco-Belgian agreement. A third is a report from Baron Greindl, Belgian minister at Berlin, to the Belgian foreign office, dated December 23, 1911."

When the account of these documents was received by wireless at Washington, the German ambassador there pointed out the significance of the documents in these comments:

"This telegram proves the German contention that the allies did not intend to respect Belgian neutrality. It even proves more, namely, that Belgian neutrality practically did not exist, and that the Belgian government was conspiring with the allies against Germany.

"Notwithstanding the denials coming from French sources, it is a fact that French prisoners were taken at Liège and at Namur, who acknowledged that they had been in those fortresses before the German troops entered Belgium.

"On the French side it has been asserted that the German chancellor in Parliament had acknowledged that Germany was doing wrong in violating Belgian neutrality. It must not be overlooked, however, that the chancellor further said:

"'We know that the allies do not intend to respect Belgian neutrality, and Germany, in the position she is in, attacked from three sides, cannot wait, while the allies can wait.'

"At that time the Belgian archives were not at the disposal of the German government. If the chancellor had known at the time he made his speech that Belgium was not neutral he would certainly have spoken of the alleged Belgian neutrality in a different way.

"Germany has violated the frontiers of no really neutral country, whilst the allies are on record for disregarding all obligations toward China."

Further developments indicate that England has tried to enlist other small countries, Holland, Denmark and Norway, in the same cause of joining the Triple Entente on the basis of secret alliances, so as to encircle Germany with enemies on every corner and make her doom sure.

The question has often been asked whether England would have declared war on France, if later on during her war with Germany France had violated Belgian neutrality and had crossed Belgium to attack Germany in her Rhenish province, and all who have proposed it, among them the representative labor leader of England, have denied it. But Sir Edward Grey comes out and affirms that he would actually have done so. We must confess that we do not believe it, and add that after having concluded the Triple Entente such an act would have been extremely ignoble. The Triple Entente was made to strengthen the back of France in case of war with Germany, and if France in her dire emergency, as would probably have come about, had tried to save herself by a bold advance through Belgium, would England have forgotten her former treaty and have helped Germany to crush France, England's ally? No, Sir Edward, you are not quite so mean as you now represent yourself in order to excuse a foolish move of yours and prop up a statement that is poorly argued. You ought to have declared war because England had entered into the Triple Entente. That would have been the true reason and you would have remained honest. Your actual declaration only proves that your statements are not reliable, that you care for effect and not for truth.

I will not discuss here the much disputed accusation of either the Belgian or the German atrocities. I deem it firmly established that the Belgians acted as snipers and *francs tireurs* and also that the Germans dealt out punishment according to the rules of war.

The English pretend to stand on a higher plane of civilization; they declared war for a moral reason. How much the English sense of morality has progressed in the last century may be seen from a statement which we quote from the *Independent* of Monday, October 12, 1914, p. 58:

"August 24, 1814. The British burn the capitol and the White House at Washington.

"August 27, 1914. The British denounce the burning of Louvain as an act of vandalism.

"Verily the world do move."

It becomes more and more conclusive that England has been the main motive spirit that has brought the hostile forces together

and has directed them against Germany. At the same time the press has been gained to spread a prejudice against Germany and German militarism, as if Germany were the enemy of freedom and humanitarian ideals.

It is so easy to denounce militarism and misrepresent it in caricatures, and this has been done with premeditated circumsppection. It is easy to prejudice those who do not know that militarism is simply a method of self-defense—a defense which is not the resistance of the savage, but a systematized and methodically adjusted defense of the country in which every man has to take the gun in hand and join the army to keep the enemy from his home. That is all that militarism is. The wrong militarism which shows itself sometimes in excesses or in a display of bravado naturally will occur, but it is certainly least noticeable in Germany, where it has been severely criticized by the *Reichstag* in the discussion of the Zabern affair. The German people will deal with it themselves, and there is no need to make it the excuse for a war.

At the beginning of the war it seemed as if Germany would not be able to stand the overwhelming onslaught of her powerful foes. But against all the expectations of her enemies Germany has developed a vigor far more tremendous than seemed possible. The people rose in all their might in a holy zeal of patriotism, and German intelligence has proved that its inventive genius is not limited to specialties in science and in art, but can be applied also to warfare.

A wave of grand enthusiasm is sweeping over Germany. I have at hand many evidences in letters which express a truly noble patriotism, not jingoism nor the narrow sentiment of a wrong militarism nor a drunken desire for fame or aggrandizement, but a determination to defend the German home against the Russ and the Gaul and to punish the Briton for having instigated the war. One writes: "We have been sleeping and were not aware that our very existence was endangered. We must defend our lives, our homes, the best and dearest we have with sword in hand, and it is grand to see the willingness of all, of high and humble, to sacrifice everything for our country, our goods, our very lives, our all. Oh! it is grand to see that our people have awakened from their slumber, all selfishness is sunk in zeal for the fatherland and it is worth living now to take part in this great upheaval. What a pity that you are not here to witness the scenes in which the spirit of our people manifests its greatness! Such a people can not be conquered! Our enemies will have to slay every man in the country

to beat us, yea and the women too. It is no empty phrase when we say 'God with us.' The Kaiser has become dear to us, not because he wears a crown, but because he leads us in the right way and represents the people properly. Even the Social Democrats, who are very numerous in Germany, the enemies of monarchical institutions, have forgotten their antipathy, because the Kaiser stands for Germany. There may be no merit in this attitude of the German people, as it is simply a matter of necessity, for our grandmothers still remembered the *Franzosenzeit* (the age of the Napoleonic wars) with its horrors, and we know what a victory of France and Russia would mean. We must fight, we must conquer, and we will conquer or die to the last man."

Another letter speaks in similar terms. It comes from a scholar of high repute. He says, "My son Ernst has been called to the colors and I am proud that the fatherland needs him. He may fall in battle and, since he is my only son, it will break my life, mine as well as his mother's, but I shall not regret the sacrifice because I know it is necessary. He is anxious to serve his country in the hour of danger, and far be it from me to wish to keep him away." A short time afterward I received the sad news that Ernst had fallen in the battle of the Vosges, and the poor parents are mourning his death the more as the young man had attained the highest degree of a scientific university education, and his death is not merely a loss to his parents who were rightly proud of him, but a loss to mankind, for there is no doubt that he would have done valuable work in scientific thought and invention.

A third letter contains the sentence: "It is a blessing to live now. We know that there is something higher than we ourselves for which it is worth while to die." Still another friend of mine writes about the disappointment of his two sons who have both been rejected from the army on account of slight bodily defects. One has a crippled toe which disables him for prolonged marches and the other suffers from some other slight ailment. Both young men have offered their services again, and the second one has been told in case they could use him they would let him know, but at present there was no chance to make use of his services because they were overcrowded with applications.

Through all communications from Germany there runs the same note of confidence that, whatever difficulties are still to be overcome and whatever sacrifices it may cost, all Germans are animated by the same spirit; they would rather die to the last man

than yield. They feel the justice of their cause and are mainly bitter against the English as the instigators of the war.

The institution of universal service in the army was not commonly endorsed in Germany before, but now there is no voice raised against it. On the contrary the people declare unanimously: "If we did not have universal military service where would we be now? Our enemies would fall upon us and make us suffer as they have done before; but now that we have an efficient army they find us well prepared to hold our own even though we are greatly outnumbered by our aggressors."

In reading all these communications, I have the feeling that Germany is like Samson at the moment when he heard the announcement, "The Philistines are upon thee," and the spirit of the Lord descended upon him filling him with superhuman strength. The Germans did not want the war under these most unfavorable conditions. Germany stood for peace; German militarism exists only for self-defense, and self-defense has never been more difficult than now when the Triple Entente has closed its grip and is acting in premeditated cooperation.

Germany's love of peace is unquestionable and shows itself in the hesitation of the Kaiser to mobilize the army and to declare war, as becomes evident in his correspondence with the Czar as well as with King George. If he had been anxious to gain laurels in battle or to enlarge the boundaries of the fatherland he would have selected a more favorable opportunity when he could attack his enemies singly.

The *Dagbladet* of Christiania has published in its issue of September 13 an essay of Hanris Aal who stands up for Germany and insists on the honesty and peaceful spirit of the Kaiser. He betrays the little-known secret, for which he claims to have good evidence, that during the Boer war the Czar proposed to the Kaiser to attack Great Britain and reduce her to a second-class power. While the Kaiser sympathized with the Boers he did not take advantage of England's helpless state. The same author points out that if German militarism had ever meant hostility to puissant neighbors the Kaiser would certainly have fallen upon Russia when the victorious Japanese took Port Arthur and the Muscovite throne was tottering because of the revolutionary movement which followed the defeat. Both England and Russia have proved ungrateful, and Professor Aal insists that Germany is now acting in pure self-defense, and her cause is just.

It is strange that not all outsiders understand the situation,

and that Germany, the victim of the Triple Entente, is blamed for what is commonly called militarism, while the Kaiser who has always, and even in the present instance, proved his love of peace, is often denounced as being guilty of the war that has villainously been forced upon him.

Considering the fact that the military efficiency of Germany has been grossly misrepresented as brutality incarnate in the English-speaking world, especially in the United States and the British colonies, under the name of militarism, it seems that this journalistic activity is part of the scheme to isolate Germany and create a prejudice against her among the neutral nations. The scheme works with those who do not know Germany except through the English misrepresentations and caricatures; it will not work, however, with those who know Germany, Germany's social and military conditions, and Germany's recent history.

The English people themselves are becoming aware that the war was a great blunder. The Hon. Bertrand Russell, a savant of Cambridge University and a man of no mean judgment, speaking of the war in *The Nation* (London, Aug. 15, 1914) expresses his opinion thus:

"And all this madness, all this rage, all this flaming death of our civilization and our hopes, has been brought about because a set of official gentlemen, living luxurious lives, mostly stupid, and all without imagination or heart, have chosen that it should occur rather than that any one of them should suffer some infinitesimal rebuff to his country's pride."

Mr. Russell does not consider Germany free from blame, but he recognizes the viciousness of the anti-German propaganda that has been carried on in England. He says:

"For the past ten years, under the fostering care of the government and a portion of the press, a hatred of Germany has been cultivated and a fear of the German navy. I do not suggest that Germany has been guiltless; I do not deny that the crimes of Germany have been greater than our own. But I do say that whatever defensive measures were necessary should have been taken in a spirit of calm foresight, not in a wholly needless turmoil of panic and suspicion. It is this deliberately created panic and suspicion that produced the public opinion by which our participation in the war has been rendered possible."

Similar protests come from men of independent manhood and comprehensive insight, from the Right Honorable John Burns and other labor leaders. Mr. John Burns resigned his official position

with the famous John Morley and a third member of the cabinet because they did not want to share the responsibility for the crime of this war.

The political leaders of England, these men of the leisure class, ignorant of German strength, German vigor, German patriotism, German intelligence, and blind in their belief in English superiority as well as in their own omnipotence, overlook the fact that Great Britain can prosper only in peace, and that war can never strengthen their empire nor ever promote its prosperity. They thought it would be so easy to conquer Germany by having it attacked at the same time by Russia and by France while the British navy would ruin Germany's extended trade and cut off all resources that had to be procured over sea. They thought it was so easy to crush the Teuton armies and to ruin the industrial bloom of the Teuton dreamers. They forgot that Great Britain is a colossus on clay feet.

The English are not loved in the countries under their sway. How easily may the Boers renew their recent war, for they have by no means forgotten their old grudge. And is India really faithful to her English rulers? It would be difficult to find a Hindu who is thrilled with gratitude toward his British masters. If a rebellion breaks out in India it will be a terrible one, for the reduction of these teeming millions to patient obedience will be difficult.

But England has more weak points. Turkey may be drawn into the war at any moment and if that should come about, how will the English protect Egypt and the Suez Canal? Even Gibraltar is no longer safe since the new Krupp guns can destroy any fort or fortification, if they have only a place where their batteries can be built. So long as Spain remains neutral the most formidable British stronghold is sufficiently safe, but what would be Gibraltar's use if the Suez Canal were lost?

All these dangers lie still at a distance, but it was a sign of extreme shortsightedness on the part of the British government to risk England's position and her dominion over the world for the sake of ruining a rival nation whose navy is not as yet half as strong as England's, and of crushing a competitor whose trade is increasing from year to year but is still very far behind English commerce. Would it not have been wiser to keep step with German progress, to build better schools, to reform social conditions, and to learn from the Germans by imitating their progressiveness rather than by opening a war on them?

Well, we will not judge. Life is a struggle, and if the English

think that they must crush Germany before she becomes too powerful, they have a right to try to keep the upper hand according to their own notions. In former times the English fell upon Holland and took the rich Cape Colony without any provocation simply on account of their desire to own that country themselves. Why should they not succeed now in depriving Germany of her trade, her colonies and her power? If England succeeds, the war will be justified, but will England succeed? Sir Edward Grey may have made a miscalculation, and it seems to me that he actually displayed a lack of judgment that will brand him in the same way as other statesmen who deemed themselves so clever, so capable in intriguing and yet failed lamentably in the end.

Poor Belgium! Belgium was induced to sacrifice herself for England and France, but they left her in the lurch. She was encouraged to hold out and carry on the war to the bitter end. England and France gained time thereby to prepare for further resistance and to recruit more troops, but poor Belgium waited in vain for relief and hoped for help which did not come. Belgium had relied on English promises and had believed that Germany would break down under the attacks of many enemies. Her hope, her belief, her expectations remained unfulfilled. But who is to blame? Certainly not the Germans. Belgium did not hesitate to join with England, France and Russia to destroy them. The blame rests with the Belgian government and with her allies who failed to come to the rescue as they had promised.

The war has been forced upon Germany and was undertaken to cripple her power, her army and her navy—briefly called her militarism. If Germany's enemies are the losers in the fight, it is not the fault of Germany; the Germans did not want the war. The blame must be placed at the door of the allies.

Poor Belgium, thou hast been misled! Thou didst trust England and join the allies. Now thou reapest what thou hast sown, the doom of defeat.

But I must add, poor England! Her statesmen have taught her to hate the Germans and to begin a war against militarism, but now she is facing a most tremendous danger; she is facing the prospect of losing her primogeniture among the nations. She has been mistress of the seas and ruler of rich countries, of whole continents. Will she be able to keep in her hands the scepter which she has held as an iron rod over India and Africa?

A BRITON'S VIEW ON GERMANY.

[Commenting on the rumors in England that English residents in Germany have been suffering persecution, Mr. Louis Hamilton, a member of the English department of the Oriental Seminary of the University of Berlin, publishes this communication in the *Vossische Zeitung* on behalf of his fellow countrymen in Berlin.]

AS an Englishman who has been living in Berlin since 1902, I would like to take this opportunity, in the hope that now at last the truth may reach England, to declare that not a hair of the heads of us Englishmen here in Berlin has been touched; but on the contrary we have been treated with the greatest civility and dignity on the part of the authorities. All that has been required of us is that every Englishman who resides here must report every third day in his own precinct—truly no severe task. There are Englishmen, to be sure, who prefer to go home; but nearly all those whom I know—and since I have been a member of the British Committee here in Berlin for years I know very many—prefer to remain here because they know that they are living in a truly civilized country.

Every Briton who knows Germany, her love of peace and her desire for justice, is indignant at England's quixotic policy. If the gentlemen in control of the British government had had the good fortune, as we have had, to live in this country for years, to learn to appreciate and love Germany in times of peace, if they had the good fortune to see how youngsters of fifteen and sixteen stand under the bridges carrying heavy arms for hours at a time in order to contribute their share to the defense of their country, how white-haired old men don their uniforms to defend their country to the end—then they would know that it is the voice of a justified indignation which is speaking against an infamous invasion. That a Germanic nation—for that is what we English are—should fight with the French, Slavs, and Mongols against their blood relations, no Briton who has lived here in peace and quiet could possibly

dream. I can only repeat the words of an English acquaintance here in Berlin who said to me: "This is not the same England that we knew when we were young." It is to be hoped that they will soon know the truth in England about how Germany is treating her "enemies." I write the word in quotation marks for no Englishman living in Germany is an enemy of Germany, but rather a grateful fellow citizen.

HEAVEN AND THE WAR.

BY PHILIP E. B. JOURDAIN.

GOD was worried. The Kaiser assumed that He did as he wanted; the Germans—or at least the German women—prayed to God for victory, and so did the French priests and the Russians and the Belgians and some of the English and Austrians and King Nicholas of Montenegro. Obviously God could not please all; and some of those who used to be His chosen people were fighting on one side and some on the other.

So at last God asked Satan's advice. "Don't take any notice of prayers or newspapers for a month at least," said Satan. "Go away and have a thorough rest. I will look after the souls till you come back."

And God took Satan's advice. And so people connected with the war (and particularly the enemy) lied and got drunk and committed the most disgusting atrocities and Hun-like things—just as they did when God was at home.

CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND, October, 1914.

THE TRAGEDY OF FANATICISM.

BY CALVIN THOMAS.

BY the tragedy of fanaticism I mean a stage-play in which a well-meaning hero makes havoc of his life because of his all too strenuous devotion to a conviction or a rule of conduct which he regards as supremely important. Observe that I lay some stress on the intellectual and altruistic character of the moving impulse. If the moving impulse is a selfish passion such as love, jealousy, vindictiveness, or lust of power, there is no tragedy of fanaticism. Shakespeare's Othello, Lear, Macbeth, Romeo, Richard the Third, all make havoc of their lives under the push of a ruling passion, but none of them is a fanatic. Brutus may seem to approach the type, but Brutus is essentially a sober man. He joins in murderous conspiracy and goes down at Philippi, but there is nothing fiercely intemperate, nothing madly quixotic in his conduct. One feels that he *might* have been successful. Such a man is hardly to be classed with the fanatics.

Of course no very sharp and rigid distinction can be made between that part of the tragic impulse which is intellectual and that part which is emotional or temperamental. The two blend more or less. We have found out that the human mind does not consist of air-tight compartments one of which can be labeled "volition," another "feeling," another "thought" etc. To change the figure, these various psychic operations grow from a common stem, and their branches are apt to intertwine. A personal smart may easily develop into a conviction that the world is going wrong; just as personal comfort makes for an optimistic let-things-alone philosophy. Being very much in love often fortifies a young man's assurance that the soul is immortal. A gnawing in the stomach is responsible for many a revolutionist. And so forth. Let it be duly recognized at the outset that we are going to deal with somewhat loose distinctions such as belong to the language of literature or of common life rather than to the language of very exact science.

In a contribution to *The Monist* (July 1914), entitled "Tragedy and the Enjoyment of It," I tried to account genetically for the modern associations of the word "tragedy," and to explain, among other things, how it came about that for Shakespeare and his contemporaries tragedy consisted mainly in the mimic representation of murder and its consequences. What is here pertinent to note is that in the entire tragic drama of the Renaissance the moving impulse is usually selfish or individualistic. The hero is actuated by one of the elemental instincts—love, jealousy, lust of power, or the like—and does not think very much about the larger or remoter consequences of his conduct. We find, to be sure, tragedies of patriotism and tragedies of martyrdom, in which the hero may seem to act or to endure in a spirit of pure devotion to a large idea. But patriotism is itself almost an elemental instinct—the survival in civilized man of the necessary tribal instinct of the primitive savage—while passive endurance of any kind is hardly drama at all. Furthermore, the martyr always regards his sufferings as the price he must pay for celestial joys. His conduct is a kind of sublimated selfishness looking to issues that are beyond the grave.

But when we come to the eighteenth century there is something new. Much as that century has been derided by romanticists of one kind or another, I am of those who regard it as on the whole the most important epoch in human annals. Prior to that time the leaders of thought had been able, in general, to think of nothing better for mankind than a return to something that had been. Their dream was always a *going back*—to Hebraism, to Hellenism, to primitive Christianity. The Renaissance itself, in its origin at least, was a *re-birth*—the recovery of a forgotten past. But the time had now come when the men of light and leading laid hold on the idea of progress and began to locate their Golden Age in the future. The idea was of course immensely fortified by Darwin and his successors, and it was not until late in the nineteenth century that its tremendous implications were fully and generally realized. But essentially the idea of evolution was a legacy of the eighteenth century. It was then that the cleavage began between those who look backward and inward, trusting to a past authority, and those who look forward and outward, trusting to the increase of knowledge. Under the new light it was no longer sufficient to have things as good as they had been before. Something far better was to be attained.

Thus progress became the supreme, the all-embracing, criterion. I would not have this word "progress" understood in any restricted

sense, whether intellectual, economic, religious, or esthetic. It was precisely one of the characteristics of eighteenth-century thinking that this new dream of man's perfectibility—of a glorious height to be reached in the long future by the symmetrical development of human nature—was somewhat vague and chimerical. Perhaps the dream was a little *too* iridescent. That does not matter, since it has proved so immensely potent. Let us think of it in a very large way as a dream of making the world a better place for better men and women to come.

But now from this new point of view the most interesting question in the ethical sphere was that of the individual's relation to the social order. Does my conduct make for the general good or not? Is the social order itself good or bad? If any of it is bad, what is to be done about it? Shall I conform and temporize, or shall I fight? Shall I follow my instincts and passions? Shall I follow tradition? Shall I pin my faith to some theory, as for example a theory of the state of nature? Shall I attack the standards of my immediate environment—for instance neighborhood morality or church tradition—in the interest of liberty and enlightenment for mankind at large? If I do, may I involve others in the painful consequences of my quarrel with society?

Such were some of the questions forced to the front by the evolutionary idea—problems born of man's short-sightedness. For if we only *knew* whether a given line of conduct would or would not in the long run make for the good of mankind, we should have an infallible rule of action; and he who should set himself in opposition to it would be simply a criminal whose downfall, in real life or on the stage, would impress us like the killing of an escaped tiger or the death of a dangerous malefactor. *But we do not know.* What we do know is that the results of a man's action are often sadly out of tune with his intentions. The bad man accomplishes good, the Devil turns out to have been all the while a servant of the Lord. And, alas, the noblest effort may bear a crop of evil in its train. A humble carpenter's son in Judea devotes three years of his life to going about among the poor, healing their diseases, comforting them in their troubles, admonishing them to resist not evil, and teaching them precious spiritual truth. And then, after a lapse of sixteen centuries, Germany is drenched with blood for thirty years, cities and villages are burnt, women and children are murdered by wholesale—and all under the supposed banner of that gentle mystic of Nazareth. Is there any thought more tragically solemn for the modern man than the frequent contrast between

the seed that is sown and the harvest that is garnered? How infinitely pregnant are the lines of Goethe in his magnificent poem "Ilmenau":

"Wer kennt sich selbst? Wer weiss, was er vermag?
 Hat nie der Mutige Verwegnes unternommen?
 Und was du tust, weiss erst der andre Tag,
 War es zum Schaden oder Frommen."

Thus the way was prepared for a variety of tragedy in which the tragic pathos should not depend entirely on the old idea of poetic justice—that is, the meting out of death to him who had caused death—but in part at least on the disparity between well-meant effort and calamitous results. The drama, however, can not represent the long lapse of time necessary in real life for the complete working out of consequences. If we are to be truly impressed in the theater with the disparity between effort and achievement, then fate must, so to speak, get in its work at once, and its havoc be made visible on the spot.

The general basis of a tragedy of fanaticism would be, then, something like this: A man of noble nature who means well by his fellow-men, but is endowed with an impetuous temper, strong convictions, and an intense narrow vision capable of seeing only in a straight line ahead, makes havoc of life for himself and others and leaves us with a heightened feeling for the mysterious tangle of human destiny which makes it possible for such a man to go thus fatally wrong. Of course fanaticism may enter into a play in other ways without constituting what I call a tragedy of fanaticism. It may be represented, for example, as an object of detestation. Such is the case with Voltaire's play to which he gave the title of "Fanaticism, or Mahomet the Prophet." His hero is a fanatic, but at the same time a conscious impostor, engaged in deceiving the world.

"Il faut m'aider à tromper l'univers,"

says Mahomet; and again,

"Ou véritable ou faux, mon culte est nécessaire."

The gist of Voltaire's plot is this: On his return to Mecca Mahomet has among his devoted adherents a pair of lovers, Séide and Palmire, who are in reality brother and sister, having been stolen from their father Zopire in infancy and brought up near the prophet in ignorance of their relationship. Mahomet is in love with the girl, and he also wishes to get rid of Zopire, the old sheik

of Mecca, who is an obstacle in his path. So he commands Séide to kill the old man, declaring that such is the will of heaven. Séide does the murder reluctantly and finds out too late that he has slain his own father. When the truth is disclosed Palmire commits suicide. Mahomet is left triumphant in Mecca, no nemesis overtaking him except his disappointment at not getting the girl. Such a play hardly does the work of tragedy at all, because its hero is both a monster and a fraud. He arouses no sympathy whatever—only a certain pity for his dupes and their victim.

Again, there are plays in which fanaticism, instead of being the mainspring of the action, is the sinister power against which the hero dashes himself to death. Such, for example, is Gutzkow's "Uriel Acosta." A high-minded Jewish free-thinker of Amsterdam in the time of Spinoza, Acosta incurs the bitter hatred of the bigoted Jews of his *entourage*. They intrigue against him. Compelled to choose between his liberalism and the woman that he loves, he first recants his heterodoxy in the synagogue; then, when he hears that the young woman has been given to another man after all, he recants his recantation, hurls defiance at the bigots and dies by his own hand. This I should call a tragedy, not of fanaticism, but of liberalism.

The real tragedy of fanaticism, as I have tried to disengage it, begins with Schiller's "Robbers." The bandit chief Karl Moor was conceived by Schiller as a "sublime criminal," his sublimity consisting in his large-heartedness and his emotional susceptibility. Moor is essentially a friend of man, who runs amuck at society for its own good. He really believes, for a while at least, that he is doing a noble work. It is, to be sure, a private wrong—his being cast off by his father—which moves him to become a captain of outlaws; but the private wrong is after all only the spark which fires the combustible material that has long been gathering in his mind in the shape of a passionate conviction that society has all gone wrong in pusillanimity, meanness and injustice. So he undertakes to right things with gun and sword and torch; to punish the bad, reward the good, correct the inequalities of fortune and do justice between man and man. Such a wild scheme of social betterment no doubt seems rather boyish, but there is no need to dwell on that familiar criticism. With all its extravagance, there is something wonderfully vital about Schiller's first play, so that Tolstoy was justified in reckoning it among the really significant modern dramas. What Karl Moor undertakes to do is very like what the Terrorists of France essayed a few years later in the

streets of Paris. It is the revolutionary idea gone mad, and we have learned that matters are not really to be mended in that way—dynamiters and militant suffragettes to the contrary notwithstanding.

But note in the "Robbers" a new variety of tragic pathos. In the end the robber chief comes to see that he has botched his work all along. At the outset he was the credulous victim of a miserable intrigue. He had no case against society, but only a case against his villainous brother. He has scattered death and misery and terror in his path, and no good has come of his efforts; the righteous gods whom he thought to aid have rejected his assistance. So he gives himself up to justice and thereby, as Schiller phrases it, "returns to the track of the law." But this end does not impress us like that of an ordinary malefactor, or like that of a Macbeth corrupted by the lust of power. We get the idea of a good man gone terribly wrong through short-sightedness and miscalculation,—the idea, in short, of a sublime madman.

If this were a treatise, instead of a short article, I should pass in review a number of other plays involving a more or less fanatical assault on the social order. It would be interesting to see how the idea has been worked out at different epochs by playwrights of differing temper and nationality. We should hardly find it a favorite type of tragedy, but we *should* find that, ever since the Revolution, the conflict of the individual with the social order bulks large in the history of the drama. It is, however, the theme of more comedies and tragi-comedies than of tragedies. Why is this? Partly, I presume, because the fanatic is not intrinsically a pleasant type to work with. It is hard to excite sympathy for him. Ever since the days of Don Quixote the too vehement champion of an idea, even if we are willing to admit the idea as good in the abstract, is more apt to impress us with his folly than with the beauty of his idealism. And just in proportion as his fanaticism has an intellectual basis and grows out of a stern conviction that he is right against the world and that the eternal powers are on his side, are we the more prone to withhold our sympathy. This is perhaps because the modern man has discovered that life is too complex to be reduced to a formula. We distrust the man of one idea. We live by ideals; but we demand that the ideal shall creep before it walks, and shall walk before it rides over us rough-shod. In art as in life we tolerate the slave of an emotion more readily than the slave of a formula.

All this means that the fanatic is not readily available for

tragedy, and that to make him palatable requires a dramatist of peculiar endowment. Young Schiller had this endowment in abundant measure. His *Fiesco* is a chip from the same block as *Karl Moor*, and his *Posa* is the prince of fanatics—the very *ut* power of sublime altruism divorced from common sense. Goethe, on the other hand, had no affinity for the type under consideration. In general, tragedy was not his affair, and when he did essay it his favorite type of hero was the sentimental weakling who is done to death not by any bold dream of human betterment, but by his own lack of will and stamina.

In the work of the Romantic School—I speak now more particularly of Germany, where I am most at home—the fanatic plays no rôle of any importance. Reading “*Almansor*” one surmises that Heine might have done something with him, but Heine early quit the drama, and his two plays are nothing but milestones in the career of a lyric poet. For Kleist and Grillparzer the type seems to have had no interest. In the more recent German drama the fanatic shows his head here and there, but his great modern exponent is Henrik Ibsen.

There was something in Ibsen's blood which disposed him to the close study and delineation of the fanatic temper. Like Schiller he took a great criminal for his first hero, idealizing Catiline as a would-be saviour of Roman society. In his later plays the ever recurring theme is some strenuous ideal demand in conflict with the established forms of life. He has given us a considerable number of characters who are more or less infected with the bacillus of fanaticism. In the later plays the idea works out variously, always with results calamitous if not technically tragic. But it is in the earlier “*Brand*” that we have Ibsen's greatest achievement in the line under consideration. Let us glance at “*Brand*” by way of conclusion.

An aspiring priest of many amiable qualities has convinced himself that society's corroding disease is half-heartedness, the spirit of compromise, being a little of this and a little of that, but nothing long and in earnest. He has made up his mind that for his single self he will stand fast and hew straight to the line of duty all the time. He carries out this program of life. Winning the gentle Agnes away from her artist lover Einar, he marries her and makes her the willing partner of his narrow ascetic life. He refuses to shrive his old mother and to comfort her on her death-bed because she resists his ideal demand of “all or nothing.” His child succumbs to the cold and hardship of the wretched house in which

he insists on living for the pursuit of his calling. His beloved wife pines away and dies. He is left alone, but still he persists. His strenuous demands bring him into conflict with his parish. The people stone him. He retreats up the mountain-side in half-insane bewilderment, and there is overwhelmed by an avalanche, while a mysterious voice proclaims above the desolation that God is a God of love.

I had often read "Brand" and admired it as literature before it fell to my lot to see it on the stage in the National Theater at Christiania. Not until then were its marvelous dramatic power and its terrible tragic pathos fully borne in upon me. The conclusion is perhaps a little cryptic. Ibsen's exact meaning is debatable and has been much debated. That, however, is of little moment, for what great tragedy is there of which the same would not be more or less true? Enough that we are left with a heightened feeling for the mystery of life and a vivid sense of the possible disparity between well-meant endeavor and its earthly consequences. The play seems to say that there is an over-ruling, ineluctable and inscrutable power manifesting itself in the complex order of our lives; that to this order belong not only our convictions and rules of conduct, but also our instincts, passions, affections, and even what we call the weakness and vulgarity of human nature; and that, when a shortsighted man, conceiving himself as the infallible organ and agent of that power, undertakes to carry out an inflexible rule of conduct, he may be expected to do evil instead of good and himself to end in disaster. This I judge to be the most important new phase of the old Aristotelian *katharsis*, just as I find that the dramatic possibilities of the type we have been considering are more effectively realized in "Brand" than in any other recent play with which I am acquainted. It is our greatest recent tragedy of fanaticism.

BACON'S "CHRISTIANITY OLD AND NEW."¹

BY WILLIAM BENJAMIN SMITH.

PROFESSOR BACON'S recent book, "Christianity Old and New," is *advertised* as a "sufficient answer" to recent criticism. Such representation Professor Bacon could not himself authorize, for the book attempts no answer nor even reply at any point. It consists of three lectures given at Berkeley, Cal., on the E. T. Earl foundation, only slightly changed in wording and occasionally expanded, but supplemented by a new chapter on "Characterization of Jesus," much the most significant fourth of the book.

Chapter I treats of "The Evolution of Religion and Historic Types of Christianity" and consists of philosophic observations upon the vibration of religion between the two poles of egoism and altruism, the antitheses of personal salvation and social reformation, as shown in the alternate sway of national religion and nature-religion. Christianity is regarded Hegel-wise as the synthesis of the two, deriving from the Jew its national social ethical features, from the Greek its nature-mythical individualistic or personal mystical character,—in all which there is much just thought and vivid expression, and one may heartily thank the lecturer for these 42 pages. At one point a modification might enter: "The singling out of Christianity for persecution among the many oriental religions of personal redemption" is taken "as proof that the threat which it offered to the social ideal of the empire was not merely negative like theirs, but positive and aggressive." But it should be added that this aggression, so justly recognized, was distinctly, and one may say exclusively, directed against polytheism

¹ Under the title "Latest Lights and Shadows on the Jesus Question" in *The Monist* of October, Dr. Smith reviews a number of recent authors who have dealt critically with this subject during the current year: Harnack, Corsen, Burkitt, Barnes. The present review of Prof. Benjamin W. Bacon's work follows the same line of criticism.—ED.

and its immediate following. It is a cardinal conception of *Ecce Deus* that Protochristianity was just such a militant monotheism, at first more or less esoteric, afterwards exoteric. The lecture closes with the contrast of "President Eliot and Doctor Anderson" as representing "typically extreme views."

The second lecture takes up the "Nineteenth Century Liberalism" of the illustrious Harvard president and strives hard to treat it with "respect." Certainly the very highest "kind of respect" is due to the Doctor, if not the doctrine. This latter was quite the rage in Europe in the nineteenth century; being now somewhat *passée*, its voice a bit broken, it is thought about fit for the American stage in the twentieth century. One is reminded of a disturbance on a fixed star, the news of which reaches us in the next generation. Professor Bacon begins very generously, with extravagant concessions: "It is true that recent research has done much to dispel the nimbus from the central figure of the Gospels. Criticism has largely restored the portrait of the historic Jesus," with several other statements to the same effect, none of which he attempts to ground, none of which indeed can be grounded. The parallel to the "historical Jesus" with "Socrates, or Mohammed, or Julius Cæsar," is a parallelism of perpendiculars. On this point we need not dwell, for the assertions of the book are entirely unsupported, and what is more significant, they are practically withdrawn or transfigured in the concluding chapter.

One thing, however, must be noted: "The historical outline of Jesus's teaching, character, and career, down to the crucifixion is as little affected by the few anecdotes of miracle connected with the reports, as that of other ancient characters by the similar anecdotes related of them." It is but fair to say that this statement was made in 1911, and it is doubtful whether it expresses the author's attitude to-day. In any case, it is the polar opposite of correctness. Conybeare has strained every nerve to give it plausibility, both in his *Historical Christ* and in his translation of Philostratus, but it is false on its face and even preposterous. In an early review of Conybeare's book I shall show how utterly impossible is any comparison between Jesus and Apollonius. Bacon, referring to Gordon's *Religion and Miracle*, appeals to the apostles, especially to Paul, as alluding in "letters indubitably authentic to miraculous healings wrought 'by the power of the Spirit' through himself and others." Here there is much to remark. "Indubitably" means beyond doubt; what are the "letters" thus beyond doubt "authentic"? That all the letters are only very dubitably

genuine is proved by the fact that the genuineness of all has actually been doubted and denied by many critics of the highest eminence, to mention only Bauer, Loman, Pierson, Naber, Steck, Van Manen; and if the genuineness, much more the authenticity has been doubted. For my own part, though claiming no voice among critics, I am free to say and to defend the saying, that it is quite impossible to maintain the genuineness and at the same time the integrity of any of the great Pauline scriptures; if there be in them genuine Pauline material, it has certainly been "overworked" into a form remote enough from the original.

But even as they stand, do these letters make any such claims as are made for them? They do not. Perhaps the strongest statement is in the appendix to Romans (xv. 18f): "For I will not dare to speak of any things save those which Christ wrought through me, unto obedience of Gentiles, by word and deed, in power of signs and wonders, in power of Spirit of God, so that from Jerusalem and round about even unto Illyricum I have fulfilled the Gospel of Christ." The passage is un-Pauline, the text uncertain, but in any case it is only a rhetorical boast of the triumphs of the mission to the heathen; nothing is said about "miraculous healings." The author of 1 Cor. xiv. 18 boasts of speaking "with tongues more than ye all"; but no Gospel miracle is hinted. "Gifts of healing" are mentioned among other "gifts of the Spirit" (1 Cor. xii. 9, 28, 30), but there is no evidence or indication of miracle. In fact, the Epistles are notably devoid of miraculous pretensions.

But Bacon appeals to Acts, particularly the "We-sections," for "healings, exorcisms, visions, supernatural deliverances, and even a supposed resuscitation from death. In all of these both Paul and the diarist were personally participant." The reader will note the plurals. Let us examine closely. The first "We-section" extends from xvi. 10 to xvi. 17; there is no evidence of the "diary" after verse 17, nor is there anything miraculous in verses 10-17. The next appearance of the *We* is at xx. 5 and it disappears at verse 16. Herein is found the account of the fall of Eutychus. The account has clearly been "overworked," as appears in careful reading and on comparing verse 9 with verses 11 and 12. How it read in the diary we can not say, but even as it stands it does not record any miracle.

Next the *We* appears at xxi. 1 and continues to verse 18. This section contains the symbolic warning of Agabus, but nothing marvelous. The next apparition of *We* is at xxvii. 1. With some interruptions indicating thorough redaction, this section, descrip-

tive of Paul's famous sea-trip, extends to xxviii. 16. At xxvii. 21-26 it contains an account of Paul's dream; there is nothing to prove this was in the original diary, but even if it were, there is nothing miraculous in the story. At xxviii. 3-6 we find the account of the viper. Again there is nothing to show that this was in the original diary, but even if it were the story is not yet of a miracle. The same may be said of the recovery of the father of Publius (verses 8, 9). To me the signs of redaction are manifest; but even though we supposed "healed him" and "were healed" to belong to the original account—which seems very unlikely, for the interrupted We-account is clearly resumed at verse 10, "which also for many days honored us"—still it does not appear that there were "miraculous healings." Such is the whole story of the "contemporaneous diary"; it cannot be shown that it contained any story of a miracle, though like all travelers' tales it may have held here and there some loose and exaggerated statements.

With respect to the book of Acts in general, it is noteworthy that when all possible extension is given to the notion of the supernatural, there appear about 46 instances in its chapters. These are mostly in the earlier chapters, some 32 in the first half, only 14 in the second half, where the historical character is far more in evidence (Moffatt). But the great majority of these are trivial occurrences, hardly worth noting at all.

We find at i. 9 the ascension (1); ii. 3ff., the Pentecostal miracle of tongues (2); ii. 43, mere vagueness, "many wonders and signs were done by the apostles (in Jerusalem; and great fear was upon all)" where the well attested but now rejected parenthesis reveals the redactor, to whom we owe perhaps the whole verse (3); iii. 2ff., the lame healed (4); iv. 31, the house shaken (5); v. 5, 10, Ananias and Sapphira (6, 7); v. 12, repetition of ii. 43 (8); v. 16, many healings (9); v. 19, prison doors opened (10); vi. 8, Stephen's works (11); vi. 15, his face illuminated (12); vii. 55, his vision of Jesus (13); viii. 6, 7, Philip's deeds (14); viii. 26, the angel's visit to Philip (15); viii. 39, Philip rapt (16); ix. 4, Saul's Damascus vision (17); ix. 10ff., Ananias's vision (18); ix. 18, Saul's recovery (19); ix. 34, Æneas cured (20); ix. 40, Dorcas raised (21); x. 3ff., Cornelius's vision (22); x. 11, Peter's vision (23); x. 46, tongues and the Spirit (24); xi. 28, prophecy of drought (25); xii. 7, 10, Peter delivered (26, 27); xii. 23, Herod smitten by angel (28); xiii. 2, Barnabas and Saul chosen by Spirit (29); xiii. 11, Elymas blinded (30); xiv. 10, cripple cured at Lystra (31); xv. 12, signs and wonders (32); xvi. 6, Holy Spirit forbidding

(33); xvi. 9, Paul's dream (34); xvi. 18, exorcism (35); xvi. 26f., earthquake at Philippi (36); xviii. 9, vision at night (37); xix. 6, tongues and Spirit (38); xix. 12, cures by touch (39); xx. 9ff., Eutychus (40); xxii. 17, trance (41); xxiii. 11 and xxvii. 23, dreams (42, 43); xviii. 3ff., viper shaken off (44); xxviii. 8, 9, healings (45, 46).

Does the list seem formidable? Well, of these the first is the Ascension, a miracle of Jesus; 3, 8, 11, 32 are merely recurrent rhetorical phrases, about "signs and wonders"; ten (13, 17, 18, 22, 23, 34, 37, 41, 42, 43) are visions, trances, dreams; three (2, 24, 38) refer to tongue-speaking and the Holy Ghost; four (15, 26, 27, 28) are deeds of angels; two (29, 33) are deeds of the Holy Ghost; two (9, 39) are vague statements of many healings, as by magic; two (5, 36) are of quakings; two (10, 16) are apparently of divine or angelic power; two (12, 19) seem to be mere figurative expressions; one (25) is a prediction; one (35) is apparently an exorcism; others are deeds five (4, 6, 7, 20, 21) of Peter; one (14) of Philip; six (29, 30, 40, 44, 45, 46) of Paul.

The foregoing *catalogue raisonné* shows clearly that we are moving in a realm of the marvelous; but the great majority of the marvels are literary rather than historical. They are clearly picturesque statements, perhaps in every case, of the redactor who is bent on representing the beginnings of the Christian mission as accompanied by all sorts of displays of divine energy and extraordinary phenomena. This is perfectly obvious where there are mere vague statements of wonders, and all sorts of healings,—the writer is merely throwing a nimbus of reverential awe around the figures and achievements of his heroes, and does not expect to be taken seriously. This habit has not completely forsaken us matter-of-fact moderns. In editing the works of a rather commonplace prelate of uncertain character (Patrick Adamson, Archbishop of St. Andrews), Wilson allows himself to say, "he was a miracle of nature, and rather seemed to be the immediate production of God Almighty than born of a woman." If this had been said of Apollonius by Philostratus, Conybeare would doubtless insist that it taught the single procession of "the sage" direct from deity. It is very noteworthy that in the "We-sections," which seem to bring us closer than any other early Christian document to the genuine experiences of that era, this haze of marvel is completely dissipated, and we see the missionaries and apostles acting just as other rational men.

There remain then about ten or twelve miracles ascribed to

apostles; one to Philip, which may be dismissed on account of its vagueness, four to Peter, and five or six to Paul. Of the Petrine miracles the most impressive seems the double one wrought on Ananias and Sapphira. Yet it appears doubtful whether any miraculous power at all is here ascribed to Peter: he does not smite Ananias dead, he merely denounces the deception, and the deceiver falls dead. Satisfactory explanation is not easy. As an "allegorical fable" (Pfleiderer) the account is not clear, though some such motive may very well be present. Possibly violent remorse may have had fatal effects on some person or persons after actual exposure by some official. In any case, it is far from certain that any miraculous power is here ascribed to Peter.

In the case of Æneas, Peter declares "*Jesus Christ healeth thee.*" The writer seems to be merely giving a variant of the Gospel story of the palsied cured (Mark ii. 3-12; Luke v. 17-26), whose content is purely symbolical. This form is quite as correct as the Gospel form; in both cases it is Jesus that heals,—in the second, through the missionary who preaches the Jesus. This later form is more specific, assigning names and place—illustrating a tendency almost irresistible in secondary versions and observed every day.

The like may be said of the other miracle in the same connection, the raising of Tabitha (Dorcas): It is a variant of the Gospel story (Mark v. 35-43; Luke viii. 49-56); *talitha* has become *tabitha*, *egeire* (arise) has become *anastêthi* (stand up). The deed of the Jesus in the Gospel is here ascribed to the apostle of the Jesus; the difference is purely literary and formal, the meaning is the same.

Any one must note that these two wonder-stories appear here in rather strange connection, which has been a puzzle to commentators. It would not be in place to enter into any discussion hereof at this point, but if we knew the original connection in which they appeared, it might be illuminating.

The other Petrine miracle is the healing of the lame man at the so-called Beautiful Gate of the Temple. This is by far the capital miracle of Acts, ranging through two chapters, 3 and 4. That it is purely symbolical seems to lie on the open hand. The poor cripple is proselyte humanity waiting for the alms of such as worship in the temple, i. e., of Jewry. But the important point is that it is the name of Jesus Christ the Nazarean that works the cure (iii. 6, 16; iv. 10, 12), Peter merely pronounces the name, to which and to which alone all efficacy is emphatically ascribed. In no proper sense then is this a miracle of Peter. The writer has in

mind solely the saving might of the cult of the Jesus, as preached by the early missionaries, and of faith therein.

Of the six "miracles" of Paul the first is the blinding of Elymas. That it is spiritual blindness that is really in the writer's mind seems evident, it is a conflict of teachings that is described. This matter has already been discussed in *Der vorchristliche Jesus* (pp. 16ff.).

The next is the healing of the cripple at Lystra, apparently a doublet of the like healing by Peter. That the cure is a symbol of the conversion of pagandom to "the monotheistic Jesus-cult" (Deissmann), is made as plain as can be in the speech of Paul (xiv. 15-18); there is indeed no invocation of the name, but the equivalent preaching of pure monotheism.

The next is the exorcism at Philippi (xvi. 18). Here it is the overthrow of the oracle-system of heathendom that is set forth symbolically as the cure of the *Pythia* (said as plain as whisper in the ear by the words "a maiden having a spirit [of] Pytho"); the cure is again wrought by the name of Jesus Christ, which Paul merely pronounces. All this seems too transparent for argument.

Next we come to Eutychus, where there has certainly been overworking and where nothing supernatural is really asserted or implied.

The remaining cases of the viper and the healings seem also to be similar elaborations of the redactor, and do not really affirm or involve any display of miraculous power.

Herewith the list is closed. It is seen that there is no justification for thinking of the primitive preachers as wonder-workers. The prodigies distinctly attributed to them were spiritual achievements stated in picturesque symbolism. Had we the earliest accounts of their activity, we should perhaps detect little if any traces of the supernatural. The later redactors looking back in admiration upon two or three bygone generations of heroes very naturally used high-wrought language and described them as under divine guidance and moving in a luminous atmosphere of Holy Spirit. But the fact that they have no real physical prodigies to narrate (for the symbolical character of the miracles described is obvious and unmistakable), this fact shows decisively that there were *no such prodigies even in the tradition* with which the redactors had to deal. For it is incredible that if there were any such tradition of miracles it should have been so neglected by the glorifying redactor. In particular, if *there was any real instance of exorcism on the part of the apostles, why has no record thereof been preserved?* No!

the representation that the historicist finds himself compelled to make of Protochristians as a band of half-crazed fanatics, of jugglers and fakers and paranoiacs, practically all of whom we would confine either in the madhouse or in the state prison, this representation is without warrant and not only dishonors Proto-christianity but also reduces the whole historic theory to absurdity.

But even this is not the whole story. It is a grave error to align the miraculous accounts in the Gospels with those in Acts, or rather to set the wonder-working of Jesus in line with that of Peter and Paul. The cases differ widely and at every point. The apostles do nothing in their own name or authority, they do all in the name and authority of Jesus. In fact, it is just as much Jesus that works the wonders in Acts as in the Gospels. In both it is the doctrine, the cult of the new deity, that routs the false gods and delivers humanity whether from disease or prison or death. Of course, there is no preaching without a preacher, and whether these triumphs be ascribed to Jesus working through the missionaries or working directly, is a question of rhetoric and of literary form. It is the difference between prose and poetry, between a history and a hymn. If any one can read the Gospels and Acts and still think that the career of Jesus is even at the widest remove parallel to that of Peter and Paul, we must say to him (with Goethe),

"The spirit-world is all unhidden,
Thy sense is shut, thy heart is dead."

However, we may forgive much in a work that expresses (on page 69) such noble and generous sentiments on the burning questions of sociology. Moreover, it seems needless to follow the author further in his criticism, so largely just, of this "Nineteenth Century Liberalism." More inviting is the next chapter on "Twentieth Century Mythical Idealism" or "Idealistic Monism," represented by Kalthoff and Drews in Germany, by Robertson and Anderson in England, by W. B. Smith (and he should have added Preserved Smith) in America. Inadequately stated, this view is still "heartily and sincerely commended in two respects."

1. "It is true to history in reminding us that Christianity began as a teaching *about* Jesus, not as the teaching *of* Jesus."

2. "The monist's view is also true to philosophy in making the chief concern of religion the welfare of the individual soul."

Such "respects" would not seem to be mere trifles even though monistic. The first appears to have fundamental importance. It would seem to confirm, while not accepting, the interpretation given in *Der vorchristliche Jesus* of *ta peri tou Iesou* as "the doctrine

concerning the Jesus." Professor Bacon insists strongly and justly on this distinction of the teaching *about* Jesus from the teaching *of* Jesus. It is in fact the essential distinction between substance and shadow, between being and non-being. The first is everywhere present in the New Testament and in early Christianity; it is the precious deposit of the primitive faith; the second, except as a form or investiture of the first, is *nowhere to be found*. No man can point to *anything* and say with reason or with well-instructed confidence, "this is a teaching *of* Jesus." Though the saying be put into the mouth of Jesus, that is only a literary form, the saying is still the evangelist's teaching *about* Jesus, precisely as the "oracle of Jehovah," so frequent on the lips of the prophets, is not strictly an oracle *of* Jehovah, but the prophet's own oracle *about* Jehovah, representing Jehovah as the prophet thought and taught him to be.

Amid much that is open-minded and just in this chapter one finds occasionally a remnant of error, of baseless affirmation. On page 96 we are told that "Saul's soul-devouring pursuit had been an ideal of personal redemption," which neither is proved nor can be. The exclusive zeal of Saul (Paul) as it appears in Acts is for the conversion of the world to monotheism from idolatry; there is no evidence of any such "soul-devouring pursuit" of "personal redemption." The thing that devours him is missionary ardor, not any selfish striving for his own salvation. Nor is there any good evidence that he was ever such an intense yearner for his soul's salvation. The fearful inner struggle depicted in Rom. vii. 14-25 is no evidence in point. There is very little likelihood that it details any personal experience of Paul's. The sentiments are stoical; they are found, sometimes almost word for word, in Epictetus; they belong to Greek ethics, not to the Pauline monotheistic mission. Far more verisimilar every way is the statement in Acts xxiii. 1: "I have lived before God in all good conscience until this day." These are not the words of a man that had ever been racked as described in Romans, but of a man singularly at one with himself throughout life. The "liberal" picture of Paul as a self-tormenter, writhing for years and torn asunder in the strife between the flesh and the spirit, is a mere fancy picture, as much like Paul as like Napoleon. About the circumstances of his conversion to the "new doctrine" we know simply nothing at all, and the shrewdest conjectures remain unlikely; there are too many ways in which it might have happened for any one way to be absolutely probable. But between the Paul of Acts and the Paul of the Epistles we must unhesitatingly prefer the former.

With much of Bacon's vindication of Peter (or Petrinism) as against Paul (or Paulinism) we may sympathize, but his effort to show that Peter must have known Jesus personally fails *in toto*. He says, "About all we know of Peter's experience is the bare fact that the risen Christ was 'manifested to him.'" If so, then historicism is hopeless. From such a "*bare fact*," whose real meaning and sense can not be determined, at least in any physical terms, it is wholly and plainly impossible to infer that there was ever a man Jesus. The manifestation of the risen Christ may very well refer to a spiritual vision, to an intellectual apprehension of the doctrine about Jesus, the doctrine that God was now to be revealed to the whole world, to Jew and Gentile, in a new aspect, under a new person, the aspect, the person of the Saviour-God Jesus. The least likely of all interpretations of such expressions is that they refer to a notion that God had resuscitated a dead man and raised him on high to the throne of the universe. Neither Peter nor Paul ever entertained such an extravagant idea.

Strangest of all is Bacon's attempt to ground the historicity of Jesus on the rite of baptism, a grounding that one can not comprehend. He seems to assume the very thing in dispute, thus: "What leads this group of men who had companied with Jesus since the baptism of John, etc." But where is it proved they "had companied with Jesus"? He insists "that the adoption of this Johannine rite" indicates "an overwhelming sense of moral unworthiness" in Peter and the rest. But this is far from clear, and in any case, what of it? All of our author's discussion along here seems to state many facts excellently well, but none of it has aught to do with the historicity of Jesus.

All the facts are far more easily understood without than with any "historical Jesus." The author presents no real argumentation, he merely throws in here and there an assertion, which remains to the end a mere assertion still. E. g., "had not the disciples learned through contact with the historic Jesus as the only way to the realization of this ideal such moral consecration as *his* precepts, *his* life, *his* death exemplified" (p. 112), for which there is not the faintest shadow of a shade of warrant. The impression derived from such vague pronouncements is that the author himself is keenly conscious how infeasible it is to drag up and hitch his premises to his far foregone conclusion, yet with manful strain he struggles on at the impossible linkage, simply because there is nothing else to do (unless, indeed, he should back down his horses!).

Queerest of all, though, is the representation of the rite of

baptism as adopted "by the first followers of Jesus" after "the tragedy of the cross," and of "their being now 'baptized every one of them into the name of Jesus, *confessing their sins*'" (p. 105). The italics are Bacon's, and one is curious to learn whence came his quotation, "baptized. . . sins." Surely not from the New Testament. The italicized phrase is found only in Matt. iii. 6; Mark i. 5, "And were baptized by him in the Jordan (river), confessing their sins," The rest of his quotation is found only in the address to the Jews, Acts ii. 38, "Repent ye, and be baptized every one of you on the name of Jesus Christ unto remission of your sins," but Peter says naught about his own "moral unworthiness," naught about baptizing himself and the other "first followers of Jesus." This example of conflation is interesting as showing how easily and completely the sense may change under redaction.

Chapter IV, on the "Characterization of Jesus," seems to have been written in 1913, whereas the lectures were delivered 1911. Apparently Professor Bacon has lived long in these "two years," both wisely and well. Designed to "bring the discussion down to date," it also brings it down from the clouds and back to reason. Beginning with vigorous re-assertion, "Jesus was an actuality," "the Gnostic sects which sacrificed history to myth. . . perished," "the catholic faith, strongly buttressed upon historical tradition, survived," Bacon admits that "myth may serve," that "it *has* served the cause of religious uplift," yet he prefers "the real objective fact"—very much as the materialists in philosophy prefer atoms to ideas and mechanical integrators to the theorems of the calculus. He admits that the "Quest of the Historical Jesus" "is difficult," and quotes from Bousset's *Kyrios Christos* (p. 143) that "the moral and religious personal character of Jesus had no influence or significance whatever for the religious feeling of Paul." He might have added that Bousset says (p. 144) that Paul's idea (*Bild*) of the "Lord Jesus" is not taken from "the earthly life of Jesus," that his "Jesus" is "the preexistent supramundane Christ," that "the subject to all these predicates"—"meekness, obedience, love, sincerity, fidelity even to death on the cross"—"is not the 'historic' Jesus." It is vain then for Bacon still to cling to the notion that Paul "surely had some very distinctly definable 'moral and religious character' of Jesus in mind." It is surely the wish that fathers the thought. If such a lynx-eyed historicist as Bousset can not see it, we may be sure it is not there to see.

Proceeding, Bacon tells us it "must be frankly admitted" that "Paul himself is no longer in immediate contact with the historical Jesus."

He had "received" by tradition "from others the doctrine that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures" (1 Cor. xv. 4), hence he had to view "Jesus's earthly character and fate from a more or less theoretical standpoint." Now remember that Paul's conversion is placed apparently only a few months after the crucifixion, and then ask what it means to admit that "so early as the time when Paul himself 'received' his impressions of the historic Jesus, they were already idealized, conventionalized, conformed to a theoretical standard." It means that "the historic Jesus" had already disappeared the first few months after the crucifixion, and a dogmatic, doctrinal, theoretic Jesus had taken its place in the minds of "the first followers of Jesus." Believe it who can. Such a miracle is without a precedent or parallel in the history of our race. It can be accepted only in the very last resort, after every other attempt at explanation has failed hopelessly.

Even this is not all: the word translated "received" (*parelabon*) means more, it is "the technical term for transmission of traditional teaching" (p. 129). But how can there be any formation of tradition, still less any handing down of "traditional teaching," in the course of less than a single year (or at the *very extremest* six¹ years, supposing with Wendt the crucifixion and the conversion to be 29 and 35 A. D.). Six¹ years would seem just as inadequate as six months for the formation and development of such a history-effacing dogmatic tradition; to suppose the historic portrait of the most impressive personality the world has ever seen to be effaced in such a brief space or time is to suppose the inconceivable. Yet Bacon confesses and denies not: "The fact is undeniable that his (Paul's) conception of the historic Jesus has already passed through at least one stage of idealization. The admission may well seem unwelcome."—But only to preconception, only to such as are set for the defense of the indefensible, "the historic Jesus."

Bacon now passes over to Mark and sadly admits that "we have but Mark and Q, to set over against the scanty allusions of Paul; and neither Mark nor Q attempts a really historical pen-portrait":

"The Germans in Greek
Are sadly to seek

.

None save only Hermann,
And Hermann's a German."

¹ We must change this to *three* or even *two*, since Deissmann's Gallio-inscription retires the incident in Acts xviii. 12-17 back to A. D. 50-51.

Even Mark and Q "are works of religious edification," "defenses of the existing faith," "they too have their theoretical conceptions of Jesus's character, career and fate, and set in relief what bears out the theory." Amid all this crash of falling "liberal" contentions, amid dislimning systems and creeds, Professor Bacon "stands unshook," declaring in italics, "*the spirit survives.*" But what is the meaning of this? Our author fails to make clear. What spirit of Jesus is attested as the spirit of an historical man? None at all. The three spirit-portraits of Paul, Mark, and Q are all "conventionalized, idealized," none can make any pretension to historic truth; moreover, they are discrepant as can be. Says Bacon (p. 158). "The contrast between this (Mark's) conception and that of Paul could hardly be stronger within the limits of fidelity to historic fact." But it is certain as anything in the whole subject, and it is repeatedly admitted in effect by Bacon, that nowhere in any of these three "conventionalized," "idealized," "theoretical" representations is there any question at all of "fidelity to historic fact"; the portraits show no trace thereof whatever. Nor does Bacon make any serious attempt to recover any trait even the most spiritual. On page 167 he tells us that at so early a date as that of "the Q source," "the adoption of such an ideal (the Isaian Servant-Son, the Alexandrine Wisdom-Spirit) as the basis of a characterization of Jesus is not within the province of poetic fancy. Had it not corresponded with actual recollection it could not have survived."² Here our author quietly assumes everything in dispute, namely, that the Jesus was historic! that there *was* some "actual recollection"! To be sure, had Q's idealization, or Paul's, or Mark's, contradicted "actual recollection," it could hardly have survived;² but neither would it ever have been formed. It did not offend any "actual recollection" for the good and sufficient reason that there was *none to offend*. The three widely discrepant portraits (and he might as well have added the Johannine as a fourth, wholly unlike all the others) were drawn freely without the least constraint of "actual recollection" or biographic tradition, and they are intelligible in all their details, when and only when they are referred not to any dimly remembered historic original ineffaceably stamped on the disciples' consciousness and straightway *effaced* utterly in less than a lustrum, but to the subjective conditions prevailing among the early Christians and varying this way and that from man to man.

² This just admission ends historicism; for it is certain and virtually conceded in various liberal quarters that the earliest certified characterization of Jesus sharply contradicts any possible "actual recollection."

Herewith then we close this review. Bacon's final chapter is full of wisdom and of brave, honest, outspoken admissions. In every respect it contrasts most favorably with the work of Conybeare, simultaneously published. It is especially gratifying to see that the Yale Professor recognizes the famous "Come unto me" of Matt. xi. 25ff. as a "Hymn of Wisdom," as already set forth in *Ecce Deus* (p. 166), and that he discards the supposed naïveté (!) of Mark, declaring that "in Mark Jesus is the strong Son of God," where "Son of God" with a very capital S, does not mean a son of a god or of God, but means "the Second God the beloved SON OF GOD," who had entered human thought and human speech as early as 340 B. C. (*Corpus Hermeticum*, VII), never thenceforth to depart therefrom.

THE BUDDHISM OF CHINA.

AFTER REGINALD FLEMING JOHNSTON.

REGINALD Fleming Johnston, who has apparently lived for many years in the Celestial Empire and has acquired an intimate knowledge of the soul of China, has published a book entitled *Buddhist China*¹ which will prove both interesting and instructive to all who wish reliable information on the religious life of this most interesting and strangest of all civilized nations. He says:

"A Christian theologian of our own day has recently observed that Buddhism is the only religion in the world that can be regarded as 'a serious rival to Christianity.'² If this be so, then for that reason if for no other it is incumbent upon the peoples of the West to form some correct notions about the history and present condition of Buddhism in that country which, in spite of the attractions of rival faiths, contains a greater number of Buddhists than any other country in the world.

"An attempt will be made in these pages to introduce the western reader to some of those aspects of Chinese Buddhism with which he is least likely to be familiar, and to conduct him on imaginary pilgrimage to some of those great monasteries which long have been, and still are, the strongholds of Buddhist influence among the Chinese people."

The present situation in China is characterized by Johnston as follows:

"Within the grounds of one of the most famous Buddhist monasteries in China—Shaolin in Honan—may be seen two stone tablets inscribed with pictorial statements of a doctrine that is familiar to all students of Chinese religion and philosophy—the triunity of the *San-chiao*, or Three Doctrinal Systems of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism. On one of these tablets, the

¹ E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1913. Price \$5.00 net.

² Rev. J. A. Selbie in the *Expository Times*, April 1912.

date of which corresponds to the year 1565 of our era, there is the incised outline of a venerable man holding an open scroll on which a number of wavy lines like tongues of flame converge and blend. The old man's draperies are symmetrically arranged, and his crouching figure is skilfully made to assume the appearance of a circle, the center of which is occupied by the open scroll. The whole drawing is surrounded by a larger circle, which signifies ideal unity and completeness, or represents the spherical monad of Chinese cosmological philosophy. The other tablet, which is more than seven hundred years old, is of a less symbolical or mystical character. It shows us the figures of the representatives of the three systems standing side by side. Sakyamuni Buddha occupies the place of honor in the center. His head is surrounded by an aureole, from which issues an upward-pointing stream of fire, and beneath his feet sacred lotus-flowers are bursting into bloom. On the left of the central figure stands Lao-chün, the legendary founder of Taoism, and on the right stands China's "most holy sage"—Confucius.

"The words which are ordinarily used to sum up the theory of the triunity of the three ethico-religious systems of China are *San chiao i t'i*—the Three Cults incorporated in one organism or embodying one doctrine. The idea has found fanciful expression in the comparison of the culture and civilization of China with a bronze sacrificial bowl, of which the three "religions" are the three legs, all equally indispensable to the tripod's stability.

"Such teachings as these are abhorrent to the strictly orthodox Confucian, who holds that the social and moral teachings of Confucius are all that humanity requires for its proper guidance; but they meet with ungrudging acceptance from vast numbers of Buddhists and Taoists, who, while giving precedence to their own cults, are always tolerant enough to recognize that Confucianism, if somewhat weak on the religious side, is strong and rich on the ethical side. They find an echo, indeed, in the hearts of the great majority of the Chinese people, who show by their beliefs and practices that they can be Buddhists, Taoists, and Confucians all at the same time.

"A vivid and picturesque statement of this truth is contained in a quaint little story which is told of a certain sixth-century scholar named Fu Hsi. This learned man was in the habit of going about dressed in a whimsical garb which included a Taoist cap, a Buddhist scarf, and Confucian shoes. His strange attire aroused the curiosity of the Chinese emperor of those days, who asked him

if he were a Buddhist. Fu Hsi replied by pointing to his Taoist cap. "Then you are a Taoist?" said the emperor. Fu Hsi again made no verbal answer, but pointed to his Confucian shoes. "Then you are a Confucian?" said the emperor. But the sage merely pointed to his Buddhist scarf.

"It is a far cry from the sixth century to the twentieth. The China of to-day has crossed, for weal or woe, the threshold of a new era. What has been true of the Chinese in past ages will not necessarily continue to be true in future. Will the three cults continue to form 'one body,' or will they fall apart? If they fall apart, will each maintain a separate existence of its own, or are they one and all destined to suffer eclipse and death? Who will be the Fu Hsi of the centuries to come? What are the symbols that will replace the cap and the shoes and the scarf that Fu Hsi was proud to wear? And who—let us ask with bated breath—is to take the place of Fu Hsi's imperial master?

"These are gravely important questions for China, and their interest for Western nations is far from being merely academic. The forces that mould the character and shape the aspirations of one of the greatest sections of mankind cannot be a matter of indifference to the rest of the human race, whose future history will be profoundly affected, for better or for worse, by the nature of the ideals and ambitions that inspire the constructive energies of the makers of the new China.

"If the ultimate fate of the three religions were dependent on the degree of respect now paid to them by some of the more zealous spirits among China's foreign-educated reformers, we should be obliged to prophesy a gloomy ending for all three. Taoism is treated as a medley of contemptible superstitions, and multitudes of its temples, with their unquestionably ugly clay images and tinsel ornaments, are falling into unlamented decay. Buddhism meets with scant courtesy, and is threatened with the confiscation of its endowments and the closing of some, at least, of those beautiful monasteries which during the happiest centuries of China's history were the peaceful refuge of countless poets and artists and contemplative philosophers. The moral sovereignty of the 'uncrowned king'—Confucius—totters on the edge of an abyss which has already engulfed a throne more ancient, if not more illustrious, than even his—the imperial throne of China."

It may not be wrong to say that the people of China have indeed adopted the three religions, Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism, and representations similar to those Mr. Johnston here refers to

can be found elsewhere, in China, Korea and Japan. Two of them have appeared in *The Open Court* (XXII, pp. 365 and 367) and we repeat them here. The former, reproduced from Professor Giles's *Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art*, is curiously enough regarded by him as representing a figure of Christ with a Nestorian priest kneeling at his feet and another standing behind him. Professor Giles thinks it must date from about the same time as the famous Nestorian tablet of Si 'ngan Fu. He takes the inscription "Three in One" as an indication of Christian doctrines. The inscription on the left of the medallion says "not to be rubbed



THREE IN ONE.

out," or in other words: This picture is sacred and must not be destroyed. The other picture represents the three sages Buddha, Lao-tze and Confucius, tasting the liquid in a barrel of vinegar, each one indicating by expression and gesture his opinion of reality itself and characterizing his religion as a definite attitude. None of them is false, while the reality itself remains the same. They do not contradict but rather complement one another.

Mr. Johnston first explains Buddhism under Ashoka and Kanishka, describes its philosophy and the difference of the two schools, the Mahayana and the Hinayana, observing rightly that



THE THREE SAGES TASTING VINEGAR.

the latter would better have been called Theravada, or the "doctrine of the elders." Quotations both from the translated books of Pali originals and from Chinese versions help to illustrate the character of Buddhism in its successive phases and show how the Mahayana, the school of the Great Vehicle, came by that name.

One of the questions which King Milinda puts to the monk Nagasena, as quoted on page 61, is as follows:

"You people say, Nagasena, that though a man should have lived a hundred years an evil life, yet if, at the moment of death, thoughts of the Buddha should enter his mind, he will be reborn among the gods. This I do not believe. And thus do they also say: By one case of destruction of life a man may be born in purgatory. That, too, I cannot believe."

"But tell me, O king, would even a tiny stone float on the water without a boat?"

"Certainly not."

"Very well; but would not a hundred cart-loads of stones float on the water if they were loaded in a boat?"

"Yes, they would float right enough."

"Well, good deeds are like the boat."

Mr. Johnston explains appropriately that Buddha would not have accepted this view because according to the older sterner Buddhism no one can escape the consequences of his deeds by any means, either by prayer, faith or conversion, but that he can change his attitude by entering on the path and making progress toward salvation in Nirvana. The great Chinese Buddhist Bodhidharma, commonly called by the Chinese P'u-t'i-ta-mo, shortened simply to Tamo, arrived in China from his Indian home and lived in Shao-lin, at the base of the Shao-shih mountain near Loyang in the province of Honan (p. 83). He preached a doctrine which demanded a purification of the heart:

"It is this Indian sage, this searcher of hearts and scorner of books, who is regarded as the founder, in China, of the Ch'an or Contemplative school of Buddhism. 'You will not find Buddha in images or books,' was the teaching of the venerable Tamo. 'Look into your own heart: that is where you will find Buddha.'...

"Tamo's system has been described as 'the Buddhist counterpart of the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola';³ but there are other Christian saints and mystics with whom he may be compared even more fittingly. Tamo would have heartily approved of that reply which St. Francis of Assisi is said to have given to

³ Lloyd, *Wheat among the Tares*, p. 53.

a monk who asked if he might be allowed to possess a psalter, 'Man can learn nothing but what he already knows. If to-day thou gettest a psalter, to-morrow thou wilt want a breviary, and thou wilt end by sitting in thy chair like any prelate and saying, Hand me my breviary.'

"No less readily would Tamo have welcomed a kindred spirit in St. Paul, who rejected 'tablets of stone' in favor of 'the fleshy tables of the heart'; or in St. Augustine, who, in words which contain the essence of Tamo's own teaching, bade men look for truth in the depths of their own being: *In te ipsum redi: in interiore homine habitat veritas.*"

With reference to Nirvana and kindred ideas, Mr. Johnston calls attention to the negative terms in which the Christian mystics describe God (p. 119):

"We shall understand the matter better, perhaps, if we compare the 'nihilism' of certain Buddhist philosophers in their treatment of the Nirvana problem with the *via negativa* of some of the Gnostic and Christian mystics in their theorizings concerning the nature of the deity. Clement of Alexandria, for example, can tell us what God is not; he cannot tell us what God is, because God transcends all that exists. The Pseudo-Dionysius, too, speaks of 'the absolute No-thing which is above all existence'; Basilides says that no assertion can be made about God, because he is nothing that can be named; and much the same doctrines are to be found in Minucius Felix, Justin Martyr, Origen, Maximus the Confessor, and John of Damascus. If Nirvana is 'nothing,' it is only so in a sense similar to that in which Duns Scotus says of God that he is 'predicateless Being, above all categories, and therefore not improperly called Nothing'; and the Buddhist would see no startling novelty in that assertion of the same Christian philosopher that 'the things which are not, are far better than those which are.' In Christian theology such views as these are traceable to neo-Platonism; and we find them affecting the thought of all who came within the range of neo-Platonic influence, not excepting St. Augustine. In Buddhism, however, they are associated with very early developments in its own dogmatic system, and need be traced to no source extraneous to Indian philosophy.

"It is hardly necessary to say that definitions by negatives were not likely to make a very strong or lasting appeal to the religious emotions. A Nirvana which admittedly transcended the possibilities of positive description might conceivably bring a certain amount of cold satisfaction to a philosophic mind, but it could not be expected

to arouse devotional exaltation or religious enthusiasm in the hearts of the lay masses. This truth was fully recognized by the Mahayanist teachers, who allowed and encouraged the more ignorant and simple-minded members of their flock to picture Nirvana to themselves in the form of a Paradise in which the individual soul is represented as continuing to exist in a state of perpetual, or at least age-long, blessedness under the loving rule of the celestial Buddha Amitabha and his bodhisats. But the enlightened Amidist (especially if he be a monk of the Ch'an, or Meditation, school) no more believes in the literal truth of the tales of Sukhavati's lotus-pond, and in the personal and separate existences of its divine lords, than the educated Christian of to-day believes in the real existence of the winged cherubim, the golden crowns and white thrones, the jewelled streets and glassy seas, that characterize the bric-a-brac rococco heaven,' as George Tyrrell called it, of hymnal and Apocalypse. 'These,' says the Christian priest, 'are symbols of divine truth.' 'Those,' says the Buddhist monk, 'are parables of Buddhahood.'"

The later chapters are devoted to pilgrimages and the description of Buddhist monasteries. The author enters into details among which we will mention some features of the Chinese worship of Kwan-yin (also called Kwan-yon). Kwan-yin is a strange deity uniting in one the features of the Christian Madonna and of the Buddha himself, and at the same time incorporating features of the pagan Magna Dea or the great mother-goddess as described by Lucian in the *Dea Syria*. Kwan-yin is probably (at least in our opinion) a pre-Buddhist deity and may have preserved the attributes of a fish-goddess from primitive times, when the fish was a common symbol of immortality. But the worship of Kwan-yin became prominent in the ninth century and it seems that in this period it was infused with Buddhist ideals so as to be conceived as a female Buddha.

Mr. Johnston says:

"There is a quaint Chinese legend which associates a sudden advance in the popularity of the cult of Kuan-yin with a miraculous incident which occurred in the second quarter of the ninth century. According to this legend, the emperor Wen Tsung, of the T'ang dynasty, who reigned from 827 to 840, was inordinately fond of oysters, and the fisher-folk were obliged by imperial decree to furnish the palace with enormous and regular supplies of this delicacy, for which, however, no payment was made from the im-

perial exchequer. One day the emperor's eye was gladdened by the sight of an oyster-shell of exceptionally large size, and his majesty anticipated an unusual treat. The shell, however, was so hard that all efforts to break it proved unavailing; and the emperor was about to put it aside when suddenly it opened of its own accord, and disclosed to the astonished gaze of the court a miniature image of the pusa Kuan-yin. The awe-stricken emperor gave orders that the treasure was to be carefully preserved in a gold-inlaid sandal-wood box, and he then sent for a noted Buddhist monk named Wei Cheng, who knew everything that was worth knowing on the subject of miracles, in order to obtain an authoritative explanation of the prodigy.

"This matter," explained the man of wisdom, "is not devoid of significance. Kuan-yin is the pusa who extends love and compassion to all living beings; and the pusa has chosen this means of inclining your majesty's mind towards benevolence and clemency and filling your heart with pity for your oppressed people."

"The emperor, concludes the chronicler, took the hint in good part, and not only abolished the forced tribute of oysters, but issued an edict to the effect that an image of Kuan-yin was to be admitted into every Buddhist temple in the empire."

Another monastery received the support of one of the greatest sovereigns that ever sat on any throne on earth, the Emperor K'ang-hsi. He was neither a Buddhist nor a Taoist but held Confucianism high as that philosophy which afforded him the best rule of conduct in life. He endowed the P'u-chi monastery and our author found in the entrance hall the following edict which we here quote from his translation:

"We [says the emperor, if we may render his own words in a slightly abbreviated form] chanced at this time to be in western Chehkiang, and despatched a special emissary to inaugurate the work of restoration and to make ceremonial offerings. We bestowed gifts of gold from the state treasury, that the temples might be restored to splendor, and that their cloisters and colonnades might be made lustrous and glorious with scarlet and jade. The stone and timber have all been provided at state expense; our subjects have not been called upon to furnish either labor or material. All this we have done in the first place from motives of filial piety, and in the second place that happiness and prosperity might be granted by the divine powers to all our people. We, since our boyhood, have been an earnest student of Confucian lore, with the constant aim of learning the proper duties of a good ruler. We

have had no leisure to become minutely acquainted with the sacred books of Buddhism; therefore we are not qualified to discuss the deeper mysteries of that faith. But we are satisfied that 'virtue' is the one word which indicates what is essential in both systems. We find, moreover, that heaven delights to give life and nourishment; the gracious and compassionate Pusa loves to bring all living creatures to salvation. The one creates, the other saves; but there is no antagonism, no divergence of aim. We, heaven's suppliant, have obtained the boon of a long reign. We have ruled the empire for over forty years. Now arms have been laid aside; the empire is at peace. We know, nevertheless, that our people are not yet free from cares and sorrows. Their sufferings come not only from the imperfections of their own natures, but also from the caprices of fortune and other circumstances for which they are in no way to blame. How to promote our people's welfare is a problem which brings us many wistful thoughts and anxious dreams. Let us pray to the compassionate Kuan-yin, that she may of her grace send down upon our people the spiritual rain and sweet dew of the Good Law; that she may grant our people bounteous harvests, seasonable winds, and the blessings of peace, harmony, and long life; and, finally, that she may lead them to the salvation which she offers to all beings in the universe. Such are the wishes of our heart. Let what our hand has written be engraved upon a lofty tablet that our decree may be transmitted to posterity."

It is well known that K'ang-hsi is the emperor who favored the Jesuits and allowed them to pursue their missionary work in China until the quarrels began between the Jesuits and the Dominicans. Mr. Johnston sums up his opinion of K'ang-hsi as follows:

"Though he became a convert neither to Buddhism nor to Christianity, he treated both Buddhist monks and Jesuit priests with a princely tolerance and magnanimity which, in addition to his other fine qualities of statesmanship, give him a strong claim to be regarded as the wisest and best ruler of his age, and as one of the finest imperial embodiments of the ideals of Chinese civilization."

It speaks well for our author that in traveling through China he was cordially and hospitably received everywhere. He speaks of his Asiatic friends as follows:

"It is true that religious pilgrims, whether Buddhist or Taoist, need have little fear of suffering from lack of food or shelter. The Chinese are a hospitable and kind-hearted people; and they will rarely allow a stranger to turn away hungry from their doors."

THE TAOIST POPE ON RELIGION.

THE Taoist Pope¹ has been visiting Shanghai, and delivered a lecture on religion in the International Institute, which is practically a continued religious parliament established in foreign countries and adapted especially to Chinese conditions. We owe an extract of his lecture to Dr. Gilbert Reid, the founder and director of the International Institute of Shanghai. He said:

"The Heavenly Principle, or Heaven's law of Nature is without feeling, but Virtue comes to its assistance and gives it expression. Religions differ, but the principle that runs through them and the virtue that they show forth are the same. The main idea of all religions is that of saving the world, and unifying all mankind.

"There must be compassion for all, evil should be transformed into good; help should be extended to all nations and benefits offered to all peoples. These are the characteristics belonging to every religion.

"All holy teachers have the same heart, and under the mastery of the Heavenly Principle they have through Virtue formed their religious systems.

"The expansion of a religion is accompanied by the outward manifestation of the inner principle and the virtue of the heart. Confucius, Lao-tze, Sakyamuni, Jesus, Mohammed, have all been Heaven's representatives, to work salvation in the world; they are heavenly messengers to bring happiness to home and country.

"Though the different religions are lived out in different ways, and though their words are unlike, they all agree in finding their source in the two words Tao and Teh, Heaven's law and virtue. And of these two the latter is the outgrowth of the former.

"Religion is the expression of the virtue of the heart, and virtue is the product of Heaven's everlasting law. The conduct which har-

¹In *The Open Court* for September 1913 there is a brief note on "The Pope of Taoism" (p. 573). The same number contains "An Exposition of Taoism," contributed to the Parliament of Religions in 1893 by the predecessor of the present Chang T'ien She.

monizes with virtue and characterizes every religion may be summed up in eight qualities, patience, humility, reverence, forgiveness, generosity, pity, faithfulness, and kindness.

"Christianity, Mohammedanism, Buddhism and Taoism all travel



CHANG T' IEN SHE.

the same path. Confucianism alone descants on the duties of governments and takes account of the state, in which respect it slightly differs from all other religions.

"At present men's hearts break Heaven's law, turn from true virtue, and rush ahead in wrong paths. They are greedy for rewards; they love riches; they preach violence and rely on force. Unless religion be revived, what method is there for preventing man's downward course, like one sailing down toward a cataract in a river? Unless every religion be stimulated to new activity, where is the remedy for the dangers that beset our country?"

Verily, Taoism contains much that is noble and good, and the spirit of its founder Lao-tze, the venerable philosopher who lived in the sixth century B. C., has not yet died out. In his little book *The Canon of Reason and Virtue* we read these remarkable sentences:

"Requite hatred with virtue" (Chap. 63) and

"The good I meet with goodness, the bad I also meet with goodness; that is virtue's goodness" (Chap. 49).

For comments on the readings of this latter passage see the author's translation of the *Canon of Reason and Virtue*, pp. 172-174.

MISCELLANEOUS.

AN INTERNATIONAL CLUB FOR WOMEN.

We have had occasion more than once to call attention to the work of the International Institute of China at Shanghai under the direction of Mr. Gilbert Reid. We take pleasure now in announcing the existence of a Women's Auxiliary to the Institute which is called The Ladies International Club. Their yearbook for 1912-13 records a membership of one hundred and five members (active and associate) representing six languages and ten Chinese dialects. Their objects are social, educational and philanthropical. Though the membership is small and more or less fluctuating, something of the scope of its influence may be judged by the fact that in their fourteen social functions during the year they entertained 1680 guests.

One of the two honorary presidents is Madame Wu Ting Fang, the wife of China's former popular Envoy Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary in the United States, and one of the two active presidents is Mrs. Gilbert Reid. The report mentions a garden party which Madame Wu gave for the club and goes on to say: "She and Dr. Wu, in their own gracious way, spoke and introduced guests without a shade of stiff formality, surrounding us all with the heartiest of welcomes. Four Hawaiians, with singing and stringed instruments, furnished delightful Hawaiian music on the lawn."

The Ladies International Club is doing works of mercy in connection with the present period of unrest in China. Its rooms became a refuge in the time of the second revolution. The report continues:

"One of our members, from the U. S. A., living near the Arsenal, being shelled out of her own home, which was entered by six bomb-shells and countless bullets, fled to us, and for three weeks we slept in the Club-room under the Chinese rainbow flag which hangs above its fire-place. Those were days of heat; internal and external. One morning we dispensed from the Club-treasury a day's meals for sixty refugees swarming through the streets, fleeing without clothes, shelter or food. All summer long the Institute grounds were open day and night to homeless ones. Some days as many as fifty would come in, glad of grass to lie upon and looking for shade from the burning sun. Arrow-root biscuits 'went to the spot' with many a forlorn and suffering baby, seeking relief within our gates."

The yearbook contains this appeal to women of other countries:

"Our Ladies' International Club invites correspondence and membership with women or with clubs in other lands. We need sympathetic cooperation of women outside China to further our plans for helping those in less fortunate circumstances here in far Cathay. A fee of four shillings, five francs, four marks, or one gold dollar, will constitute one an associate member of our

Club which is bringing women of various nationalities into closer social relations. That you may respond at once by joining us is the wish of every mem-



ber of the Ladies' International Club." The address of the Club is 290 Avenue Paul Brunat, Shanghai, China.

Their secretary can communicate in German, French, Dutch or English. The yearbook contains their report in English, French, German and Chinese.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

As president of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association, the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw has issued an appeal to every national council of women's organizations to exert to the utmost the combined influence of women to put a stop to the war. The Association of Austrian Woman's Clubs (*Bund Oesterreichischer Frauenvereine*) feel that this request would not be made of them if the American women had a correct understanding of the causes of the war, and so while sympathizing earnestly with the desire for peace and hoping that the women of neutral countries will leave no means untried to stop the horrible bloodshed, they are sending out circulars to women of other countries acquainting them with their point of view, and explaining the "threefold covetousness" of the Triple Entente which they regard as the cause that has forced Germans and Austrians to defend their homes and country. Accordingly they replied officially to Dr. Shaw's appeal that "being women of those countries where our husbands, brothers and sons are fighting for the existence or non-existence of our state, for our homes, for their wives and children, a defensive war as there never was and we sincerely hope never shall be again, a war against assassins and their defenders, a war against the enemies of freedom and those who think it fair to support them, we cannot say 'Do not fight!' The only thing we can do, is to try and heal the wounds which men have wrought. When this most lamentable war is over, then will be the time for us women to say that no such war should ever be fought again, murdering men and destroying civilization. But just now in this earnest and terrible time we can only stand by our men who are doing their duty to the utmost, cruel and terrible as it is, and support them in every manner possible."

On another page we publish a translation of a circular addressed to the universities of America and bearing the signatures of Professor Haeckel and Eucken which clearly enunciates the position and views of these leaders in the intellectual life of Germany with regard to the present war. Similar views were also expressed recently in an article by Professor Haeckel in the *Jenaer Volksblatt*, a translation of which appeared in the October number. Suffice it to say that these savants, who had seen in a closer intellectual and spiritual relationship between the Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon peoples invaluable possibilities for civilization and progress and had labored toward that goal, now see in the present war the wreck of their hopes, and lay on England and on an unscrupulous English national egotism, actuated by envy of Germany's progress, the responsibility for bringing on the war.

It is interesting to note the publication in Japan of a small monthly paper entitled *Jimri* (The Rationalist). It has been in existence something over a year and one of the early numbers contains a picture of Ernst Haeckel and an account of his work. The periodical is printed mostly in Japanese but contains also about two pages of English material.

Among other valuable reprints of the Rationalist Press Association of London (Watts & Co.) during the past year, we note Lecky's *History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe* (two vols. in one).



COUNT FERDINAND ZEPPELIN.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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A LETTER FROM POULTNEY BIGELOW.

MY DEAR DR. CARUS: Your flattering proposal that I send you my views at this moment regarding William II shall be answered briefly and frankly—at any other time I would have said, with alacrity. But in this great world struggle it would please me more to bury myself in my forest retreat and emerge only after the now fighting forces had shaken hands and returned to their wasted fields and ruined houses.

My acquaintance with William II commenced during the great Franco-German war of 1870/71 when we were youngsters, each in charge of his tutor at Potsdam. For twenty-five years our relations remained of so friendly, not to say confidential, a nature that in so far as circumstances permitted, I was a favored guest at most of the German court functions—including the military ones, which to me were the most interesting and important.

This happy friendship ceased in 1896, and I have but myself to blame. William II has consistently followed ideals of the purest and loftiest character—they have led him to conclusions which I respect but cannot share.

After our Potsdam days William II went to school at Kassel and then to Bonn University; myself graduating at the Norwich Academy in Connecticut and afterwards at Yale.

William II is a Hohenzollern through and through and a gentleman into the bargain—which can be said of very few of that illustrious line—least of all of the husband of his great-grandmother Queen Louise of blessed memory.

In 1896 appeared the first two volumes of my *History of the German Struggle for Liberty* (1806-1813)—it was not pleasing to the Berlin court. It was not written in the spirit of Treitschke—for whom I had immense respect personally, but none whatever as

a philosophic historian. Every school-child in Germany learns of Frederick William III as the saviour of his country; to me he was the prime cause of her disgrace at Jena and the chief stumbling block to her uprising in 1813. The real hero of German liberty, in my book, is Queen Louise.

However, it was impossible that William II should forever publicly consort with one who not only believed in government for and by the people, but who was so tactless as perpetually to say so in print. The year 1896 would have closed my career as imperial guest for another reason. It was the year of the Jamieson raid, and in that year I spent six months visiting the important people in South Africa and studying the effects of a very unfortunate telegram launched by William II against the suzerainty of Great Britain as a colonial empire. This now legendary cable, whatever its literal wording, said to the Boer mind that when the followers of Paul Kruger should need help they were to look not to Westminster, but to Potsdam for relief.

The consequence of this dispatch was to encourage the spirit of separation in Pretoria and Bloemfontein; then came the great Boer war and then the prolongation of that war for at least a whole year because the Boers confidently looked for a great German army as per promises made by alleged representatives of William II.

Personally I have no evidence that William II ever made an official promise to help the Boers against England in 1900; if he had made such a promise he would have kept it. I have never known William II to tell a falsehood; I have never known him to accuse another of falsehood. But he has often created false impressions by giving way to the generous impulses of his nature—and the Kruger telegram is a glaring illustration. German officialdom has vainly sought to assure the world that there was nothing but innocence in this dispatch. They are fools who can be made to regard it so. During the Boer war and every year thereafter I was in Germany and felt but one strong national ambition—a thirst for war with England; a growing feeling that the German court wanted war and that it was a pity to miss so fine an opportunity as the Boer war for attacking a rival when her army was occupied six thousand miles away.

Of course I wrote of German policy in 1896 as freely as I write these lines—nor did my book *White Man's Africa* give any more pleasure at Potsdam than my *History of Germany* in her days of shame.

So now you have my confession—and in it you may read the reason why in 1915 I look for peace—dictated, not by William II, but by the Allies.

Nor is this incompatible with my opinion in this month of October, 1914, that William II has in this campaign proved himself the greatest soldier since Frederick the Great, a prediction which I published in 1889 when the press of the world was slandering him most persistently and when I deemed it my duty to give a true picture of his character which picture is true to-day after an interval of twenty-five years. But at this moment I am concerned not with William II the man whom I shall always love for his manly qualities, but with William II as responsible leader of a great nation in arms and therefore the head of a power capable of wrecking or elevating any social structure within his reach.

It is idle for us Americans to talk of official Germany as our Germany—the land of Goethe and Schiller; Helmholtz and Humboldt, Schubert and Wagner. The great poets and singers; philosophers and physicists; preachers and writers—these make up the ideal Germany of American students. But if you love those names and what they stand for do not waste your time amidst Germany's ruling classes. You may go to all the royal functions in Berlin and never suspect that there is such a thing as a gentleman or a scholar in Germany, save with a sword at his side and a helmet on his head. Since the simple days of 1870/71 the military ideals of Germany have changed—the German soldier then was the citizen trained to defend his fatherland. To-day Germany is dominated by a school of soldiers, thinkers and officials who clamor for German expansion and hiss down the moderate wise people who deplore bloodshed as a means of spreading commercial prosperity.

Germans of the moderate school are loyal to their army but cannot approve of the latter-day mania for a big navy and correspondingly big colonial territory. But, as before remarked, the moderates in Germany are howled and hissed down by the mob of military-minded expansionists who have convinced themselves that England owes her position to her colonies and that with the conquest of England Germany will at once be the ruler of the world.

What I say is not at random, but the result of intimate intercourse with Germans of every social plane and in every part of the world—including New Guinea and Kiao Chow.

No German will believe that England has drawn her colonies to her by the magnet of generous treatment and civil liberty. To-day England can count upon troops from any one of her self-

governing colonies—I venture to say that she can draw more from the single West India Island of Jamaica than can Germany from her one million square miles of colonial empire where she has ruled supreme for a full generation. The German whom I know talks German, sings German and sheds his blood for Germany—but when he talks of being a colonist it is under the British flag, not that of William II. During the Boer war I had occasion to address the Royal Economic Society in Munich under the presidency of the illustrious Professor Brentano, and afterwards the International Geographical Congress in Berlin. At each of these gatherings, where I spoke in German and was listened to by crowded audiences of the highest German culture, I made the point clear that when England should have won in South Africa, the Boers would then under the British flag enjoy for the first time true liberty and self-government. This was each time received by howls of skeptical laughter!

Who is laughing now when Boer and Briton are standing shoulder to shoulder against the man who penned the Kruger dispatch of 1896?

In 1898 the United States was at war with Spain, and the American navy performed one of the finest feats of which a naval commander is capable when Admiral Dewey entered a port sown with mines and sent to the bottom all there was of nautical Spain in the Far East. Then was the time for official Germany to have shown her traditional friendship for this country. Instead of that she sent to Manila Bay a fleet larger than that of any other power—a fleet that looked like a menace and that acted like a menace. It was an official blunder analogous to the Kruger dispatch. The one made Englishmen feel that Germany was seeking cause for quarrel; Manila made Americans realize that nothing but England stood between her and German ambition.

Of course official Germany saw that it had blundered at Manila as at Pretoria; and of course the official press commenced to explain and to accuse Dewey of having exaggerated—if not of having invented—his facts. But it was nevertheless a sad blunder! Then William II sent over his younger brother who had been admiral in Chinese waters when our Dewey was there; but this mission proved a blunder. Admiral Dewey would not come forth to greet Prince Henry and a case full of Red Eagle orders of the third and fourth class had to be shipped back again to Berlin because no one here would accept them except a very few who would accept anything.

Why weary with details? Suffice it to say that whilst German merchants and German scholars have been for the past thirty years enriching themselves in England and in every British colony and spreading the fame of German wares and German culture, official Germany has been as industriously spreading distrust and rumors of war. In the one port of Singapore I have counted at one moment twenty-five funnels of the North German Lloyd Steamship Company of Bremen; her ships carried the British mails throughout Malaya, German merchants were quietly absorbing the trade of England's Far East as they had that of South America. All was going smoothly for the German individual colonist and merchant. How often have I heard him say: "I am doing very well—if only my *verdammt*e government would leave me alone!"

Let an Englishman try to do business in Germany or in a German colony, and he will repent it. Germans in a British colony have the same rights as an Englishman or American—and no wonder that "made in Germany" has ceased to be ornamental in British eyes!

William II is making a splendid war—if war ever can be splendid. He has justified my most sanguine predictions—for I know the perfection of his war machine, having campaigned with his troops in every one of his twenty corps maneuvers. My German friends write me that I should illumine the American press by telling of German virtue and Franco-Belgico-British brutality and perfidy. My German friends believe their cause is sacred—William II feels too that he has been forced into war.

But what of it?

Let us look ahead, as we did in the Boer war!

England is the only country whose flag throughout the world stands for civil liberty and self-government. The degradation of England on the high seas would be a loss to all the world—chiefly to small neutral powers like Norway, Holland etc. All the world trades freely with England and profits by the liberality of her commercial legislation. The German talk about England's trade despotism is mere électioneering.

My German friends are never weary of painting India as a field for British barbarity and cupidity—they revel in Verestchagin's romantic painting—Sepoys blown from the mouths of British cannon. But come with me and let me show you the real India—her schools and colleges; her thousands of miles of railway and telephones; her incomparable highways, canals, public buildings and above all her body of civil servants who rule three hundred mil-

lions of heterogeneous natives more easily than could ten times that number of German officials backed by ten times the number of Prussian troops. Think of these three hundred millions in India and only seventy-five thousand white soldiers by way of garrison! Could there be any more astounding evidence that British rule in India is the rule of reason and not merely of the sword?

And now, dear Doctor Carus, I am done! I have written to you as I would to one of my German friends. My family is English on both sides and has been settled here since 1630. Of course I have my prejudices—nor can I conceal them. But you know that I love Germany, having lived there ever since 1866—not continuously, but off and on for more than forty years. So soon as the war is over I shall go there again and feel sure that however much they may be angry with you for publishing this and with me for penning it, time will prove that much as I love my own country Germans have to-day no more sincere and sympathetic critic than their friend and yours,

POULTNEY BIGELOW.

A BIOLOGICAL VIEW OF ENGLISH FOREIGN POLICY.

(Reprinted from *The Saturday Review*, London, February, 1896.)

THE record of the past history of life upon the earth has made us familiar with one phase in the drama of evolution. For countless generations a number of species may have been struggling on tolerably equal terms, now one, now the other, securing some little advantage, when, suddenly, a turn in the kaleidoscope of the world gives one of them an advantage of real moment. The lucky species multiplies rapidly; it spreads over the land and the seas, its rivals perishing before it or being driven into the most inhospitable corners; in the technical term the species becomes dominant. At the present epoch the human race is dominant, and its nearest allies, the higher apes, survive only in recesses of tropical forests. The most dramatic period of the phase is now before us. The dominant species has conquered the whole earth; it has broken up into many local varieties, and the local varieties, transcending their own bounds, are pressing upon each other.

The great nations of the earth are local varieties, species in the making. It is not necessary that there should be anatomical distinctions among them; although, indeed, the English, Germans, French, Russians and Americans, Chinese and Japanese, have each their distinct groups of average characters. They are qualities of the brain and mind that separate the human race from the lower animals; and, in the qualities of the brain and mind, in modes of thought, habits and prejudices, aptitudes and sentiments, there are already abundant characters, incipiently specific among the nations in question. Indeed, there is evidence to show that the supreme specific distinction, mutual infertility, is beginning to appear between the more strongly marked types. But interbreeding is more than a physical phenomenon; and no one can dispute the growth

of racial instincts that discountenance intermarriage. The nations are gathering themselves together, emphasizing their national characters, and unconsciously making for specific distinctness.

The foreign policies of the nations, so far as they are not the mere expressions of the individual ambitions of rulers, or the jog-trot opportunism of diplomatists, are anticipation of and provision for struggles for existence between the incipient species. Arsenals of war, navies and armies, and the protective and aggressive weapons of the species-corporate, as the antlers of the stag, or the teeth and claws of the tiger, are the weapons of the individual. War itself is the most striking expression of the actual struggle. Here however, it is necessary to distinguish. One kind of war, and that the most familiar in the last two centuries when the opening of new continents made room for the expansion of growing nations, was a mere katabolic activity, the by-play of exuberant vitality. Such were the campaigns of Napoleon, or our own Crimean war; these were games, the winning or losing of which affected only the princes and generals. After a brief fever the nations forgot for what they had fought, and almost before the dead had decayed, the natural equilibrium was restored. A second kind of war occurs when an expanding, changing nation presses on its weaker or stationary neighbor. With this and its swift result the English have become familiar in every part of the world. But the last, and what must be a struggle to the death, comes only when two growing nations find no room for expansion save by compression of the one.

The world is rapidly approaching the epoch of these last wars, of wars which cannot end in peace with honor, of wars whose specter cannot be laid by the pale ghost of arbitration. The facts are patent. Feeble races are being wiped off the earth, and the few great incipient species arm themselves against each other. England as the greatest of these—greatest in geographical distribution, greatest in expansive force, greatest in race-pride—has avoided for centuries the only dangerous kind of war. Now, with the whole earth occupied and the movements of expansion continuing, she will have to fight to the death against successive rivals. With which first? With which second? With which third?

The problem is biological, and two considerations drawn from our knowledge of the conflicts between species must be weighed for an answer. First, it is plain that conflict is most imminent and most deadly between species that are most similar. Creatures of the forest have no quarrel with those that haunt the sea-shores until they have tried issue with all other forest-creatures. Insect-

eaters will not struggle for fruits until they have beaten off all other insect-eaters. Secondly, and equally obviously, the struggle is most imminent between species that are expanding most rapidly. Casual encounters may occur wherever creatures with offensive weapons come together; vital struggles only where the growth of one species forces it against another.

China and Japan are not our enemies on either ground. For many generations they may be left to account for each other, in the immemorial Asiatic fashion, by mutual blood-letting. Their habits of life and their climatic aptitudes make them the last rivals of western nations. In the distant future, when they have monopolized the low-lying tropics, the ultimate survivor of other nations may have to meet them. But such a distant turn of the kaleidoscope of fate is beyond prevision. Nor can Russia be regarded as an immediate rival of England. It is a huge, amorphous protoplasmic mass, ready, indeed, to engulf any intruding foreign body, but not informed with the high organization necessary for movements of external aggression. In a creeping, ameboid fashion, now protruding, now withdrawing arms, it is bound to grow down to the southern seaports its internal fertility demands. These necessary conditions attained, Russia will spend centuries in the slow process of domestic integration; and wars of aggression, save as ephemeral caprices, are not to be feared from it.

France, despite our historic antagonism for her, is no rival of England in the biological sense. She is not a nation that is growing and striving to expand beyond her boundaries. Her wars have been the dreams of rulers, not the movements of peoples. Her colonies have not struck roots of their own, but have remained in organic connection with the mother-country, draining their vital sap from her. In commerce, in art, in letters, in the daily business of life, the French and the English people have been complements of each other, not rivals. France and England are bound together by a thousand endearing diversities of character, they are commensal mates; allies, not enemies.

In a discussion like the present, the smaller nations, Switzerland, Spain and Portugal, Holland, Belgium, Italy, Greece, and the Balkan States are negligible quantities. They are domesticated species, living, by the grace of their neighbors, under artificial conditions. Austria, indeed, is not even a domesticated species; it is one of Mr. Carl Hagenbeck's "happy families"; an assortment of incongruous breeds, imperfectly trained to live together in a harmony that requires the utmost vigilance of the keepers. When the

throes of species-war begin, the park-railings surrounding the artificial varieties will be thrown down, and the escaped creatures will join their natural allies.

Of European nations, Germany is most alike to England. In racial characters, in religious and scientific thought, in sentiments and aptitudes, the Germans, by their resemblances to the English, are marked out as our natural rivals. In all parts of the earth, in every pursuit, in commerce, in manufacturing, in exploiting other races, the English and the Germans jostle each other. Germany is a growing nation; expanding far beyond her territorial limits, she is bound to secure new foothold or to perish in the attempt. It is true, she has not yet succeeded in making colonies of her own. But that failure is the mere accidental result of her political system. Her own revolution is imminent, and Germany, as a democratic power, would colonize for herself with the same aptitude she has shown for infiltrating our own colonies. Were every German to be wiped out to-morrow, there is no English trade, no English pursuit that would not immediately expand. Were every Englishman to be wiped out to-morrow, the Germans would gain in proportion. Here is the first great racial struggle of the future. Here are two growing nations pressing against each other, man to man all over the world. One or the other has to go; one or the other will go.

There remains the Anglo-Saxon race itself. If this break up into species, it is plain enough that conflict is inevitable as soon as the separate species have grown beyond their territorial limits. The territorial isolation of Canada, Australia and South Africa offers opportunity for the production of new sub-species. With the small facility for intercommunication, and with the narrow political views of last century, there is little doubt but that these offshoots from the mother-stock would have come into conflict with England. The circulation of population that is now possible, and the modern views of imperial federation, alike tend to preserve the unity of the race, in spite of the distinctive physical characters which already have made their appearance. With America, on the other hand, union has become impossible. The American type is now so distinct, and the American sentiment of nationality is so acute, that all hope of union is gone. The resemblances and identities that remain serve only to make the ultimate struggle more certain. America would be our enemy before Germany, but for the accident that America is not yet a nation expanding beyond her own territory. Each recurring census shows that the time is approaching

when America will have to expand or cease. The new regulations against the immigration of destitute aliens are one symptom that America, grown beyond the receptive phase, is reaching the aggressive phase. The Monroe doctrine is the most obvious provision against the expansion that soon must come; but the Monroe doctrine is a useless phase of diplomacy. Before long the nation itself, by its inevitable natural growth, will be enforcing a Monroe doctrine that is not a phase but a fact. The rumors of war with England must be realized and will be realized when the population of the States has transcended the limits of the States.

The biological view of foreign policy is plain. First, federate our colonies and prevent geographical isolation turning the Anglo-Saxon race against itself. Second, be ready to fight Germany, as *Germania est delenda*; third, be ready to fight America when the time comes. Lastly, engage in no wasting wars against peoples from whom we have nothing to fear.

COUNT ZEPPELIN IN ALSACE IN 1870.

BY KARL KLEIN.

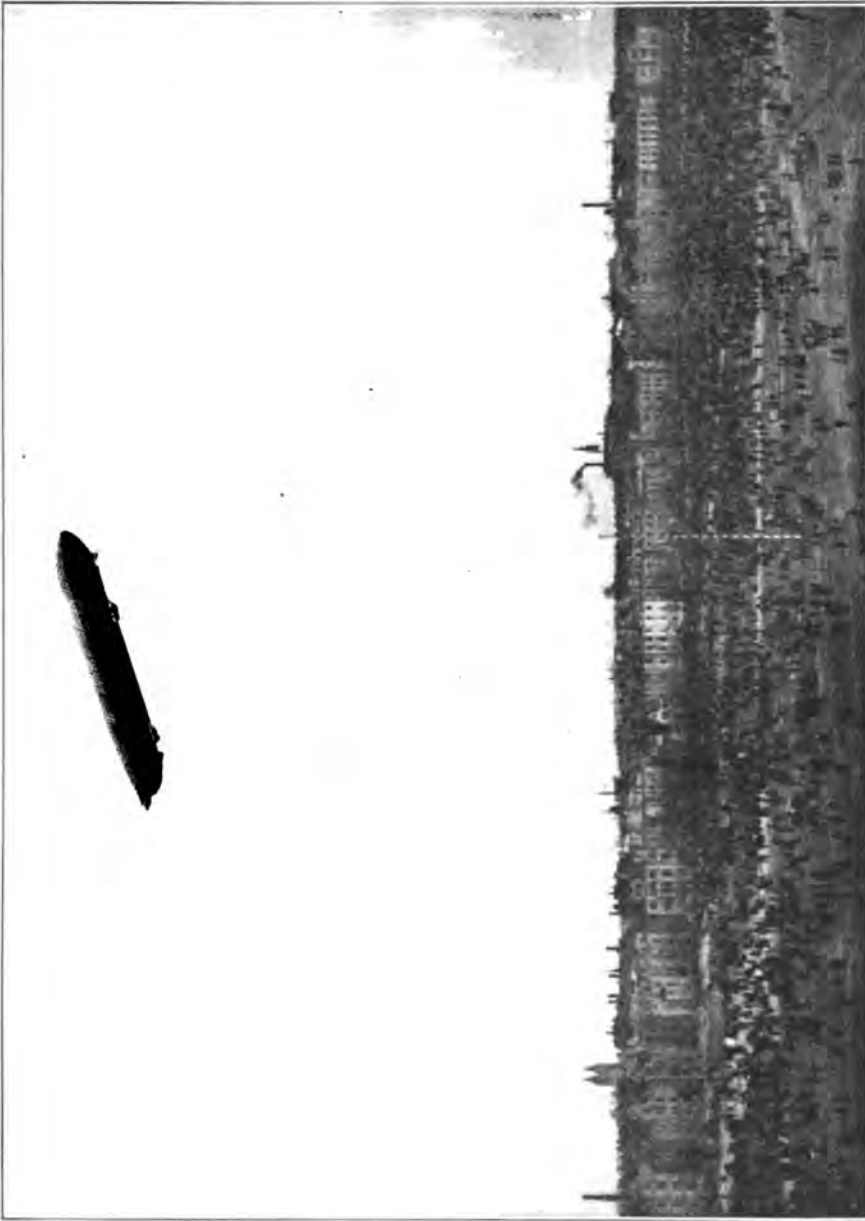
[Count Ferdinand Zeppelin, the inventor of the dirigible balloon, is prominently before the public because of the important part his airships play in the present European war. He is now in his seventy-seventh year, and a man of active intelligence and in vigorous health. He is an extraordinary character and remarkably young for his age.

By birth the Count is a Swabian. He first saw the light on July 8, 1838, very near Friedrichshafen on Lake Constance. He acquired a very good and broad education, not only of a general nature but also in technical and mechanical science. He attended the polytechnic institute at Stuttgart, the military academy at Ludwigsburg and the University of Tübingen. In 1858 he entered the Württemberg army. In 1863 while the war of Secession was waging in the United States he could not stay at home, but in his anxiety to profit by experience in actual warfare he left for America, entering the army of the North as a cavalry officer where he did good service until the end of the war in 1865. Even thus early he had taken special interest in aeronautics, for he once made an ascent in a captive balloon in order to spy out the position of the Confederate army. For some time he was attached to the staff of General Carl Schurz and barely escaped being taken prisoner at Fredericksburg.

Upon his return home the Austro-Prussian war broke out in 1866, and he served in the Württemberg army against Prussia. At the very beginning of the Franco-Prussian war in 1870 he played a conspicuous part in a brilliant dash into Alsace which he made in the service of the German armies in order to reconnoiter the country and determine the position of the various French army corps. This experience is told in the diary of the Rev. Karl Klein, an Alsatian pastor of the village of Fröschweiler. The diary was published after the war of 1870-71, and has the fresh and impartial tone which belongs to such an informal document. Since the Rev. Karl Klein was a subject of France, he could hardly be said to be a German, yet as an Alsatian he was not without sympathy for the German invaders. At the time he wrote, Count Zeppelin was not famous, nor could his later exploits in aeronautics be foreseen. We republish here Pastor Klein's account of Count Zeppelin's adventure, translated into English by Lydia G. Robinson and accompanied by illustrations made by Ernst Zimmer, a German artist, after a

careful study of the localities, the uniforms and all the personalities concerned.

We will conclude our comment by stating that after the foundation of the empire Count Zeppelin served in the *Bundesrat* (the imperial council representing the sovereign princes of Germany) as the Württemberg Plenipoten-



THE FIRST LONG-DISTANCE VOYAGE OF ZEPPELIN I, MUNICH, APRIL 2, 1909.
From *Pall Mall Magazine*, June, 1909.

tiary, a very high position. He retired from active service in the army in 1901 with the rank of Lieutenant-General and has since then devoted himself to the development and perfection of the dirigible balloon which now bears his name.—Ed.]

"THE Prussians are coming! The Prussians are coming!" During the summer of 1870 this alarm had sounded more than once in Fröschweiler, Wörth and the neighboring Alsatian villages. Who said so? Where are they? How could any one make sense out of such hubbub! The people would run out and fall over each other; the squadron of light cavalry detailed at Fröschweiler from Regiment 11 stationed at Niederbronn would gallop hither and yon; the regiment itself would come up from Niederbronn and patrol around in all directions—but the Prussians did



"THE PRUSSIANS ARE COMING!"

not come and everything would quiet down again. And yet no one could feel quite comfortable; the railroad trains rumbled so mysteriously from Reichshofen across the "great forest" (*Grossenwald*). The calm was beginning to weigh oppressively on people's spirits, when suddenly early in the morning of July 24, the boy from the castle came running in as pale as death from Elsasshausen, crying at the top of his voice: "The Prussians are coming! The Prussians are *here*! I saw them myself. They rode through Elsasshausen and I had to show them the way." And Babe Lanze

broke in with: "Oh dear, oh dear! we are all lost! Every Prussian carries a saber in his mouth crosswise and has a loaded pistol in each hand!" And as they went shouting about through the village, all the others crowded around shouting after them until there was



OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT.

as great a consternation and screaming and howling as if a hundred thousand brigands were down there by the churchyard and were sure to massacre everything that had skin and hair. Crowds flocked around the parsonage, and especially the women were wringing their

hands and whimpering and weeping as if all was already lost. And we were admonishing them to be still and leave everything in God's hands, when a gendarme came galloping up from Wörth who confirmed the news that a troop of Prussians had rushed through Wörth with flashing swords and muskets cocked, shouting "War! War!" He said he was hurrying to Niederbronn to inform the regiment so that these marauders would be killed or captured. Then our people quieted down somewhat, and every one—both young and old—that went on two feet, stood ready to sacrifice themselves on the altar of the fatherland.

The captain of the squadron, a valiant and courageous young hero, who was infuriated at the slightest sign of fear and cowardice, could not stay quietly on the spot another moment. He rushed hither and thither with his company, scouted in every direction, down hill, across country and back again, and when one or another of his men wiped the sweat from his brow with beating heart and grave forebodings, he consoled them with "*Allons, mon brave! pas peur! nous mourons pour la patrie!*" (Courage, my brave fellow! fear not! we are dying for our country!) And all who could understand it and carried Christian hearts in their breast could not keep back the tears, thinking:

"God keep you!

Yesterday on mounted steed,

To-day with hero's heart abled,

To-morrow in the peaceful grave."

So as much as an hour and a half was spent in riding up and down, lying in ambush, coming back, keeping quiet, receiving all sorts of good wishes and words of encouragement, emptying canteens, filling them up again and striking out in all directions without bloodshed. Then the gendarme came back and announced that the regiment had broken camp at Niederbronn and had gone to meet the enemy by way of Gundershofen. "They must forget the way home!" opined Lindenbauer, drunk with triumph. "Yes, if they don't run away, or if there is a rear guard behind them," whispered the shrewd Willibald, "they are hardly likely to be left to themselves."

The enemy's forces consisted of an officer of the Württemberg general staff, Captain Count Zeppelin, three officers from Baden and four dragoons. They had orders to reconnoiter across Lauterburg out into the country and see whether any considerable number of troops had mobilized in lower Alsace. They had succeeded in

passing through Sulz, Wörth, Fröschweiler, and had advanced on an unfrequented mountain path so far from Elsasshausen that they could look down upon the railroad tracks from Gundershofen to Niederbronn and also over a good part of Hanau.

Whether they had finished their Joshua and Caleb errand or were just about to carry it out we shall not here betray for the best of reasons. But it is our duty to communicate to posterity what took place at the Schirlenhof Inn lying in lonely isolation in



CAPTAIN COUNT ZEPPELIN.

the woods midway between Eberbach, Gundershofen and Reichshofen, and what fate overtook the venturesome horsemen there.

They had returned to the courtyard and put up their horses in stables and sheds; they were about to rest a while after their hard ride and already the omelets were merrily steaming in the pan and were going to taste all the better on French ground—when all of a sudden there was an uproar, the whole cavalry regiment was coming up, the yard was already surrounded. What next? Knives

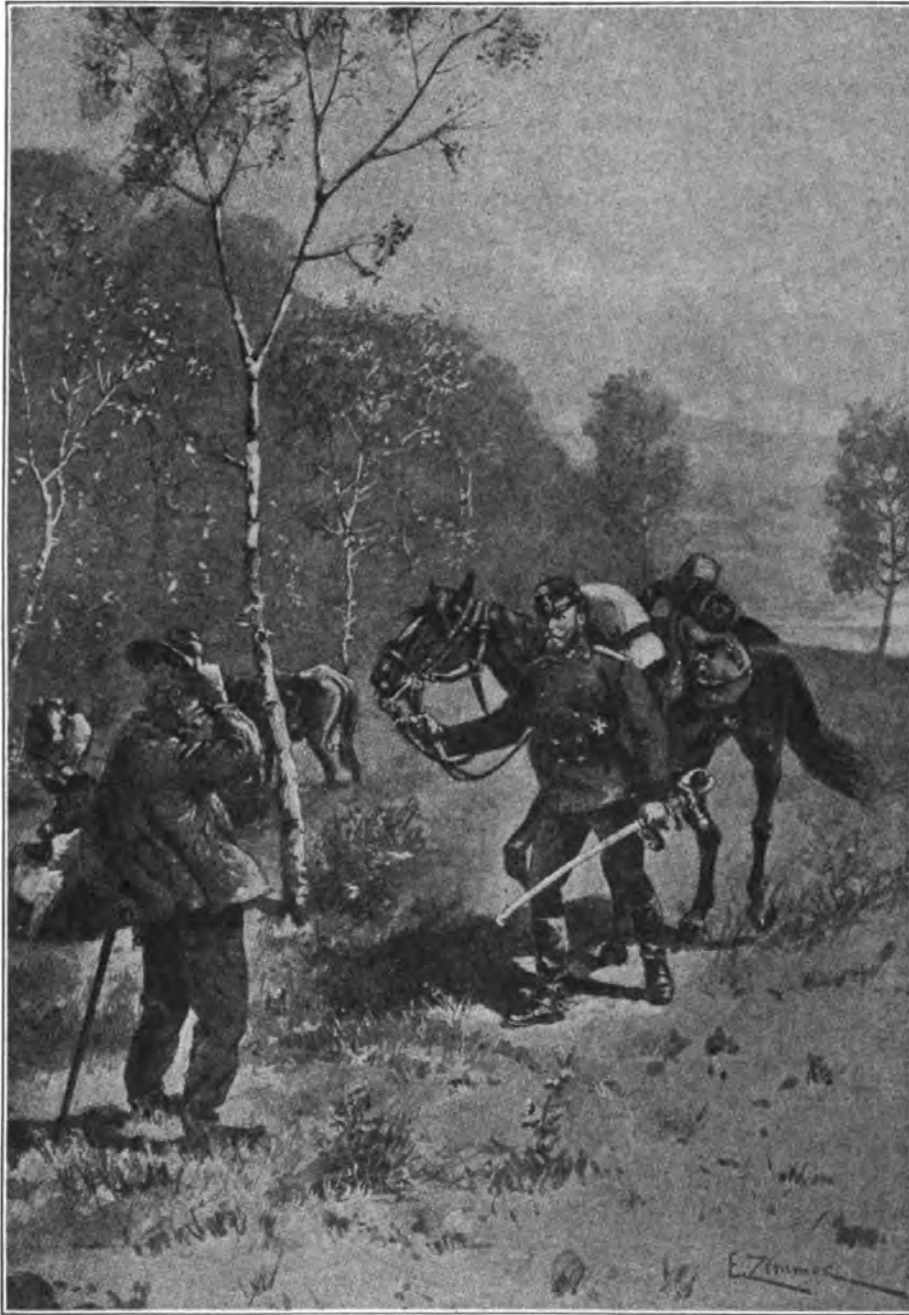
and forks fell to the table, swords were unsheathed, the guests plunged headlong out of the inn and barricaded themselves behind their horses. The first shot stretched a French subaltern on the ground; other shots followed; Lieutenant Winslow was fatally wounded and others were injured. There were a few shots of retaliation, but superior force had conquered. Two officers and two dragoons were taken and Winslow bled to death; but Count Zeppelin and the two other dragoons escaped. The regiment turned right about face and reached Niederbronn again that very evening in the midst of general rejoicing. In Paris the "battle of Schirlenhof" was celebrated with illuminations, and even in Fröschweiler



ESCAPE FROM SCHIRLENHOF.

the joy was so great and the enthusiasm so universal when our squadron came back that our good people never tired of asking questions, praising and admiring, and the soldiers could not finish eating, drinking, and telling stories until far into the night. As booty they brought back with them a short musket and a thick wooden cudgel, still preserved in Fröschweiler as a permanent memorial. How these trophies were prized and marveled at!

Count Zeppelin escaped on the black horse of the fallen French subaltern, people in the forest say, and returned to Schirlenhof shortly after the battle and settled his account there. Whether



SUPPER IN THE MEADOW.

this is true or not he himself must know best, for he is still alive, and even if he does not confess it perhaps history will throw light on the matter at some future day. At any rate he is a bold horseman, for his retreat into Pfalz not only shows a very exact knowledge of our locality, but also such a contempt of death as to compel admiration. From the scene of the battle he wended his way in a north-easterly direction through the "great forest" and it must have been not far from Fröschweiler that he crossed the Reichshofen military



LEAVING BIG PETER'S INN.

road which at that time was a much frequented highway. Then he proceeded over the outskirts of the forest into the mountains always in company with the black horse which has become a legendary figure.

When Wendling's Peter (God bless him!) was tending his cows in the pasture that evening close to the wood by the mountain slope between Nähweiler and Linienhausen, there came along a strange looking man who could not be a Frenchman. He was

leading a tired warhorse by the bridle and asked if he couldn't get a little milk. Peter looked at him in alarm. "Yes, I would just as soon give you a little milk if I had something to milk into." "That is easily arranged," said the man and drew a leather object out of his pocket which could be drunk out of and milked into, and Peter milked into it bravely enough. The milk tasted so good to the stranger that he let the cowherd fill the cup again, whereupon he gave the dumbfounded fellow a two-frank piece, said "Thank you" and "Goodbye." And all this happened while French horsemen were scouring up and down not more than three hundred paces away, and were execrating the Prussian in the wood though they did not go into the wood after him.

Count Zeppelin went on his way, and that very evening reached



THE WOUNDED DRAGOON.

Günsthal. There at the so-called *Big Peter's* house he drank two glasses of red wine for which he paid a ten-franc piece and next day arrived in the kingdom of Bavaria with important communications after his fatiguing ride. But never to his dying day did Wendling's Peter forget that evening, nor how he milked into the stranger's leather cup.

There were two dragoons who also escaped from the battle of Schirlenhof, as we said before. They sought and found shelter and lodging in the forest while their comrades were given an opportunity of silent meditation behind the walls of the Niederbronn

prison. One of the two who escaped had been shot in the foot, and so the way home on shank's mare through hedges and thorns could not give him any particular pleasure. They had started off straight towards the south not far from Eberbach, had stopped at Albert's Inn (commonly called the Louse Inn) between Morsbronn and Wörth to ask for refreshment and civilian's clothes, and hoped that from there they could succeed in getting back to their home by way of the Hagenau forest near by, which extends down to the



POUR LA PATRIE.

Rhine. But they were to find out very soon what Alsacians can do when it becomes a question of protecting their fatherland from barbarians.

It was reported that a few Prussians were lurking in the forest, and although the regiment at Niederbronn might sleep in peace, in Sauerhof no one could be expected to do so under the circumstances. No indeed, you must not think that Sauerhof is any ordinary place on the map. Who is at all acquainted with it knows

that it contains many prominent people, philosophers and poets (there is one poet there who is firmly convinced that he reaches at least up to Schiller's ankles!). And here above all we have patriots without a peer. I tell you it's great when these men strike the table and set about dividing up the world! So we can easily understand that no one in Sauerhof could rest in peace until those dreadful villains were caught and wiped off the face of the earth.

First of all the patricians assembled to take measures to save their country; the unprecedentedness of such an invasion was set forth in its proper light with all its dangers and horrors; the people's wrath was aroused to the necessary pitch by means of large black type; and, to make a long story short, it was decided to make an expedition into the forest and bring back the bandits to Sauerhof, dead or alive. Now imagine the village, if you can, at such an exalted moment! The enthusiasm, the outbursts of wrath, the contempt of death and the joy of victory! What a pity there were not a hundred Prussians lying in the forest instead of only two. Yesterday they did not as much as imprison one, to-day each man would kill a dozen.

But who will lead the expedition? What a question! You can easily descry the vengeance-breathing commander there on the white horse. See how smartly his hair is dressed and how valiantly he gallops up and down under the windows of the fine ladies so that the sparks fly from his charger's hoofs. I give you my word of honor that he will take to his heels, and escape across the Kniebis before the first battle!¹ And there is the adjutant at the head (his name has just escaped me but it does not matter) who has been a soldier, even a subaltern. You can tell him by his voice and the Prussians will know him by his stripes. Hear him as with pistol in either hand he goes roaring about among the raging crowd, "Where are they? Where are they? *Allons, enfants de la patrie!*" And the crowd takes it up after him. See how the zealous army of citizens with flintlocks, knives, scythes, pitchforks, stakes and all manner of death-dealing implements, swearing death and destruction, surge through the streets, and away they go without fear and without wavering, forth, forth to the bloody fray. Only one man, the wise Æsculapius, looks on with a philosophical smile from behind the palings of his garden and mutters in his beard, "Oh! if there were only some way to muzzle such specimens!" But he nevertheless takes bandages and other remedies, has his

¹ Pastor Klein says in a footnote that this what actually occurred in less than ten days, on August 4.

gig hitched, and still musing rides along behind the rest to the scene of battle.

What incidents occurred on the way, what sorts of *vive la France!* and other slogans resounded through the forest, the present historian cannot say. All he knows is that when the main body of troops in fighting array surrounded Albert's Inn (commonly called



THE CAPTIVE PRUSSAINS.

the Louse Inn) and the spokesman had solemnly demanded the unconditional surrender of the hostile army, there stepped out—two young unarmed striplings, who stood silent before their victors as in days of old Vercingetorix stood before Cæsar. "There they are! There they are! *Vengeance! à bas la Prusse!* We've got 'em!" sounded from a hundred throats, besides whatever else in the way

of curses, threats and patriotic effusions, all who had particularly distinguished themselves in the battle could utter.

A beautiful twilight glow spread over the great forest; the expedition had succeeded beyond all expectations. Beaming with joy the leaders of the army returned to Sauerhof together with applauding legions and barbarians in chains. The doors of the *carcere duro* clanged, and therein lay two captive dragoons tortured the whole night long with curses and execrations. The next morning they were led like ordinary criminals, bareheaded and with torn clothes, through Fröschweiler and Niederbronn, and the writer will never forget the look one of them cast up at a window where a foul-mouthed spectator was giving utterance to the genuinely patriotic speech, "Beheading'd be too good for them."

You shake your head, dear reader, and think "Oh, Sauerhof, to what heights hath your patriotism soared!" Be calm and chide not to me the boundless bravery of the Alsacian people. Down in Germersheim or up in Offenburg the dragoon hunt against two wounded *Frenchmen* would have been carried on in exactly the same way.

LESSONS OF THE WAR.

BY THE EDITOR.

INTRODUCTION.

SO suddenly has war fallen upon Europe that we can scarcely realize it as yet, and are at a loss to know what to think of it. Many among us believe in the establishment of universal peace on earth, and are inclined to condemn armaments and readiness for war, which they call "militarism," and these people are least prepared to form a correct and sound judgment of the situation. Considering the difficulty of understanding the nature of war and the part it plays in the history of mankind we will here briefly outline the lessons which the war teaches us.

According to the theory of evolution the one main factor that determines the survival of the fittest is the struggle for life; and in commerce this struggle for life shows itself as competition, and in the rivalry of the nations, as war. Life is not a mere frolic; it is a combat, and our first duty is to maintain ourselves. The fit survive, the unfit go to the wall. War is the natural state of things; peace is introduced by civilization as an artificial means to alleviate the sufferings of war and to eliminate them more and more.

Civilization should not be regarded as unnatural because it is higher than the more primitive condition of a war of all against all. Civilization is higher nature; it is, and should be, nature refined and ennobled. So we will understand that peace is not the abolition of struggle, but simply a higher kind. Peace abolishes slaughter but leaves competition, and competition often proves to be more severe than war. The struggle for life in the time of peace in mercantile and industrial competition is frequently as keen as a battle, sometimes it is worse; it demands courage, quickness of decision, keen foresight and strong endurance as much as the conflicts of war.

The first lesson then is this: We shall never be able to do away with struggle altogether, for struggle is the nature of life. But we shall be able to avoid unnecessary sufferings, and this is slowly being accomplished by means of civilization.

A universal and lasting peace is an ideal which is not impossible, but we are sure that it can be realized only upon the basis of force. Peace on earth will come about as a matter of course only when the men of goodwill hold the balance of power. So long as the unjust, the brutishly greedy, the narrow-minded and stupid have anything to say in international affairs peace will remain impossible, and therefore it will be the duty of every civilized nation to be prepared for self-defense. This is the second lesson we have to learn.

Germany was pretty well prepared for war. She suffered so much in former centuries from being unprepared that at last she has learned the lesson. If other nations should fall upon the United States as the allies fell upon Germany, we should be unable to resist and would have either to make an ignoble peace or suffer great reverses before we could assert ourselves. And how few of us know that it is our duty to be prepared for war! In this rough world of ours we must unlearn that goody-goody morality which praises the ideal of peace at any price and denounces the lion as an evil doer because he lives on a flesh diet. Its emblem of goodness is the sheep, or the lamb innocently butchered. We do not glorify the wolf, the representative of lower nature, but we do not mean to worship the lamb with its passive virtue, so the third lesson of the war may be formulated thus: "Ovine morality is wrong." We must cease to admire and imitate the sheep because it is so good, so very good that it would rather be devoured than fight.

The ovine ideal was greatly admired in Germany till it brought on a dissolution of the empire and allowed the nation to go to wrack and ruin and be wiped off from the face of the earth. The Hohenzollerns with their people, the little state of Brandenburg-Prussia, learned the lesson of war and the duties of self-assertion; and from them came the salvation of Germany.

We do not mean to say that either the Hohenzollerns or the Prussians were faultless, or that Prussianism did not exhibit much onesidedness. The Prussians went too far in emphasizing militarism; they have often enough neglected the culture of art and science and have been eclipsed by smaller states in literature, in art, and other branches of intellectual progress. Certainly they can be criticized and have been held up to ridicule frequently and not

without justice. But when the time of danger came and the very existence of Germany was threatened, Prussia came to the rescue and saved Germany from extinction; and the lesson which the recent events teach us is this: "Go ye United States and do likewise," which means, "Be prepared for self-defense."

Let us not only educate our boys in Sunday schools, but let us make men of them. The desire for self-defense is natural. If we were to become implicated in a war on a large scale and if hostile armies were to invade our country, there is danger that our citizens might turn into snipers instead of warriors. It is to be feared that this will be the case with England if the country is invaded, and the result would be terrible.

In former articles¹ I have advocated the principle that our young men should be drilled in military service, and it seems to me that it ought to be done somewhat in the style of the Swiss army. I am firmly convinced that it would be beneficial to our youth. The boys need it, and a critical moment might come when such an institution would preserve peace, or, if that should prove impossible, would serve to protect our country efficiently.

The fifth lesson therefore is this: A military training will do good to every one of our boys, and militarism, the right kind of militarism, is a necessity which ought to be introduced in our own country. Its introduction into England in a system of compulsory military training has already been announced. The English propose to crush militarism in Germany where it has reached a certain perfection, but they do not and never did object to the barbarous militarism of Russia nor to their own navalism, and now are going to establish an English militarism.

MY CRITICS.

I may be excused for taking space to characterize my critics by citing quotations, but these specimens exhibit the violent nature of the great masses of the supporters of the English cause. They scold, they calumniate, they jump at unjustifiable conclusions; mere suspicions, absolutely wrong, are uttered as undeniable facts, and even if their errors are refuted they cling to their beliefs.

The letters of protest which have come to me in response to the October number of *The Open Court* are rare, only ten so far, while whole-hearted endorsements are numerous, among them a telegraphic greeting from the New York society of former German

¹ See, for instance, "Duplicate the Naval Academy, *Open Court*, XV, 495.

university students in appreciation of the view I have taken.² The language of my critics is bitter, and three of the ten come from Canada. A Canadian friend of mine assures me that Canadians, including German Canadians, have no opportunity to become acquainted with the German side of the question.

One letter from Toronto, signed "Jones," without street address, contains a long newspaper clipping relating to the establishment of a German secret service to influence public opinion abroad, but it is peculiar that this secret service is reported to have been founded in a public meeting. The letter reads: "Are you one of the Secret Service agents of Germany in America? From October issue would think so. The paper that sells its conscience, if its Editor has any, is contemptable."

Another letter of the same character reads: "... From the beginning to the end of the magazine you have shown that you are clearly a subsidized agent of the German government. For gold you have got together a lot of quotations and other material to belittle the British empire in the eyes of the world at the present time You were not thinking of the cruelties that were being practised by the soldiers of 'Cultured Germany' in Belgium...."

The same Toronto critic writes in a second letter:

"You are to me a 'snake in the grass,' and you are playing a double game which will finally reflect itself against you. The twaddle you have been publishing for the edification of your readers, could be, however, easily scattered to the four winds of heaven so far as its correctness is concerned. However, a man who apparently has been bribed with German gold or else become imbued or obsessed with the mental capacity of the mad professors of Germany, would not listen to any wisdom coming from a person who has traveled extensively throughout the world, and knows the feeling that is predominant among the intelligent portion of the world. Germany will be 'smashed' with all its *mad professors*."

A third letter, coming from the United States and anonymous, is on the same level. Its arguments are not rational nor logical, but delightfully vigorous in invectives: "Never again shall any publication bearing your name enter my house, nor any decent

² Men who have attended German universities are very numerous all over the United States and all belong to the most intellectual class of our citizens. Some of them have founded a society under the name *Verein aller deutschen Studenten* which is flourishing in many of our larger cities, especially New York and Chicago, but also in many smaller towns. Most of the members are Americans or German Americans, and I have reason to believe that the sympathies of most of them are pro-German in this crisis.

American household that I can keep it out of. Never again will I vote for any man who calls himself 'a German-American.' He lies. Moreover, he is a fool. I know that I cannot insult you by calling you a liar. You are a German. I call you a fool. You can feel that. To you and all other exponents of *die Kultur*, as illustrated at Louvain, my undying contempt. You remind me of the gorilla whose ego was too large for his cosmos."

A fourth letter from a Canadian resident in the United States, "saying a definite farewell" to *The Open Court*, because "in ethical sense it has fallen upon evil days," encloses an argument against the German side and claims that it "mirrors the sentiment of nine-tenths of my native-born American friends." He mentions "General von Edelsheim's plan to invade our shores," published in "that now classic monograph entitled *Operations upon the Sea*," and also the violation of Belgium's neutrality as well as "the deliberate destruction of the Louvain library and the Rheims cathedral."

It ought to be generally known by this time that the Belgian neutrality treaty was indeed a mere scrap of paper. Even Gladstone in his time considered it as such and made a new treaty for the time of the war 1870-71 to last one year after the war—a fact pointed out by Professor Burgess—and it is acknowledged that in cases of necessity such obligations are broken, and statesmen admit that it is perfectly justifiable to break them. I will quote Sir Edward Grey in his speech in the House of Commons on August 3 where he cites English authorities, Gladstone and others, for the view that such guarantees are not always binding. Sir Edward Grey cannot very well uphold the absolute sanctity of Belgian neutrality, for the documents discovered in Brussels and Antwerp prove that Belgium, England and France had broken Belgian neutrality treaties long before a German soldier set foot on Belgian ground.³ Sir Edward Grey said: "There is, I admit, the obligation of the treaty...but I am not able to subscribe to the doctrine...that the simple fact of the existence of a guarantee is binding on every party to it irrespective altogether of the particular position in which it may find itself at the time when the occasion for acting on the guarantee arises. The great authorities upon foreign policy...as Lord Aberdeen and Lord Palmerston, never to my knowledge took that rigid, and if I may venture to say so, that impracticable view of the guarantee. The circumstance that there is already an existing

³ See the report from the German general headquarters as quoted on pages 663 and 664 in the editorial article, "Poor Belgium," in the November *Open Court*.

guarantee in force is, of necessity, an important fact, and a weighty element in the case."

So the breach of neutrality is unessential, the reason for war lies deeper. Sir Edward Grey continues: "There is also this further consideration, the force of which we must all feel most deeply, and that is, the common interest against the unmeasured aggrandizement of any power whatever."

The true reason for the war, according to Sir Edward Grey and others, was the maintenance of the balance of power, and thus there is no use for arguments, no use for logic, no question of right or wrong. Since Germany has become united she has disturbed the balance of power and must be crushed before she grows too powerful for England. Her "unmeasured aggrandizement" is the reason why the British entered into the war. It is this they call German aggressiveness and never tire of denouncing German imperialism, Prussianism and militarism. These words mean that Germany should no longer be a union, should no longer be strong and war-like, should not be able to defend herself. Rational arguments are not needed; defenders of the British cause simply scold and show a contempt for imperialism and militarism; at the same time they propose to introduce these heinous institutions in Great Britain. The colonies must be federated and the government must be allowed to raise big armies by drafting.

There is one more pro-British letter which I regret has been misplaced. It is quite similar to the others, only it adds, "You are a cur." These vigorous expressions of a difference of opinion are interesting, for invectives prove that the people who use them are without a convincing argument. Otherwise they would produce the argument instead of scolding. It is the man without reason that turns rude. And the easiest way to dispose of an opponent is to denounce him as immoral, as a liar, a man without conscience, low in an ethical sense.

The sixth of my critics has an argument. He is a scholar of keen discrimination in his own field, but sometimes a stickler for points which others consider as unmeaning. He is a native Britisher but pretty bold and impartial. He writes:

"In your reprint of the *Saturday Review** article of 1897 you omit the most damning words of all: viz., the last sentence: '*Germaniam esse delendam.*' On February 1, 1896, the same review,

* The first article of the October *Open Court*. The copy of the *Saturday Review* from which our article was taken did not conclude with the words: "*Germaniam esse delendam.*"

in an article 'by a biologist,' says: 'The biological view of foreign policy is plain. First, federate our colonies and prevent geographical isolation turning the Anglo-Saxon race against itself. Second, be ready to fight Germany, as *Germania est delenda*; third, be ready to fight America when the time comes. Lastly, engage in no wasting wars against peoples from whom we have nothing to fear.' These are the last words.

"Herman Ridder quotes the Catonic speech as of 1879 instead of 1897, and I controverted him in the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin*. By this misprint it is made to appear that English jingoism was five years earlier than Prussian, for it was on November 25, 1884, that Treitschke said this: 'Mit Oesterreich, mit Frankreich, mit Russland haben wir bereits abgerechnet; die letzte Abrechnung mit England wird voraussichtlich die langwierigste und die schwierigste sein.'"^{*}

This proposition to place the guilt where we find priority in an authoritative statement of jingoism, does not seem to me applicable. The question is not who threatened first, but who has done right and who has done wrong. The breach of neutrality in Germany would have been wrong if it had not been contemplated first by the French, and it is justified by the English plans to take it in their schemes of 1906.

I will quote one more critic who is a Britisher living in the United States, a man distinguished by scientific erudition. He writes: "Your article in the October *Open Court* was extremely interesting to me, rabid Britisher as I am, in that it was the only exposition of the German side of the question which I have seen that was not made in the heat of anger. I do not agree with you, however."

A very unexpected letter reached me from England from quarters which do not have any influence on the government but represent *die Stillen im Lande* who may form a nucleus for a future reform. Our correspondent states that one of his nearest friends, a professional thinker with a strong leaning towards politics, is "of opinion that Grey is a very unscrupulous person; in fact he describes him as a 'devil.' Indeed, Grey's whole policy, especially about the Morocco crisis, is very bad. With regard to the violation of Belgium's neutrality, my friend is sure that Germany violated it first and with no provocation on the part of France, but that if

^{*} From *Die ersten Versuche deutscher Kolonialpolitik*; November 25, 1884, in Treitschke's *Deutsche Kämpfe: Neue Folge: Schriften zur Tagespolitik*. Leipzig, 1896, p. 349.

France had violated it England would not have interfered. It is interesting that Asquith made a great point of Belgium to appeal to the British public, while Grey, to do him justice, did not pretend that Belgium was the cause of the war. The fault of British diplomacy is that at the beginning England did not say definitely what she would or would not do. The English people are often unconscious hypocrites because, though the ideals they think they pursue are noble ones, they will not acknowledge that their policy is, like the policy of other nations, governed entirely by self-interest. The German policy is almost brutally frank, but the English policy has never been frank. What the English were afraid of about Belgium was that Germany should annex Belgium and establish seaports which would threaten England. When Germany had no navy to speak of, in 1887 I think, England did not propose to interfere on behalf of Belgium when Germany proposed to advance against France through Belgium. Also there was at one time a precisely analogous case in the Russian invasion of Persia: Persia's neutrality had been guaranteed by England, and England did not interfere, but salved her conscience by the reflection that the Persians were a bad lot. England's behavior to other nations is simply guided by the fact as to whether they have a navy or not: if they have a navy England's conscience awakes."

A man who approves the defense of Germany in *The Open Court* says:

"At the beginning of the war. . . I received the impression that the Kaiser was to blame for his rapid and quick action and that he could have prevented war. But it is evident that it would have been folly for Germany to wait longer after war was unavoidable. By her rapid mobilization and quick action Germany secured great advantage and located the destruction of property which accompanies warfare, outside of German territory.

"Our conscience and our moral support should not be neutral. To be neutral in this would be morally wrong. President Wilson's appeal for impartiality and neutrality has served its good cause by restraining people from taking sides on sentimental grounds. It is well if the American people remain neutral in action to guard against being drawn into the conflict, as, probably, more harm than good would be done if the United States would enter the war. It is commendable to remain neutral in arguments based on sentiments. But in arguments based on reason and moral principles it is a sacred duty not to remain neutral. This is the duty in particular of moral teachers. The evils in this world must be fought and

great effort made to overcome them, otherwise the evils will overcome the good.

"After considering calmly with reason both sides of the question, we ought to give our moral support to whichever nations deserve it, as determined by our sense of justice, leaving out our commercial and possible pecuniary interests. . . . The pocket-book is most people's guide in an argument. To make this clear it is necessary to state that there is only one other guide and that is the general welfare of the people.

"Particularly *The Open Court*—as seeking for truth and ethical ideals—should give moral support to whichever nations deserve it. We can hardly arouse the enmity of a nation to a sufficient extent to be drawn into the conflict, by condemning it on sound moral principles; but this should cause its humiliation and shame.

"American neutrality has actually gone so far as to give active assistance to the Allies by selling war material to them. It is necessary to counteract this, as Germany appears to be the most innocent of the nations engaged in the war."

In reply to my critics I wish to state that I am not anti-British, but I blame the British government for making the war and deceiving the British citizens so as to make them hate Germany and fear its prosperity and increase of power. I protest against the war as much in the interest of Great Britain as of France, Germany and the Belgians who are victims of the bad policy of their government.

I have investigated the origin of the present European war and have come to the conclusion that it was forced upon Germany, that Germany tried as far as possible to preserve peace. Considering the fact that Germany has been growing and expanding until the other nations of Europe became alarmed lest she surpass them in industry and power, the war was perhaps unavoidable. It was rather hard on Germany that the three biggest powers of Europe fell upon her simultaneously, but this concerted action was part of their agreement. It was the plan of the Triple Entente, and constituted their hope of victory. The war will be a test of Germany's strength and efficiency, and the test is great, very great.

The cause of Germany has been much misrepresented in the English speaking world but she has more friends than would appear from the opinions published in the newspapers. This is certainly true of the United States of America. I grant that many Anglo-Americans side with the Triple Entente, and most of England's friends are noisy in their denunciations of German militarism

and of the tyranny of the Kaiser; they are untiring in their accusations of the German breach of neutrality, of the atrocities committed in Belgium, of the burning of Louvain and the destruction of the Rheims cathedral. The friends of Germany are quiet, but most of them are intense in their convictions and among them are the German Americans.

THE GERMAN AMERICANS.

[The German Americans stand by Germany because they feel that Germany and all that Germany represents in the history of the world, *das Deutschtum* or Germandom, the spirit of Germany itself, is at stake in the present crisis. The Germans in America are by no means blind in their judgment. They have not always stood by the fatherland, nor do they now without due consideration of the facts. They do not take sides simply because Germany has been their home and Germany is on one side while the rest of Europe is ranged on the other. They stand by their fatherland because they are fully and firmly convinced that their fatherland is in the right and that the others, especially the English, are in the wrong. The German Canadians do not know the actual facts, they know only the British side of the war, so they appear to stand by England.]

No better evidence of the objectivity of thought of the German Americans can be furnished than their position during our war with Spain. After Admiral Dewey had taken Manila the German navy under Admiral Dietrich entered Manila Harbor with a force superior to the American fleet and behaved in such a way that they practically challenged the American fleet to battle. Their attitude almost brought about a war between Germany and the United States, but in this dangerous crisis the German Americans stood faithfully by their new home, the United States. They openly denounced the attitude of Dietrich, and the German government, noticing that it had made a serious mistake, made up for its blunder as well as it could. The Kaiser sent Prince Henry to the United States to show his good will and Prince Henry was well received here.

The story goes that once in the Kaiser's younger years when a visitor was announced to him as a German American, he remarked that he knew Germans and he knew Americans, but German Americans he knew not. The remark reflected the spirit of a certain portion of German officialdom, and alienated many German Americans from the German government. They felt that the German

government was too narrow to understand that we have a very strong representation of German nationality in the United States just as we have traditions of all nations. We have Irish-Americans, Anglo-Americans, Franco-Americans, etc., and the German Americans are certainly not the least among them. The Kaiser's hasty comment cost him a great deal of sympathy in the United States, for if the German Americans feel that their Germandom is no longer recognized in Germany, they will naturally drop it and become purely American. To be sure the German Americans are Americans, but the patriotism of this country is not so narrow as to demand an absolute cutting off of former traditions. Every one in this country is welcome to become an American, and American patriotism is broad enough to cherish all the old traditions of other nationalities. Every one who comes to this country is expected to bring with him the best he has acquired in his old home and there is no need to lose his love of that home. We do not hate any nationality and every stranger can find a home here without abjuring his former fatherland. It is well recognized that the Germans make very good American citizens, while English-Americans are rare. English people who live in this country mostly retain their allegiance to the British crown.

Upon the whole, English people think quite disparagingly about America. I feel justified in calling it a prejudice, for it is in most cases a prejudice without reasonable foundation. They judge Americans after the type of the loud and uncultured specimens who force their presence into conspicuous evidence wherever they are, mostly so abroad, and they disregard the better classes. They forget that England too has specimens of whom the better Englishmen have no reason to be proud. All nationalities are pretty much alike in this respect, but it may be a good symptom of strength that the English are more English, and therefore more vigorous in national self-consciousness than any other nation. This impressed me particularly when the first Englishman I met here answered my assumption that he was naturalized since he had become a permanent resident of America. He said: "I have never foresworn my allegiance to Her Majesty, the Queen!" To become naturalized here necessarily includes that allegiance to a sovereign should be foresworn, but it does not mean a break with one's ancestral traditions. On the contrary, here in America we want every foreigner who comes to preserve everything of his old country that is good and introduce it into the American commonwealth we are building.

It is a requirement of the Greek church that any convert who

enters its fold must curse his former faith in pretty vile terms, and from this rule not even a Czarina is excepted; for, as the story goes, it was quite hard on the wife of the present ruler of Russia, a German princess, to curse her old faith when joining the church of her husband, since she could not be exempted from this awful obligation. In court circles it is secretly asserted that the poor empress feels pangs of conscience whenever new misfortunes visit the empire, as if they came as a just punishment for her apostacy from the evangelical church. This demand of the Greek church is in line with old traditions and is deemed right in Russia; but everything is quite different in American patriotism, for here we are in the habit of cultivating all that is good and noble in other nations. Yea, our own patriotism is to be based on cosmopolitan grounds. We cherish the idea that universal love of all mankind should be compatible with the love of our own country, and so we believe that German-Americans may just as well live harmoniously in this country together with Irish-Americans or Anglo-Americans, with Franco-Americans or with emigrants from any country of the world.

Our American ideal has not been fully realized, for we must confess that we welcome only the European nationalities. Theoretically we draw no lines, but practically objections have been raised against the Asiatic races; and even in this case we feel the incongruity of measures against the immigration of special races for reasons which we must grant, but we need not enter into a discussion of them here. Here we are followed by Canada which discriminates against the Hindus. This is more illogical since they belong to the British empire as well as the Canadians themselves.

Germany is not without faults, and nobody is more critical than the Germans themselves unless it be the German-Americans. The wrong kind of militarism has sometimes made itself felt in Germany, and nobody has criticized its obnoxious traits more than the Germans. The German people themselves objected to the Zabern affair most severely, while in the Dreyfus case the French were drunk with militarism in favor of Esterhazy, the Russian spy, and no other nation has reacted against military superciliousness more strongly than the Germans.

The officialdom of Germany, the pride of men in high position, has proved offensive in many respects, but whenever it occurred publicly it has been more emphatically and effectively criticized by Germans than any similar attitude of other governments by their own people. On the contrary, most of the objectionable deeds of other gov-

ernments have passed by unnoticed. In Russia all objections to the tyranny of the government are suppressed with iron severity. Nor are the French and English governments without blame in this regard.

What people in the common walks of life call "bureaucracy" in lower German officialdom, is often represented in our country by a tyranny of petty officials, and strange to say Germany has often been denounced on account of its "intolerable bureaucracy." We have reasons to envy Germany's bureaucratic institutions, for Germany has attained the best and the most efficient service at the lowest cost by granting her lower officials positions for life on condition of unflinching honesty and good behavior. German officials are strict in enforcing rules, and punctual in their duties, but they have little or no opportunity to tyrannize any one. Reformers have often endeavored approximately to introduce one or another feature of German bureaucracy here, but upon the whole our political bosses oppose reforms of this kind. It is precisely in the distribution of bureaucratic positions that the power lies by which political leaders are able to pay their supporters for campaign assistance.

The lack of religious liberty in Germany is still to be lamented, and I can tell instances from my own experience; but I have discovered that conditions are worse in England and even to some extent here in America.

There is no need of entering into further details. The Kaiser's speeches were criticized, and not least severely by the Germans themselves, until he mended his ways. We may incidentally add that what he really meant was by no means as terrible as his words sounded, and it is sure that if his successor were to rule in the spirit in which the imperial speeches have been interpreted, Germany would soon change into a republic. However, as long as the coming Hohenzollerns will fill their high office in the sense of Frederick the Great, as the first servants of the state, they will never be a danger to liberty nor need they fear a revolution.

Other faults noticeable in modern Germany are perhaps common to mankind in other portions of the world, including England. These are the snobbishness of some rich, the increasing indulgence of pleasure-seekers, a deteriorated taste in literature, a preference for Bismarck's kind of *Realpolitik*, the loud swagger of false militarism and the insolence of officialdom. But wherever these unpleasant features appear in Germany they are not a whit worse than in other countries, Great Britain not excepted. Certainly all

these faults are no reason to make war on a country. Any enumeration of them can only be—and indeed, as I understand the situation, is meant to be—a mere excuse of English people for endorsing the government's action in making war.

ENGLISH VIEWS.

The English periodical *The Nation*⁴ notes the striking resemblance between the German mind as shown in German papers and the English mind as exhibited in the English press. In both countries there prevails "the unanimous confidence in the justice of the war, the conviction that it was forced upon them by the base and treacherous designs of their enemies, and the confident assurance that their cause will be triumphant in the end." After quoting some German verses and characterizing some German opinions, the unsigned article continues: "What a farrago of hypocrisy! English readers will be disposed to say. Yet it is impossible to read such writing without recognizing that the writers are saying what they believe." After noting the views of Romain Rolland and Gerhardt Hauptmann (the latter a severe critic of German officialdom and militarism) we read on: "How can such men be blind to what appears to us the hard facts regarding German aggressiveness and German atrocities and lawlessness?" And again further down: "However preposterous it sounds to us, for the German people this is a defensive war, primarily against the long-laid designs of France and Russia, though the bitterest feelings are directed against England for our 'treachery.' It simply enrages English readers to read expressions of pity for Belgium from Germans, for the people they have so foully and brutally maltreated."

Has the author of this article in *The Nation* never seen the vindication of the Germans by the American reporters, Messrs. Bennett, McCutcheon, Irvin S. Cobb, Harry Hansen, and Roger Lewis? No one who knows them doubts their honesty and impartiality. English people do not seem to have seen the statement signed by them in common,⁵ nor any other of their descriptions of the war. So our author continues:

"But how is the ordinary German to know the crimes he has committed? The *Berliner Tageblatt* is quite a respectable paper. It devotes some space to atrocities. But they are assigned to Rus-

⁴ October 17, 1914, p. 59.

⁵ For their statement see "The European War" in the October *Open Court*, p. 630.

sians in East Prussia, to Belgian peasants and occasionally to Frenchmen. German soldiers are so well-disciplined that they do not commit atrocities! It is the enemy that uses dum-dum bullets, fires on white flags, and abuses the Red Cross, mutilates or assassinates wounded soldiers, shells ambulances, assaults women and children, sets villages on fire for sheer wantonness, and brutalizes in every way the art of war! So far as material destruction is concerned, we have the evidence of the photographer and the admission of the German commanders that these things have been done in the course of the Belgian invasion. But Germans at home believe that these charges brought against them are wicked calumnies, the products of 'lie-factories in Paris and London.' They conduct the war in a civilized fashion: but those Russians, Belgians, and French are capable of anything!"

The photograph of a ruined house is no evidence of Germany's brutality, and we know very well that war is hell. Blame the men who have started the war, not the men who expose their lives in battle; and remember that many houses and beautiful trees (as for instance in Malines) have been destroyed by the Belgians, not by the Germans. The photograph shows neither the author of the war nor the men who have made the ruins.

In explanation of the unreliability of photographs I will insert here a little story told me by a German American who had served in the German army in 1870-71. His name is Windmiller and he was on his return to his American home with his wife and daughter after having visited the fatherland and some battlefields where he had faced the French mitrailleuse. He had lain in a house with one lieutenant of his sharpshooter battalion, for the purpose of keeping off some French assailants. The two held the enemy at a distance by keeping up a brisk fire so as to give the impression that there were great numbers of them. As a result they drew upon themselves the hostile fire from different quarters and even of artillery. The house was often hit but its two defenders remained unharmed. Upon his visit, Mr. Windmiller found the house preserved in the same condition he had left it in with all the marks of the French bullets. He climbed on an opposite wall to photograph the place, but an old woman told him that he could buy a picture of the house in the village store, and truly there he found it printed on a postcard with an inscription which declared that it had been "*défendue par des braves francs-tireurs.*" Pictures do not prove the stories told about them.

In America the opinion is often strongly expressed that it is

a right of every one, of civilians and also of women, to attack an invading enemy, to shoot at hostile troops from their windows, from ambush, from anywhere. But we answer that if this be the case, if private persons take part in the war, they forfeit their right as neutrals to the enemies' protection of their lives and property; and it will be a matter of course that war will revert to its original savagery. If civilians take part in the combat the invading enemy will be forced in sheer self-defence to extend the war to civilians.

Before condemning the punishment of snipers, please take the trouble to read the reports printed in German papers about Belgian civilians' participation in the war, and consider that German officers are human beings possessed of a deep-seated love of their men. What are they to do if they enter a village and are suddenly attacked from all sides by snipers hidden in surrounding houses? I saw the letter of a captain published somewhere who reported that he had lost more men in such a situation than in the open battlefield. How would one of our most kind-hearted humane readers act if he were in a similar position? Perhaps he would say: "A goodly number of my men have been killed and wounded; the dead have gone to heaven. It is Christian to forgive the enemy, and I will bless the people who have done the deed."

* * *

Another English opinion appeared in the *Saturday Review* as long ago as February, 1896. It is written from a "biological" standpoint; it makes a plea for the Russians and the French and is important because it is this view which has directed British politics, which created the Triple Entente and caused the British government to conspire with Belgium in secret treaties by which England was in honor bound to begin the war. This article was written for Britons alone, not for Germans nor for Americans. In its closing paragraph it insists first on imperialism ("federate our colonies"); second, on the defeat of Germany; and, third, readiness to fight America. It is reprinted on another page of this issue.

The article is apparently written by the same author who a year later wrote the other article of the *Saturday Review* republished as the first article of the October number of *The Open Court*. The underlying ideas are quite similar and here also the principle of extermination is taught as the most important factor in the progress of evolution. We read:⁶ "Were every German to be wiped

⁶ Compare this with the sentence quoted in the middle of page 608 in the October *Open Court*.

out to-morrow, there is no English trade, no English pursuit that would not immediately expand. Were every Englishman to be wiped out to-morrow, the Germans would gain in proportion.... One or the other has to go; one or the other will go."

How untrue this principle is we shall see later on. England is even now suffering from the war by having her trade with Germany ruined.

The Bishop of Carlisle, the Right Reverend J. W. Diggle, D.D., must have read the article from the biological point of view. In an article in the *Hibbert Journal* of October, 1914, "The Ethics of War," he says: "Biological science affirms that in the animal world the highest types have been evolved out of pitiless struggles." The Lord Bishop seems to accept this affirmation as a fact and declares "that war, both in its roots and fruits, is evil." But he takes comfort in the "most encouraging fact that, under the moral government of the world, even evil can be compelled to bring forth good.... And the unparalleled crime of the crucifixion is still leading humanity forward toward its final redemption. These facts are very strange and deep."

Mr. L. P. Jacks publishes his opinion editorially in the same number of the *Hibbert Journal*, under the strange title "Mechanism, Diabolism and the War," and we quote the following sentences:

"Every one who reflects on the present state of Europe must feel that he is in the presence of something anomalous, self-contradictory and absurd.... Intellect, trained for the discovery of truth by elaborate systems of education, takes service under the Father of Lies, calls itself 'diplomacy,' and lures nations to ruin.... What is the force that unites us? The sense of common danger, the call of common duty, the certainty of common suffering, the memory of a common past—each plays a part.... Having regard to all the circumstances under which this war has been forced upon us, I cannot doubt that it may be converted into a great moral opportunity.... The primary feature will be the reawakening of the moral consciousness of the people.... Luxury, frivolity, and class selfishness will receive a check.... We shall all know better than before what it is to have a man's part to play in the world.... Our religion also will be less voluble and more sincere; we shall have seen something of the terrors of the Lord."

Sir Henry Jones in the same periodical expresses his conviction in the words: "This war has come upon us as a duty"... "The British people as a whole... have gone forth into this struggle with an open brow and a clear conscience." "All the same, the substan-

tial truth is that the German people regards itself as a nation with a mission, and we will do well to remember that *its* conscience also is in the war."

German policy is thus characterized: "It is the *reasoned* belief in territorial brigandage and in the methods of barbarism, provided they are employed by and for the sake of the German nation.... The pathos of the situation is overwhelming."

On another page T. W. Rolleston speaks of "the megalomania of Germany, or more strictly of Prussia, which is now forcing such terrible issues on Europe, her towering ambitions, her attitude of cynical disregard of every national or individual right which might stand in the way of these ambitions or clog their flight towards the goal of world-power."

ENGLISH CRITICS OF BRITISH POLITICS.

It does credit to the English people that there are independent men among them who do not endorse their country's war policy and who denounce the government for having started the war. Best known of these critics are the three cabinet members who resigned because of their disapproval.

We will here quote two other opinions, one of the Hon. Bertrand Russell, as reprinted in the *Cambridge Magazine* from the *Labour Leader*, the other of Arthur Ponsonby published in *The Nation* (London) of August 22, 1914, p. 763.

The former blames as the cause of the war the intolerable dread of one another in which the people of Europe have been living. Mr. Russell says:

"In every nation, by the secrecy of diplomacy, by cooperation of the press with the manufacturers of armaments, by the desire of the rich and the educated to distract the attention of the working classes from social injustice, suspicion of other nations is carefully cultivated, until a state of nightmare terror is produced, and men are prepared to attack the enemy at once, before he is ready to inflict the ruin which he is believed to be contemplating. In sudden vertigo, the nations rush into the dreaded horror; reason is called treachery, mercy is called weakness, and universal delirium drives the world to destruction.

"All the nations suffer by the war, and knew in advance that they would suffer. In all the nations, the bulk of ordinary men and women must have dreaded war. Yet all felt the war thrust upon them by the absolute necessity of preserving themselves from in-

vasion and national extinction. Austria-Hungary, a kind of outpost of western civilization among the turbulent Balkan states, felt its existence threatened by revolutionary Slavs within its own borders, supported by the aggressive and warlike Servians on its frontier. Russia, being of the same race and religion as the Servians, felt bound in honor to protect them against Austria. Germany, knowing that the defeat of Austria would leave it at the mercy of Russia, felt bound to support Austria. France, from dread of a repetition of 1870, had allied itself with Russia, and was compelled for self-preservation to support Russia as soon as Germany was involved. And England, believing that the German navy was designed to secure our downfall, had felt impelled through fear to form the *entente* with France and Russia.

"If, when this war is ended, the world is to enjoy a secure peace, the nations must be relieved of the intolerable fear which has weighed them down and driven them into the present horror. Not only must armaments be immensely reduced, but the machinery of mobilization must be everywhere rendered more cumbrous and more democratic, the diplomacy must be conducted more publicly and by men more in touch with the people, and arbitration treaties must bind nations to seek a peaceful settlement of their differences before appealing to brute force. All these things can be secured after the present war if the democracy is insistent; none will be secured if the negotiations are left in the hands of the men who made the war."

Mr. Ponsonby's letter reads in extract thus:

"I am not an uncompromising 'peace-at-any-price,' 'stop-the-war' advocate, but am as jealous of my country's honor as any one that could be found. Nothing matters while our national safety is threatened, and I ask myself: . . . Would it not be better to be silent and so tacitly express approval of the past policy of the government, and applaud the self-laudatory articles with which the press is filled? It would certainly be very much easier, and I wish to goodness I could do it.

"But principles I believe in cannot be dispelled at will, and do not allow me any peace of mind. Inconvenient questions keep on presenting themselves to me and waiting for an answer. . . . I am not going to embark on a long-reasoned argument which cannot be compressed into the limits of a letter. I will simply ask some questions and answer them with a single monosyllable.

"Have the Government during the past six years joined in the

insane competition in armaments, and led the way in matters of expenditures? *Yes....*

"Have they consistently advocated, supported, and encouraged the policy of the balance of power, which divided Europe into two hostile camps, producing high tension and possible outbreak of war at every diplomatic dispute that arose? *Yes....*

"So far from the correspondence in the White Papers being the cause of the war, does it not clearly show that our previous policy had committed us, and we were simply entangled in meshes of our own creation? *Yes.*

"Is it right or even advisable to make binding engagements with other nations behind the backs of the people in secret? *No.*

"Did the Government declare in the most explicit way that we were free and unfettered in the event of war, when all the time British and French naval experts were drawing up plans for mutual defence and assistance? *Yes.*

"Should we have declared war on France if she had found it incumbent on her for the sake of national safety, to send her army across the Belgian frontier? *No.*

"Did Germany know from the first that we were bound to support France and did she want to fight us? *No....*

"Did the Prime Minister in referring to what he called the 'infamous proposal,' at the same time draw attention to the German Ambassador's conciliatory request at a later date that we should 'formulate conditions on which we would remain neutral'? *No.*

"Is not Germany's chief fear, which has been enormously increased of late, a Slav inroad from Russia? *Yes.*

"Does our support of Russia mean the strengthening of Russian autocracy and Russian militarism, and the consequent check of the development and enlightenment of the Russian people? *Yes.*

"Will Russian success mean a further acquisition of territory by Russia in Europe, and is not this very undesirable? *Yes.*

"Is there a vestige of foundation, in view of the hopeless strategic position in which Germany now finds herself, for the idea that this is all the outcome of a German plot against this country? *No.*

"Is it possible or desirable that the German empire should be shattered and her national expansion forever prevented? *No.*

"Is the capture of all German colonies likely to make a passive and submissive Germany in the future? *No.*

"Was there before the outbreak of the war any animosity among the British people against the Germans? *No.*

"Is there reason to suspect that in the official world an anti-German policy has been steadily pursued for some time past? *Yes.*

"Is it not deplorable that when Great Britain is plunged into the most devastating war the world has ever seen, we should none of us know clearly what we are fighting for? *Yes.*

"Are the peoples of Europe going to be massacred in hundreds of thousands, and are incalculable numbers of non-combatants going to be reduced to misery and ruin only because a few ministers, diplomats, and monarchs have quarrelled? *Yes.*

"Are the victors going to gain anything, either materially or morally by this war? *No.*"

England may be proud of the fact that these isolated criticisms have been published in England.

TWELVE POINTS ASSURED.

I repeat here that I shall change my opinion and gladly confess it publicly if I can be convinced of being mistaken. I deem the following facts assured:

1. Pan-Slavism is a movement instigated and directed by Russia. Its true aim is to confederate all Slavs under Russian rule, and since many Slavs, including the Poles, the Bulgarians and the Bosnians, are opposed to Russian rule and against Pan-Slavism, the Serbs are its main supporters outside Russia. A victory of Pan-Slavism would not only doom Poland to a continuance of her slavery but also deal a death-blow to Austria-Hungary, because there are numerous Slavs living in that country intermingled with Germans, Magyars, the Saxons of Transylvania and Roumanians. The present war is a conflict between Pan-Slavism and Germanism in which Great Britain, against her real interest supports the former.

2. As the Russians have developed a system of international intrigue, mainly against the English, and have employed spies more than any other nation, so the Serbs deemed it proper to fight their real or supposed enemies by assassins and were encouraged by the Russian government.

3. Both Servia's method of practising assassination and Russia's support of it were carried on officially, even the Crown Prince of Servia being implicated in suspicion, and so Russia was in honor bound to protect Servia when Austria-Hungary demanded a thorough investigation into the conspiracy which caused the death of the archduke at Sarajevo. However, neither Servia nor Russia

could afford to let the truth of the details become fully known and established.

4. The Germanic races detest assassination. It should be remembered that when Napoleon I crushed Germany, the German people rose against him and beat him in an honest and open fight at Leipsic and at Waterloo after several failures such as Schill's rebellion, but not even one attempt was made to assassinate the tyrant. It seems quite unintelligible that England, a country more Germanic in blood than Germany, could support or sympathize with the Russo-Servian cause which spells ruin first to Austria-Hungary and then also to Germany, and there is but one excuse: England always plays the protector of small states. The point may briefly be summed up that while Austria-Hungary meant to extirpate assassination, Russia and England insisted that Servia's sovereignty should not be interfered with; its government should be allowed to continue its policy which Austria-Hungary and Germany regard as criminal.

5. Russia continued to mobilize in spite of official assurances that it was not doing so, and Germany came to the conclusion that war had become unavoidable.

6. The Kaiser made vain efforts by a personal correspondence with Czar Nicholas and King George of England to avoid the war, or at least to isolate it as much as possible, but Russia had promised to support Servia and England was "in honor bound" to help Russia and France.

7. Germany had positive information that the French intended to advance into Germany through Belgium, and since she was threatened by Russia and France at the same time, determined to prevent the French plan. Germany regretted that she was compelled to break Belgian neutrality but was fully justified later on by finding positive evidence that the Belgians had broken neutrality long before a German soldier set foot on Belgian ground.

8. Germany's breach of Belgian neutrality was made England's pretext for a declaration of war—a very questionable act in consideration of the fact that England herself had been guilty of a breach of Belgian neutrality. We grant however that England was "in honor bound" to come to Belgium's assistance, on account of her former agreements with Belgium.

9. From the standpoint of Belgium it is to be regretted that England did not protect her in her extremity as Belgium had a right to expect, but England was not sufficiently prepared for the war she

had declared, except perhaps on sea. Apparently she expected that her continental allies would be sufficient to crush Germany.

10. France went into the war because she nourished her old grudge against Germany and demanded revenge. She believed she had considerably improved her army, especially her artillery, and was convinced that Germany had remained stagnant; at the same time she felt assured that Russia with her overwhelming numbers would soon enough invade Germany on the east and take Berlin.

11. England, jealous of Germany's expansion and determined not to allow any further increase of her navy, had concluded the Triple Entente with France and Russia and felt in honor bound to join the belligerents, thinking it would be safe—an easy task.

12. Germany has suffered much in former centuries from incursions of her neighbors, especially the French. Under the pressure of repeated and unprovoked unjust attacks Germany has been compelled to unite into an empire and introduce a well-organized institution of self-defense, recently called "militarism." Through many sad experiences, Germany has learned that the best defense is to take the offensive and strike the first blow. This foresight on the part of Germany has been called "aggressiveness." As soon as the Kaiser recognized that war was inevitable and that the Triple Entente was determined to crush Germany, he acted promptly and led his army against his enemies.

These are the twelve main points that characterize the origin of the war and we will here only add that the Belgian civilian population took part in the fight on a large scale, sometimes even in a most barbarous fashion, so that the German troops frequently suffered heavier losses by sniping than in battle, and this naturally led to severe punishments of the guilty. These reprisals were called "atrocities" and are stoutly believed by the supporters of the British cause, although they are sufficiently refuted by the Round Robin of the five American reporters.

WAS THE WAR UNAVOIDABLE?

War was avoidable if the belligerents had used any sense at all, common sense or foresight, or wisdom. The Czar would have kept peace, so far as he personally was concerned, but in his correspondence with the Kaiser he speaks of the pressure exercised upon him, and this pressure comes from those around him, the archdukes headed by his uncle Nicolaus Nikolajewitch. The Kaiser tried his best to avert the calamity of fighting all Europe. Never-

theless, as soon as he saw that his enemies were determined on war he no longer hesitated but took a most vigorous initiative according to his old Prussian traditions.

It appears that Russia would not have ventured into the war if England had not promised to join. Statements have been made to this effect, but documentary evidence is still lacking. We deem it probable.

One thing may safely be asserted, that whereas the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy was intended to preserve the present status of Europe, the Triple Entente of England with France and Russia meant war. It was a federation of three positively antagonistic races made for the purpose of combining these three most unlike and mutually uncongenial nationalities to serve one common hatred. The aim of the three was to crush Germany, and it can scarcely be doubted that English statecraft is the moving power of the whole scheme. Thus it seems assured that war became unavoidable at the moment when the Triple Entente was concluded.

England has always been anxious to rule the seas and her European policy has always pursued the aim of antagonizing the main powers on the continent and posing as protectress of the small states. She has been especially careful not to let the coast opposite England fall into powerful hands, so an attack on Belgium appeared to her like an attack on Great Britain.

Here lies the defect in English statecraft. Either England should have sent the English army at once to Belgium for the sake of protecting Belgium efficiently against a German invasion, or she should have advised Belgium to allow the Germans to pass through the country on their promise to respect Belgian independence. In this latter case the Germans could not have taken the Belgian coast for the purpose of attacking England. As matters stand now, English diplomats have ruined Belgium and forced Germany into a hostile attitude towards England. The statesmen of England thought they could afford to venture into a war when Germany was surrounded by enemies on both the east and west, and England would thereby maintain her supremacy on the seas.

Speaking of the wars of England since Queen Elizabeth, Field-Marshal Earl Roberts expresses his view in the *Hibbert Journal* (October, 1914) as follows:

"This struggle has always the same underlying motive—viz., the determination on the part of England that no single state shall be allowed to upset the balance of power and to dominate the

western half of Europe. As soon as any state attempts this, and then gains possession of, or tries to establish itself in, the Low Countries, then England is compelled to take up arms.

"In Queen Elizabeth's reign Spain was the powerful and aggressive nation of western Europe, and she was established in the Netherlands; and when the great Armada sailed the chief design of the whole operation was that this powerful fleet should gain command of the English Channel, pick up the Duke of Parma's trained veterans in the Low Countries, and escort them to the English coast. The real menace to England lay in the fact that Spanish power was established in the Low Countries. The main purpose of Marlborough's famous campaigns was to check the ambitious designs of the French under Louis XIV, and the great battles of Ramilies, Malplaquet, and Oudenarde were fought in the Low Countries.

"The war against the French Republic was undertaken because the French had seized the mouths of the Scheldt: the fighting began in Flanders in 1793, and ended at Waterloo, a few miles south of Brussels, in 1815.

"At the beginning of the twentieth century we find ourselves engaged in a colossal struggle against Germany, for she is now the strong and aggressive power which seeks to dominate the western half of Europe, and has, we hope only for a time, established herself in Belgium.

"If Germany succeeds in maintaining her hold on Belgium, Holland and Denmark will pass under her sway. Then her seaboard will extend in one unbroken line from Memel, along the southern shore of the Baltic, round Denmark, and then by Holland and Belgium to the shores of the English Channel itself. In Holland and Belgium she will find great naval bases close to our own shores. The hardy sailors and fishermen of Denmark and Holland—seamen little, if at all, inferior to our own—will be taken to man the warships of the German navy, and the naval competition between Germany and ourselves will become many times more severe than it is at present."

Incidentally we will say in comment on Earl Roberts's historical reflections that the victories which in England are commonly attributed to Marlborough were won by Eugene, Prince of Savoy, and the battle of Waterloo was lost by Wellington when the Prussian army under Blücher appeared in time to save the day and route Napoleon.

The English denounce German militarism as barbarous; but

their "naval supremacy" is considered as unobjectionable. Says Earl Roberts: "The British Isles are the heart of the empire, parts of which are scattered all over the face of the globe. These scattered portions of the empire, though sundered by the Seven Seas, are kept together by the British navy which guards those seas. Naval supremacy is therefore absolutely necessary for us if we are to maintain the empire."

By "empire" Earl Roberts means imperialism, a union of England with her colonies which would make the colonies obedient dependencies in such a way that if the British premier decides on war, Africa, India, Australia with New Zealand, and Canada shall be drawn into the struggle. The same proposition is made in the *Saturday Review* article of 1896, cited above and reprinted on another page, where the demand is expressed by the words "to federate." We remember that imperialism in Germany has been bitterly condemned by British authors, but for the maintenance of Great Britain's dominion all over the world the federation of all colonies into an empire is an indispensable principle; and further the British empire, in this sense of imperialism, presupposes Great Britain's naval supremacy.

In addition, the powers on the continent ought to be equally balanced; Earl Roberts quotes from Lord Milner: "But in order to help maintain that balance we require an army, and no puny army." This means "militarism." Militarism is to be destroyed in Germany, but England ought to have it.

And we agree with Earl Roberts. If militarism had existed in Great Britain as it exists in Germany, if every Englishman had to serve in the army, Sir Edward Grey would not have ventured into this war so unconcernedly as he did, and for this reason, if not for others as well, it is highly desirable that the German system of militarism should be introduced into Great Britain.

If we grant the premises from which Earl Roberts argues, that British dominance over the world (or, as he more guardedly expresses it, her "naval supremacy") is "absolutely necessary" for the British, his warlike attitude is quite natural, and, both from the old standpoint of Macchiavellian politics and from the biological point of view, the policy of the English government would be quite intelligible. The British cabinet held these views and so war was unavoidable.

But is the biological standpoint really true, and is it wise to act accordingly? It risks England's present position by a war

which might hasten the crisis with exactly the evil result that English statesmen intend to avoid.

A STRUGGLE FOR LEADERSHIP.

There is a certain justice in English ambition to keep ahead in the struggle for leadership in the world. Every nation has a right to do her best to excel all the others and be the first among them. It is the old principle taught in ancient Greece where Homer thus expressed it in his *Iliad*:

Alén áριστέειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων.

"Always to be in the lead and to be to the others superior."

England has been the dominant nation in the world and maintains her prominence by ruling the seas; but two rivals are slowly growing stronger with the probability that each of them will take a place beside Great Britain, and these are Germany and the United States. Should their growth be tolerated? Should not the increase of their power be stopped in time before it is too late? From the standpoint of the English author who expresses the biological view, Great Britain should be on guard. Russia is not dangerous; France is not dangerous; no other smaller power can become dangerous. There are only two rivals, Germany and America. Our English author says directly *Germania est delenda*, and implies as the future aim, *America est delenda*. Is not this principle right? Is not the maxim of Homer both true and noble? And is not the struggle for existence a law of nature fully proved by science?

Britannia still rules the seas; and we can very well understand that she would and should do anything, even risk a war, to maintain her supremacy. We grant that she has a right to do so, but we believe that she has not taken the right way to carry out her determination.

England has done wrong in forcing the war upon Germany, and though the moment is comparatively well chosen, though Germany is at present in a most precarious position, it seems clear to me that England is greatly endangered and has herself to blame if she loses her world dominion in the struggle.

Has not Great Britain's action in declaring war on Germany fully justified Germany in building a navy? Without any cause of her own for war England joined Germany's enemies and destroyed her large trade over sea through the use of superior naval power. England's statesmen know perfectly well that Germany's

breach of Belgian neutrality was excusable and fully justified, but they claim that the war was deliberately forced upon England by Germany's aggressiveness because Germany has been from time to time increasing not only her army but also her navy, and especially after the establishment of the Triple Entente. Her navy is now almost half as large as the British navy, and according to English opinion this is reason enough to claim that Germany has forced England to begin the war and to blame her for aggressiveness. Says Earl Roberts: "The agreements between Great Britain and France were signed in London 1904"....the "good understanding between Great Britain, France and Russia was completed in 1907," and in another place he points out the great fault of Germany saying:

"The German Army was increased in 1912, and again in 1913, to such an extent that the peace strength expanded from about 650,000 in 1911 to 822,000 in 1913; and it is a fact worthy of note that this addition of 170,000 men to the numbers with the colors—an addition just equal to our Expeditionary Force—was made almost immediately after the Morocco crisis of 1911, when the British Government had shown its determination to stand by the side of France against any attempt of German aggression."

So it is apparent that in British opinion Germany bears all the guilt. The Triple Entente succeeded in thwarting Germany's attempt to receive a portion of Morocco which the French reserved for themselves. The English succeeded in gaining the good will of the strongest nations against Germany, and Germany deemed it wise to strengthen her defense. If Germany had remained as weak as in 1806, England would have condescended to patronize the German people as she patronizes all weak nations, for instance Servia and Belgium.

England has always been an enemy of every nation that might become a competitor of her naval supremacy, but small nations enjoy her ostensible friendship. A small nation is one that could never gain headway on the ocean, never build a navy and never have a chance to dominate the world. England's love of small nations has always been praised by the British as her benevolent humanitarianism, as her kindness for the downtrodden, but closely considered it is due to selfishness, for these smaller nations have always given pretexts for England to promote her own interest. So, for instance, Belgium is now claimed to be a protégée of England, but in fact Belgium has been utilized as English territory on the continent, and at the instigation of English statesmen the Bel-

gians have been fighting the battles of England in the vain confidence that England was defending their cause.

Poor Belgium is a victim of English politics, for the English have not even given them enough assistance to protect Belgian territory from the horrors of war. The people living on the same stretch of country, formerly connected with Holland under the name of the Netherlands, were once a most powerful sea-faring state, but England waged a war on these Netherlands for no other reason than because the country had become almost as powerful as England on the seas. But no nation may rule the waves but England, and so the Netherlands fell a victim to English politics and lost valuable colonies beyond the seas. Now it is Germany's turn to have her navy destroyed, and English jingoes do not hesitate to announce the United States of America as the next power to be overcome in order to preserve for the future that supremacy on the seas which is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of the British empire.

THE HIGHER VIEW.

We grant that life is struggle and struggle cannot be avoided in life. We grant that struggle implies war and that under certain circumstances war is unavoidable. Therefore every nation (our own United States by no means excepted) is in duty bound to be always ready for self-defense, and this implies militarism. But we maintain that the fierceness of the struggle, its suffering, its unnecessary pangs and pains can be eliminated, or at any rate reduced, and this is done in the progress of civilization. Unnecessary wars can be avoided, and they will be avoided not so much by humaneness and kindheartedness as by intelligence. Humaneness does not work, because a genuine true humaneness, a humaneness associated with intelligence, is too rare, and is practically pure sentiment which does not affect the broad masses, for we must not forget that mankind is brutish, not humane. The salvation of mankind can be brought about only by education, by teaching how the worst ills of life can be avoided, and that much of the evil which people suffer is of their own making.

Why was this or that war unavoidable? Because the people who started it did not possess sufficient insight to recognize its inadvisability. To speak plainly, the stupidity of the leading men is the ultimate cause of a war.

Take an example.

The war of secession was actually unavoidable because at the

time the people did not understand the slave question. First, there were some idealists who believed in the liberty, equality and brotherhood of man, who thought the negro was as much a child of God as the white man, and slavery a most damnable institution. I shall not enter into details which modify the ideal; suffice it to say that if men are equal before the law it does not mean that they are of the same worth and value. Those who felt instinctively the errors of the ideal saw the reverse aspect of the statement and claimed that the land of cotton needed workers in the fields and that the maintenance of slavery was a question of life or death for the southerners. The difference of opinion caused the demand for secession. Hence the war was unavoidable.

Now let us assume that one among the leading men had understood the slave question, and especially this phase of it: While slavery seems to be a special phase in the economical development of mankind, it always abolishes itself when the time comes. Slavery is a benefit not only for the slave owner, but as a rule also for the slave, who is incapable of making a living for himself. The slave owner has to provide for him, has to care for his future and in this way takes many burdens off his shoulder which he is as yet incapable of carrying. To keep slaves is expensive, and as soon as there is a sufficient amount of free labor that can do the work more cheaply, slavery will die out rapidly.

This statement is simple and undeniable; and it is a fact that no one would now be willing, even if it were not against the law, to reintroduce slavery in the southern states because free labor is cheaper than the maintenance of slaves, and from this point of view we will learn that slavery would in time have abolished itself and the abolition of slavery would possibly and probably have come about gradually and at a more seasonable period.

If this truth had been known and appreciated there would have been no necessity for our war of secession. Ignorance made the war unavoidable. I do not mean to say that the people were unintelligent and stupid in every respect, they were as clever and intelligent as people are nowadays; but they were ignorant on one point which happened to be the salient issue of the day. Their excitement blinded them to the truth that would have been their salvation.

The present war is unavoidable in the same sense, but it could have been avoided if the men who started it had been possessed of more intelligence on the point at issue. God did not endow them with that wisdom, and so I pray that their stupidity may be re-

garded as an extenuation of their crime—but the results are terrible.

What is the reason of the war, the underlying ground that makes it unavoidable? I do not now mean the occasion. The occasion is the assassination of the archduke and the right of Servia, on the plea of her sovereignty, to have an investigation of the plot prevented. The real reason of the war is Great Britain's fear that Germany might grow too powerful. The jealousy that has developed between the two nations is founded on their rivalry. The author of the English article in the *Saturday Review* written from a "biological" point of view said that Germany is at present the only dangerous competitor and in the future the next will be America. If the laws of nature can be relied upon the struggle is unavoidable. Men impressed with the truth of this idea have guided the destiny of England; they brought about the Triple Entente, they planned to utilize neutral Belgium as a basis for a British attack on Germany. Germany knew that the war with England was threatening and she began to prepare for it, nor can we blame her for doing so. She began to build a navy which, though very much weaker in numbers than the English navy, is by no means inferior in quality.

Now the question arises, was the war truly unavoidable under these circumstances? I answer, Yes. It was unavoidable if we grant that the men who brought it about were blessed with that gift of God we have characterized as a lack of intelligence. These men are no doubt very clever and bright in every other respect, but they lack a deeper insight into what I call the higher view, which throws light on the salient point at issue. The present war could have been avoided if the men who made it had understood the law of progress in the history of the world; but the avoidance of unnecessary war will be possible only when the leading men of the world's affairs will take the higher view of politics and learn the law of civilization by which the unnecessary ills of struggle may be eliminated.

First I would tell the man who wrote *Germania est delenda*, that England would not gain by the destruction of Germany. On the contrary she would lose, as she actually has lost now in many quarters through the destruction of her own commerce with Germany. But I want to make another more important point.

Suppose I were the owner of a drugstore doing a lucrative business and just when I felt that I had established a good business, which practically amounts to a monopoly, another drugstore was established by an enterprising young competitor across the street,

and at a further distance in the American quarter of the town a third one was starting in business. My business had become somewhat stationary, we might even say stagnant, but I had a hard time in establishing it and felt that it was my own and that my competitors had no right to interfere with my trade. If I could do away with them, there was no branch in my store which would not become more prosperous. By killing a competitor I would certainly get rid of him, but would gain nothing. The shop would remain as sloven as before. In order to make true progress I must imitate my rival's progressiveness, must improve my methods and do better than he! To kill people is against the law in a civilized society, but sovereign states do not recognize any international law, and the sword must decide questions of right. So it has been in the past and I fear it will still continue for a long time. Here comes in the duty of developing manhood, or, to use the modern term, "militarism."

In history, the progressive nation has generally been superior in intelligence to her powerful aggressor. Take for instance the world power of Persia and little Greece, the former inexhaustible in resources, the latter inspired by ideals representing a definite stage in the development of mankind, the study of which was called later on *humaniora*. The situation was absolutely hopeless for Greece on any human consideration; a miracle only could save her from the teeming millions of the Persian hosts, and yet the miracle happened. Greece came out victorious. It is true the stupid rivalry between Sparta and Athens ruined Greece, but the spirit of Greece lived in the Macedonian hero Alexander, and he made Greek civilization triumph over the older culture of Asia.

Numbers of soldiers are very important in battle, the quantity of tonnage is a great factor in a naval encounter, but after all, quality is decisive, the quality of soldiers and sailors, of ships and armament, and above all of intelligence.

I wonder whether the English cabinet has taken that point into consideration. It does not seem so, for they were apparently unprepared for the occurrences in the war. They are now clamoring for "an army and a large army." Why did they not train an army before they declared war? Because they were so uninformed about Germany that they regarded her army an easy prey to superior numbers.

And what constitutes Germany's strength? It is the German spirit, German grit, German intelligence, it is a quality which we

might characterize in the word "Germandom," to translate what the Germans call *Deutschthum*.

Germandom, or *Deutschthum*, is a peculiar phase in the development of mankind, and its essential feature may be characterized as objectivity. I do not mean to say that objectivity is absent in England, in France, in the United States and other countries, but it is more predominant in Germany and constitutes an aim, an ideal, a state of mind to be desired for certain purposes and is closely connected with the efflorescence of science.

Science is the ideal of the present age, and it is best realized and most widespread in Germany. It is there applied to practical life more than in any other country. German education is superior and the Germans are more quick-witted and versatile than the English.

England has not been so progressive as Germany. A comparison of the two countries does not show England in a favorable light. France has improved wonderfully, but not as much as Germany. The wealth of England is still enormous, but it is not well distributed. There is the rich aristocracy and the wretched population of London's east end, whose destitution can nowhere be equaled either in France or Germany. It even seems as if every conservative man was shrinking from having any change introduced into the social system. A great scientist in England once told me: "We make no changes because one change might lead to others and our whole system of social arrangements might collapse." What would appear as a reform in the beginning might end in an utter breakdown of the entire body politic.

Several visiting foreigners have assured me that according to their sincere conviction England is on its downward march, that it is the least progressive nation and is beginning to lag considerably behind the advance of the times. Englishmen, they say, can least easily adapt themselves to new conditions; they are slow and at the same time proud, they look upon other European nations, the Germans and the French included, at best with benevolent condescension, sometimes with contempt, while Americans, so far as they approve of them at all, are but second-class Englishmen. More accurately speaking the people of the United States are third class, because the Canadians and other colonials range in second degree. I will make these statements without further discussion because a full explanation will lead too far here, and I prefer to set forth the higher view which would make a war avoidable.

From the lower standpoint as expressed by the anonymous

author of the article from a biological point of view, the war is actually as unavoidable as the war of secession was in the United States. Germany has grown with an unprecedented rapidity in prosperity and power; if her progress continues, she will outgrow the British empire within a calculable time and if the British empire means to retain her grip on the globe, she will have to outdo Germany and keep ahead of her. This is as much England's duty as it is Germany's right to grow and expand and do better than Great Britain.

Αὐτὸν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπεύροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων.

But I will ask the question right here, If Germany were eliminated would every Englishman really be benefitted thereby? In a certain sense, perhaps; England would lose a rival. But in another sense, not; the British would remain or fall back into their old slovenly way of carrying on their business. They would not profit by killing off their rival, they would not learn, they would not progress; and when other rivals rise, either in America or in some other continent from their own colonies, or perhaps in Russia, they would again be obliged to dispose of their rivals by knocking them out. If they are smart enough and follow the old methods taught by Macchiavelli, they might succeed, but they would not succeed in furthering mankind to a higher and higher development.

The stages of progressive mankind are not accidental, they are predetermined. And when the Persians, those sturdy mountaineers, appeared in history they took the lead and became the rulers of Babylon and the whole Babylonian empire. But the Greeks reached a higher plane, and though few in numbers could not be subdued but grew and expanded until they overthrew the Persian empire, and the Greek spirit permeated all hither Asia.

A new civilization arose and it took root in all civilized nations, but mainly in what we have characterized as Germandom; and this Germandom is not the civilization born of German blood, it is the civilization of mankind which concentrated mainly in Germany. The Greeks passed away, but if mankind wanted to advance and become superior to the Greeks, it could not have done so by eliminating the Greeks, by slaying them or disposing of them in any way. The northern barbarians would always have remained barbarians had they not risen above their own stage and attained the plane of Greek thought. The Germans have done this more than any other nation, not merely by learning what the Greeks taught, but by becoming Greeks

themselves. I do not deny that since the Renaissance there have been Greek spirits in Italy, France and also in England, but the Germans have imbibed Hellenism into their souls in its purest form, and in their literature it rose to a classical efflorescence in Schiller and Goethe.

Further the Germans were always more cosmopolitan than others and this is instanced in the fact that they were interested in all other nations. There has been no work of significance in England, in France, in Spain, in Russia, that has not been translated into German. Shakespeare, Cervantes, Molière, Turgenev, are as well known and appreciated in Germany as in their own countries, and the most valuable thought of all the world has grown into the spirit of German literature. The soul of every other civilized nation has taken abode in Germany; every one was welcome, every one was appreciated, every one has grown into Germandom.

Nor is Germany limited to German blood in its inmost constitution, its biological system. Some of the most representative Germans are Slavs, Poles or Wends, some are French Huguenots, still others Italians, and there is no nationality of Europe which is not interwoven into the texture of the German nation. Nor must we forget that Germany owes valuable contributions to Judaism, the main and best representative of the old Oriental nations. Germandom has become most cosmopolitan, a feature which is developing in a still higher degree in America.

If the English would outdo the Germans, they can do it not by killing them but by imitating them. They must adopt that Germandom which they now despise. They must learn from the Germans. They must adopt their methods, they must introduce reforms which will best be modelled after German patterns, they must imitate German efficiency also in defense, or in other words, they must copy German militarism.

To eliminate by war and slaughter a rival who is dangerous because he is too progressive and growing too powerful, may be the proper thing to do from the lower standpoint, which in the *Saturday Review* has been called "biological," but at best it will be a poor and unsatisfactory method of keeping ahead. This method of keeping ahead is dangerous, for history teaches us that the people to be disposed of in this brutal manner usually accomplish exactly what their enemies planned to prevent, and so the Biblical sentence is frequently applicable that "ye thought evil against me, but God meant it unto good" (Gen. 1. 20).

The underlying question of this war is after all a question of

power. The war is to decide whether England will retain her supremacy over the seas, which means her dominance over the world; and questions of power cannot be decided by argument, they must be decided by the proof of actual superiority. England's strength lay in peace,⁸ but she has chosen war. England risks much more than Germany, certainly more than her leaders think or have thought. The author of the articles in the *Saturday Review* thinks "that England is the only great power who could fight Germany without tremendous risk and without doubt of the issue."

To me it seems almost pitiable that a few men could mislead the English people and rush them into the war, the greatest calamity that ever could fall upon England. It is a misfortune that these men, originally a few jingoes, seized the government, manufactured opinion, induced the country to ally itself first with France, then with Russia, sowed hatred against Germany, the nation that is most kin to the English, and walk a path that will lead to perdition. When the war is over we shall understand history better, we shall see more clearly, and those statesmen who have begun the war will be wiser.

Before 1870 Germany counted thirty-eight million inhabitants and now contains sixty-six millions. She has grown in power not by militarism but by a peaceful development. But according to Sir Edward Grey himself the "unmeasured aggrandizement" is the true reason of the war. If that is the case, the reason of the war is indeed a mere question of power. Two cannot be the first. According to such a conception the seas must belong to one nation; any important rival must be disposed of in battle while the small ones may be tolerated. There is no question of right; it is a question of supremacy, of retaining leadership. Herein lies the reason that the British have no arguments and do not even need a *casus belli*. They state their reasons in general phrases, as Germany's militarism, Germany's increase of power, Germany's unprecedented growth, etc. England does not seem to feel the unfairness of the present war, but neither did she see the unfairness of her former wars. It is really an astonishing fact that no English war in modern times can be defended. And now, why begin a war to exterminate Germany's militarism or imperialism? France has a severer militarism, and real imperialism is most developed in Russia. And if Germany be crushed now, will she not rise phoenix-

⁸ The war with the Boers was the same mistake. The Boers would have lost in a peaceful competition with the *uitlanders*, but England preferred war, a war most disastrous to England. England subjected the Boers but laid the basis for a future United States of South Africa.

like again and again? And will not that spirit which now dominates Germandom surely conquer in the end?

Here is the point we make on the issue: The English statesmen will not attain what they want, they will not keep England in the lead, they are positively endangering England's predominance in the world most terribly. The odds are awful against Germany, the moment for attacking her was shrewdly chosen; but it would have been wiser to conquer Germany with her own weapons by introducing German methods in England and raising the level of English institutions, of English schools and industrial conditions, of English science, medicine, chemistry, and other branches, to the German standard. The reverse is done. In Russia the very name Petersburg is changed to Petrograd, and if every trace of German influence were wiped out in Russia the Muscovites would certainly be the losers, and if German music is to be cut out in England as has been proposed, and if German medicines are to be replaced by English imitations, the English drugstore may have reasons to be grateful, but scarcely English patients.

One way to keep in the lead is to kill a rival. It is the old barbarous way and after all inefficient. The higher way is not only nobler, but also better and leads to success. It consists in the firm endeavor to excel your rival. That is not easy, for it demands hard labor, but it leads to the goal.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE SERVIAN POET'S LAMENT.

Mr. Ignace Izsak, the president of the Hungarian Federated League, publishes in the *Chicago Daily News* of November 13 his opinion of the European situation and quotes the Servian poet Velibar Oroscvics who laments the fate of his people. Mr. Izsak regards Russia as the guilty party. Speaking of the assassination of the archduke, he says:

"Russia butted in. What was the meaning of it? Did she want to save Servia? From what? The assurance was given that Servia's territory and national integrity will be respected. Whom did Russia want to save then? Those whom the dual monarchy wanted to punish, that is, the members of the school of assassination.

"We have to nail it down and proclaim it to the world that Russia took up arms in the interest of these black characters. She is not defending the liberty of a small nation, but the association of king murderers and plotters.

"It is the unpardonable sin of the two civilized nations, the French and English, to side with darkness and immorality."

Mr. Oroscvics, who is now a prisoner of war in Hungary, has given utterance to these touching words about his country:

"In Servia everybody knows that the Servian cause is lost. The people know that that the war was not provoked by Servia, that Servia was an instrument in the hands of ruthless Russian politicians. The Russian officers in Servia are telling that they were mistaken in their hopes. They expected if war were declared the nationalities of Hungary would rise. They hoped that the days of 1848 would return and Hungary would crash under internal dissension. We realize that these hopes did not materialize. Russia instead of helping us incites the Servians against the dual monarchy to invade Bosnia and Herzegovina and harass them. With foolish mind we came over the River Save, only to be beaten back with bloody heads, losing thousands of dead and 5000 prisoners. My heart is bleeding when I think that my nation is lost forever. When the war broke out we could get recruits from the newly acquired territories only at the greatest pains and employment of force. Misery is rampant in our country.

"To fill the cup, when utter destruction faces Servia, the Servian and Russian clergy are lying to the people and the world, saying that Germany and Austria-Hungary lie prostrate before Russia. Is it any wonder that under such circumstances the Servian army is killing its own citizens, and the citizens have to defend themselves with arms against the looting soldiers? Servia is ripe for revolution, which is the final stage of her national existence. I cannot find any helpful idea that could offer salvation to my ruined, misled people!"

POULTNEY BIGELOW AND THE KAISER.

It is difficult to understand that a man who was once a personal friend of Kaiser Wilhelm II does not take sides with him, but instead is opposed to his cause. Nevertheless, such is the case with Mr. Poultney Bigelow to whose letter we give precedence in the present number. It is rather strange that a man who knows Germany so well would turn against her on account of some faults in her social system and some of her institutions. Her officialdom can easily become the object of satire; in her police arrangements, some comical habits lend themselves to ridicule; the frequent announcement of *Verboten* displayed in public places makes the traveler smile; there is a peculiar awkwardness in German behavior which often verges on real lack of tact, causing misunderstandings that become most serious in diplomacy. But other nations too have their faults, and I must confess that German bluntness is more respectable than British diplomacy. Mr. Bigelow loves Germans, but he is opposed to certain features which deserve censure. If this war were a personal war of the Kaiser or of his courtiers, or of a war party, of jingoes or of German officialdom, I might accept Mr. Bigelow's position myself, but the war is waged for the purpose of putting a check upon the German people, upon their increase in prosperity and power, their welfare and progress, their growing superiority not only in poetry, theoretical science and art, but also in military strength and naval efficiency, and as I see things, the curse of the war will fall heaviest upon Great Britain. I am pro-German because the German people deserve sympathy, but I repeat, I am not anti-British. I know enough British people to love them as much as my German and French friends, but I am deeply sorry for the war, and I blame the British government for having started it, and here lies the reason why I differ from Mr. Poultney Bigelow.

It is an old habit of mine to give full and prominent publicity to the views which are contrary to my own conviction, and I wish that the readers of *The Open Court* should fully understand Mr. Bigelow's position and the reasons upon which it is based. I agree with him in many points; I have read some of his books with approval and endorse his critique of German mistakes, e. g., in their colonial policy, so it is but right to present here his view of Germany in the present great crisis.

P. C.

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